

Political 17  
Suffrage

## How Negro Votes Saved Foster in Fateful 1896

—Readers' Letters—

### HOW "WHITE SUPREMACY" Was Saved by the Negro Vote in 1896.

To the Editor of The Item:

In the state election in 1896, M. J. Foster was the Democratic candidate for governor and J. N. Pharr, the Republican candidate, Pharr being supported by the Populist party, which at that time was pretty strong in most of the white parishes.

The official returns of that election gave Foster 116,216 votes and 90,138 for Pharr, a majority of 26,078 for Foster. The returns showed that Pharr had a majority of the aggregate vote of the white parishes, and that Foster had an overwhelming majority of the aggregate vote in the black parishes.

The Foster vote in the eight black parishes of Bossier, Concordia, East Carroll, East Feliciana, Iberville, Madison, Tensas and West Feliciana, being returned as 21,542 and 620 for Pharr.

The negro registration in these eight parishes in 1896, was officially returned at 25,509 and the Democratic party had control of registration in every parish of the state.

The combined vote for Barret and Pleasant in the eight parishes above named, in the primary of Jan. 25th, 1916, was 3,760, but in 1896, Foster's majority in these parishes was 20,922.

The election returns of 1896 clearly show that the blacker the parish the greater the majority for "white supremacy" which was then the Democratic paramount issue. The four black parishes of East Carroll, Madison, Tensas and West Feliciana were returned as giving 9,495 votes for Foster and "white supremacy" and only one vote for Pharr. The combined vote for Barret and Pleasant in the last Democratic primary, was 1,108. Col. Pleasant and his stumpers, Sanders, Thomas, Coco and others, now loudly assert that the election of J. M. Parker would bring back the negro into politics and endanger "white supremacy," but it is very fortunate for J. M. Parker and the cause of government, that the negro is not now a factor in Louisiana politics, for, if he were, his vote would be counted to seat Pleasant, as it was used in 1896, to count in Foster.

PATRICK WALSH.

New Orleans, March 28, 1916, 1837 Baronne street.

CHANDLER CONKLIN, PRESIDENT

HAYES AND COLORED BOLT-ERS

The Guardian is expressly pained over the re-election of President Wilson; so much so that we have made some but little comment on the cause of Hughes' defeat. We deeply regretted any positive aid to Wilson's re-election by white friends like the endorsement by the New York Evening Post, owned and edited by Mr. O. Garrison Willard, white organization leader for Colored Americans, and also regretted the indirect aid to Wilson's re-election by the Crisis in suggestion voting for the Socialist or staying at home on election day unless Hughes added to his statements to Colored citizens one more specific and rigid. The Guardian and also the National Equal Rights League changed from the cause of 1912 and went strong for Hughes as the means to defeat the segregation of our race.

However, in connection with the article by ex-Senator W. E. Chandler for the non-enforcement of even the 14th Amendment by the Republican party, we call attention to the awful betrayal of the rights of the Colored people by the Republican president Hayes in 1876. We do this to indicate those early Colored bolters after 1876, among whom were the editor's father, James Monroe Trotter, and his maternal grandfather, Tucker Isaacs of Ohio. Note that Senator Roscoe Conklin, of New York, after whom Sen. Blanch K. Bruce named his son, and Sen. Wm. E. Chandler were so displeased at Hayes' desertion of the cause of the rights of Colored men that they even refused to speak to their president. Is it any wonder then, that some Colored men never again supported the Republican party, men who had fought to free and enfranchise their race? The great question is whether those Colored men were not the real leaders and prophets of a race and whether if followed of their own rights might have been saved.

### IN SOUTH FOR AMENDMENT

*Guardian 12-9-16*  
IN NORTH CAROLINA DAILY NEWSPAPER T. L. JONES SPEAKS OUT FOR STATE TO SQUARE ITS LAWS WITH CONSTITUTION OR WILSON'S ELECTION CAN BE CONTESTED.—WRITTEN NOV. 4.

Greenboro (N. C. Daily News, Nov. 7, 1916)

Editor of Daily News:—President Wilson is true to the Democratic platform in letter if not in spirit. That memorial document was handed to the American people for consumption and they easily gulped it down. But traitor Negro Bar Association, and Dr. S. D. Redmond, of this city, at large; Dr. E. I. Howard, Meridian; Dr. J. E. Walker, Indianola; Wesley Crayton, Vicksburg. These are all regarded as Roosevelt white, headed by National Committee-man L. B. Moseley. Hon. Isaiah T.

iana, Oklahoma, and North Carolina, Montgomery was finally chosen as an alternate at large. A movement being so, is it not passing strange, that the governor of each of the above named states did not issue a proclamation warning the people of the danger at Chicago next month.

Hon. Isaiah T. Montgomery.  
EVENING GLOBE

New York City

### Political Slavery in the South.

To the Editor of The Globe—Former Senator William E. Chandler, according to press despatches, says that Hughes would have won the election but for the failure of the Republican party since 1908 to put a Negro suffrage plank in its national platform. Platform expressions are sometimes merely "a scrap of paper." If Mr. Chandler means that it is the indifference of the Republican party leadership in recent years to the political conditions in the south, then his point is well taken.

He is, however, not aware of the political conditions in the south if he limits the aggressions of the southern political oligarchy to limitation or elimination of Negro suffrage. The fact is that the political machines dominating the southern states, through one form or another of partisan intrigue, have exercised minority control through the subversion of a real democracy.

Holding back the returns in the black belt, counting whatever vote was necessary to overcome opposition majorities in other districts, was once the plan of the Democratic machine in the southern states. Contests for seats in congress caused this system to give way to the present disfranchisement method. This present method eliminates practically all blacks, and has so operated in reducing the electorate of rural whites that minority government is a walk-over for the machine.

Voluntary payment of poll tax, cumulative poll tax, tactics applied in registration of voters, partisan control of registration, and various other devices discourage voting among whites until only a third of the white males of voting age have the ballot in many of the congress districts and states of the south. The so-called election laws were passed to facilitate the political supremacy of the machine Democracy, and the results arising from their application demonstrate the motive beyond doubt.

The conditions, therefore, have evolved a situation which is not solely one affecting Negro suffrage. It is in reality a condition of political slavery through methods of repression of the masses of the people of the south without regard to race. This defiance of the suffrage guarantees of the constitution of the United States is not resorted to as necessary to maintain white supremacy, but it is a method of exploitation of the masses of the people of the south by a system of minority government. The truth of the whole matter is that it has been made less difficult for the southern political manipulators to "get by" with their partisan political juggling, for the very reason that northern public sentiment has acquiesced in this political manipulation on account of a sort of understanding that they have to do those things down there in the south "to preserve white civilization."

This whole southern question is not one of Negro suffrage. It is one of political justice and constitutional liberty without regard to race.

As a native southerner, for twenty-five years active in public life in Alabama, a leader of the Republican-Populist fusion movement, member of the Alabama legislature, investigator of social, educational, and political conditions, I have had the opportunity to study at first hand the subject under discussion. Political domination in Ala-

bama and other southern states is one of government by intrigue. Formerly it was a system of control by fraud and of violence, whenever and wherever it was necessary.

To the general statement that the Republican party went to its defeat through the gross injustice of the southern system and its unfairness to the rest of the country I give my assent. It is my judgment that this barbarous system of political slavery in the south is just as obnoxious as was chattel slavery, and until the Republican party faces its duty as to this issue its defeat is merited.

JOSEPH C. MANNING.

New York, Nov. 27.

## DESPERATE BIDS FOR NEGRO VOTES

Both Sides Are Courting the Colored Citizens for Votes at Republican Primaries.

Special Correspondence of Every Evening

Dover, Aug. 17.—Bids for the Negro vote never were bolder or more brazen than now. Nightly meetings have been held throughout Kent county, this week, and tomorrow night there will be a grand wind-up, when Organization leaders will have a parade and meeting here to be addressed by whites and blacks. All this is in preparation for the Republican State Convention primaries, next Saturday.

Last evening the Organization held a meeting at Camden, which was to be addressed, with Daniel O. Hastings, city solicitor of Wilmington, announced as a speaker. An anti-Organization meeting here also was held last night, having the Cambridge, Md., Negro band to furnish music. Every effort is being made by both factions of the Republican party to secure the Negro vote at Saturday's election.

So guarded is the Organization in Kent county as to the list of their delegates, to be voted for on Saturday, that they have absolutely refused to give out the list for publication. All efforts to secure a list have proved futile.

A member of the Organization county committee yesterday admitted that the greatest secrecy is being maintained as to the tickets, both in printing and distribution, and that they will not be handed out until Saturday morning, when they will be sent to the several county committeemen by mail, or delivered by automobile. It is said that even county committeemen, in some instances, do not know who their delegates will be.



Memorable Times

Appeal

POST

EVENING GLOBE

organize as other races have done for betterment of race in the community, in the state, in the nation, and a larger measure of racial recognition in the political arena.  
New York, Aug. 15.  
ROLLIE ROE.

GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

1916

ss: Washington, D. C.

s: New York City

## ASKS VOTES FOR WOMEN

### Be a Man.

Be a man. The country will take care of itself. It is up to us to take care of Memphis, of Shelby County and Tennessee.

On the eve of an important election many are easily lured by the cheap wares in the political market.

Today we are face to face with the most serious proposition that has confronted the people of Memphis since the day that John Overton and Dr. Porter rescued the city from an almost impossible condition of affairs.

Plague stricken, bankrupt, a mere skeleton of a once prosperous community, a movement was instigated and the result is known.

A similar crisis is now before us.

In the days of 1878 no one paused to argue party lines. There was only one issue, and that was to act for the best interests of the city. It is an issue that everyone who goes to the polls tomorrow must consider. It is not a question of politics, it is not a question of personal likes or dislikes, it is the grave problem of how the interests of the city can best be advanced and how they can best be maintained.

The day of disorder should be over. It is not entirely over, however. A drunken negro on a city-bound East End car yesterday afternoon, at 1:30 o'clock, vomiting out of the back end of the motor, proved just how the negro is being framed up for votes tomorrow.

Inasmuch as the trailer and the motor were both packed with people, no one will question the statement.

The fact that a drunken negro should exercise the right of franchise in determining an issue which means the fate of a city and a state is preposterous.

But here it is. Be a man. Forget old grievances. Throw off the old shackles, come out into the clear, act for the best interests of the city regardless of personal feeling.

It is no time to split hairs. The fight is practically won, but nothing is certain in this world except death and taxes. The only way to make a thing certain is to get away from the old idea of letting the other man do the voting. This time be a real man, make up your mind, go to the polls and vote. Take no chances. Remember the future of Memphis is an issue.

## Congress of Colored Educators Indorses Suffrage in Resolutions.

### Representative Dyer and Others Speak—U. S. Officials Thanked. Sessions End Today.

The closing sessions of the negro national educational congress were held yesterday at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church. At the morning session resolutions were introduced empowering the president to appoint a commission to investigate and compile a text book of negro literature which shall be placed in libraries throughout the country. The commission consists of Prof. John W. Cromwell, Prof. O. O. Nance, Mrs. Julia Layton and Miss Nannie Burroughs. Samuel C. Westfield, Mrs. Dorcas Watson and Mrs. William F. Francis spoke encouragingly of the work done by the congress. The National Memorial Association was indorsed. A resolution was introduced by O. O. Nance and adopted, thanking the Washington press for its fair and generous treatment of the sessions. The bulletin of negro facts issued by the Department of Commerce and the bureau of census, was indorsed and appreciation of the work done by Charles E. Hall, William Jenifer, Robert A. Phelam, S. L. Rogers, was expressed.

Among the speakers at the night session was John C. Dancy. Prayer was made by the Rev. Lott. Miss Virginia Williams gave a solo with Prof. William Braxton, accompanist.

Prof. Thomas discussed the history of the several black republics.

Race disturbances were discussed by Dr. W. C. De Barry. Representative L. Dyer delivered a stirring address to the congress.

At the close of Mr. Dyer's address a motion was made by Mrs. J. Emby to the effect that a rising vote of thanks be tendered to him for his remarks. The motion was adopted.

Dr. J. R. A. Crossland, of Missouri, made the closing address, relating the history of Representative Dyer's first entrance into politics, and also their acquaintance in Missouri.

A resolution indorsing woman suffrage was presented by the Rev. W. C. De Berry, and adopted by the congress. Mr. John H. Paynter read an original poem, entitled "The Black Hundred." A business session tomorrow morning, presided over by President S. J. Harris, will end this year's meeting of the congress.

## The Negro Vote.

To the Editor of The Globe—I wish to answer the letter by R. M. Bolden in to-day's Globe. I am a southerner born and raised. The majority of the Negroes in the south are not "loyal, faithful, intelligent, and industrious." This can be proven by a trip through the Negro quarters of any southern city or town. There you see many men lying around on broken furniture, or, in the absence of that, on the floor. The women, slovenly and dirty, with half a dozen scantily clad children, are usually sitting in the doorway or on the steps.

From the tone of Mr. Bolden's letter it seems to me that he would organize the "Negro voters" and then sell them to the highest bidder. R. C. B. New York, Aug. 15.

To the Editor of The Globe—It was with sincere pleasure I read in yesterday's issue Richard M. Bolden's letter which was headed "Negro Political Union." It is an added pleasure to know The Globe is strong and fair enough to publish such a letter.

HENRY C. PARKER. New York, Aug. 15.

To the Editor of The Globe—I appreciate to the fullest the effort of the Rev. Mr. Bolden to drive home to the mind of the colored citizen the necessity of unifying his voting power, making it a solid force in determining what policies shall regulate the affairs of this republic.

Mr. Bolden says: "If the Negro leaders will teach the masses the next four years the things which organization will do for them both of the big parties and their candidates will seek the Negro vote." True, but the life and effectiveness of an organization depend largely upon the calibre of its leaders. Most of our colored leaders, who seem to possess more self-consciousness than race-consciousness, have felt quite satisfied to revive the spirit of organization once every four years, keeping it alive until their selfish ambition has been realized and then allowing it to die. The appointment to office of a few of our political lights does not satisfy us; we are not satisfied with political deals and bickerings such as most of our leaders engage in. The Negro is destined to become a potent factor in the industrial life of this country, and an organization such as the one suggested would not be amiss, provided the leaders are men of unbending integrity and sincerity. The abolition of slavery was only a partial emancipation. We are looking forward to an emancipation complete and unconditional—one that will obtain for ten millions of colored souls industrial and economic freedom.

DANIEL T. TEAGLE. Tarrytown, Aug. 16.

To the Editor of The Globe—The Rev. Dr. Bolden is first to suggest a real political union for the colored people. The suggestion ought to bear timely fruit.

A national political union such as he suggests should be organized immediately and supported by each interested colored person donating ten dollars to the cause after proper officials have been selected to organize the union into state groups or sectional units. The undersigned will gladly forward ten dollars as soon as such a union has been regularly organized.

Neither one of the two predominant old parties will ever pay much attention to the colored vote until we give national circulation.

## THE BASIS OF OUR PROSPERITY

To the Editor of The Republican:—

Slavery was the underlying cause of the Confederate war. It had to be reckoned with in order to "form a more perfect union" of the original 13 states. It was their purpose to remove the inherited incubus. Some of the states had taken measures to manumit their slaves. They were still under constitutional obligation to continue to protect the institution.

John Macdonald of New Orleans had solved the slavery problem by allowing his 1000 slaves to earn their own liberty 10 years before the civil war. They went by shiploads to their fatherland, Liberia, a happy mass of humanity. The Legislature of Louisiana refused to legalize measures to hold and enjoy property so earned. There were 3,000,000 slaves, which at an average of \$500 apiece, would have enriched their masters to the extent of 1 1/2 billion of dollars.

The republican party was formed when Abraham Lincoln was elected president. He believed in the constitutional right of slavery and that it should be removed only under the constitution. He made no war of slavery.

When the colors were assailed by the republicans he was aroused to instant action. Before the close of the war he induced Congress to authorize him to make compensation for slaves to loyal states. His offers were rejected. Through the arbitrament of arms slavery became extinct and the South became impoverished.

No one wishes slavery back again. All rejoice in a reunited nation. It required the Spanish-American war and Kennedy, objected to Long testifying as to his understanding of what became of the lists.

When questioned as to what he meant by an understanding, Long declared that he meant rumors and reports.

The taking of Long's deposition was halted yesterday because Long was present as a witness only and not as a defendant in the case, no notice of the taking of depositions having been served on him.

The deposition of W. H. Hughes, city committeeman, also was taken. He told of having received the lists at the Democratic state headquarters and of turning them over to the Democratic city headquarters.

Boston, Mass.

CHALLENGE NEGRO VOTERS

"Examine your registration lists carefully and challenge all negro voters and read a circular of instructions just received from Democratic national headquarters by Vance McCormick, Mr. Wilson's campaign manager. Many copies of the circular have been received in Boston and are presumably being given national circulation."

## Long Declares Glenn Planned Wholesale Arrests of Negroes

Edward A. Glenn of Louisiana, Mo., was the originator of the plan for the wholesale challenging and arrests of negroes at the polls on election day, according to testimony given yesterday by Breckinridge Long, president of the Wilson Club in the \$10,000 damage suit of Henry Lucas, a negro, of 309 Lesperance street, against Long, Theodore Sandmann, a deputy sheriff, and John J. Kennedy, Democratic city committeeman. Lucas was one of the many negroes arrested on election day.

Long gave his deposition yesterday before Special Commissioner James A. Kinealy, in Kinealy's office in the Central National Bank Building.

Long testified it was at Glenn's suggestion that young lawyers were put to work taking from the records of the criminal courts the names of men convicted of various crimes and disfranchised.

Long denied he took any actual part in the preparation of the lists of names which were furnished to the Democratic challengers at the polls, but said he had called in several young lawyers and directed them to make up the lists. He estimated that about 17,000 names of men were taken from the criminal records.

Long said the lists were turned over to Glenn. He said he had no personal knowledge as to their being turned over to Glenn, but he had directed his private secretary to do so.

Long said he had no knowledge of what was done with the lists, but he had an understanding of what became of them.

John Cashman, attorney for Sandmann and Kennedy, objected to Long testifying as to his understanding of what became of the lists.

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St. Paul, Minn.

New York City

# NEGRO WANTS ONLY POLITICAL EQUALITY

Former Representative From  
Mississippi Says Black Vote  
Must Not Be Bartered.

"The negro does not want social equality, but he does want political and industrial equality," was the assertion last night of John R. Lynch, former Mississippi representative, in a lecture at Plymouth Congregational church, Mackubin street and Holly avenue.

## Was Born a Slave.

"The Race Problem" was his subject. He told of being born a slave, of being freed by the Civil war and elected to Congress at a time when Republicans were in the majority in the South.

## A Political Question.

"The race problem," he said, "is not a question of race prejudice, but of political conditions. We don't expect social equality. But in industrial life we should be given opportunity because of merit and not barred because of our color. You must take the negro race from politics and not barter its vote."

EVENING GLOBE

New York City

## Prohibitionists Invite Negroes.

To the Editor of The Globe—Your correspondent who proposes a Negro political union says: "The great presidential campaign is on. The candidates of the two big parties are before the people, but so far as I have been able to see there has not been anything said in the platform of either party concerning the welfare of the Negro." Well, that is a fact, but there is nothing strange or unusual about that.

To my mind we will never be free as a nation while king alcohol rules the land. This nation must be saved from a drunkard's grave. Yes, this beautiful homeland of ours must be sobered up before we can hope to enjoy the square deal so much talked about, but I very much fear that the Democratic and Republican parties can never do it. They are not built that way. They know the sidestep too well. The Prohibition party is the only party that can do that job like it should be done. So right here and now is the opportunity for the colored man to join in and help the Prohibition party in this rescue work. I hope that my people will see the advisability of joining—yes, large numbers of them—this strong band of workers that have stood out for all that is grand and noble in politics for more than forty-four years. Come in, there is room. C. A. SIMS.  
New York, Sept. 2.

## Indifference to the Negro Vote.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: Now that the reelection of President Wilson seems assured, it is well to call attention to the very important fact that it is due to the electoral votes of the "solid South." Of these there are one hundred and twenty-six. Quite one-third of the males of this section of voting age are negroes who are denied the right of suffrage, while they are used as a basis of representation in Congress and the Electoral College. Here, then, we have forty-two votes counted in the Electoral College for President Wilson, which, in the light of the Federal Constitution should not be counted at all, unless the negroes upon whom they are based are permitted to vote.

The Republican party, long in power, has treated this question with indifference, and as a part of the negro problem which concerns the negro alone, only to find now that it has cost it the Presidency.

It may be that when the Republican party comes into power again the negro political problem, so-called, will receive the attention it deserves as the problem of the nation and representative democracy.

H. JORDA  
STAB

New York City

JUL 8 1916

WILSON AND THE NEGRO.

In the election of 1912 something more than 100,000 negro votes were cast for Woodrow Wilson for president. This matter formed the subject of discussion at the conference of the M. E. church held in the east and it was the unanimous declaration of the delegates to that convention that the attitude of the administration, and the president in particular, toward the negroes of the United States be condemned, and that the administration be repudiated. The Trotter incident in which an educated negro names W. Monroe Trotter of Boston, who held a governmental position in Washington, was subjected to gross discrimination by his fellow employees at the direction of the president, called the attention of the negro population of the country to the real sentiments of the president and the members of the cabinet. The real truth is, and the negroes should have known it then as well as now, that the president, being of southern birth, is entirely out of sympathy with the negro.

## NEGROES PROTEST AGAINST TREATMENT FROM REPUBLICANS

State Organization Formed by Negroes, Who Will Present Grievances to National Republican Convention

The negroes of Alabama are up in arms over the treatment they have received from the republican organization of the state, and a call has been issued for a meeting here on May 17 to send messengers to the republican national convention to present their grievances. This action was determined upon at a meeting held here Friday night, called by Ad Wimbs of Greensboro, who was chosen chairman of the gathering. J. O. Diffay of Birmingham was elected secretary.

At the preliminary meeting here tentative organization of the negroes of the state into "The Abraham Lincoln Suffrage League of Alabama" was perfected. At the state meeting here in May messengers will be chosen to go to the republican national convention and present the grievances of the negroes of Alabama. They will ask the convention to insert a plank in the republican platform asking for a strict enforcement of the fifteenth amendment to the federal constitution.

Another purpose of the state meeting of the league is to appoint a committee to appear before Governor Henderson and present a complaint against the alleged arbitrary action of the registrars in the state in refusing to register negroes who in all respects meet the requirements of the constitution of the state.

item

NEW ORLEANS, LA.  
4 1916

## "DUTY AS A DEMOCRAT" to Vote for John M. Parker.

Boyce, La., March 26, 1916.

To the Editor of The Item:

Parker sentiment is increasing daily; we expect to carry this box by big majority. The question of the negro has about played out.

I believe I am about as true a Democrat as there ever was, and I believe in voting for John M. Parker. I am doing my duty as a Democrat, and as an unshackled citizen of Louisiana. Democracy in Louisiana needs something to make it wake up and take notice; that something, John M. Parker has, by being courageous enough to make the race

for governor and I have in voting for him. It had to be done, somehow some time, by some one. And here thanking Parker that he is the some one, now, I am,

M. P. HENDERSON,  
A Progressive Democrat

## THE NEGRO WOMAN VOTE.

Nothing to be Scared of in North Carolina.

To the Editor of The Observer:

A news item states that the men of North Carolina fear for white supremacy if negro women are enfranchised. The United States Census Bulletin for 1910 gives the number of white women in North Carolina as 358,000, and the number of negro women as 159,000, a majority of over 199,000 white women.

There are 410,000 more white men and women in North Carolina than there are negro men and women. About 25 per cent of the negro women are illiterate, therefore equal suffrage will greatly increase the white vote. There will be 200,000 more white voters in North Carolina after women are enfranchised.

The proposed Federal amendment enfranchising women does not take from any State the right to make restrictions concerning property and educational qualifications; no law is changed except that disfranchisement must not be on account of sex.

Mississippi and South Carolina are the only States where the number of negro women exceed the number of white women. In South Carolina voters must own and pay taxes upon \$300 worth of property, the same conditions will apply to women voters; in those counties in Virginia in which negro men are in the majority the negroes do not rule because they cannot meet the voting requirements.

In 15 States, Mexico and Africa women do not vote.

VIOLA KAUFMAN.

Washington, D. C., Aug. 16.

STAR

DR. LOUISA M.

## VALUE OF ZOO URGED BEFORE NEGRO VOTERS

Speakers of the Zoological Society advocating the zoo tax, last night addressed a meeting of 200 negro voters at Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine street.

George Dieckman explained at length the purpose of the tax and the advertising value of the zoo to the city. August De Priest, negro Alderman from the Third Ward of Chicago, told those of his race how the Chicago zoo was regarded as of great value to Chicagoans.

Other speakers were: Charles Williams, chairman of the Colored Auxiliary Committee; Dr. C. H. Turner, principal of Sumner High School, and Harry Arnold, the chairman. Frank Schwarz, Gus Frey, Andrew Baur and Henry C. Muskepf, on behalf of the Zoological Society, urged passage of the measure.

The lone negro Phil Brown who went from Kentucky as one of the delegates-at-large to the Republican National Convention at St. Louis found himself very much scorned and spat upon because he ventured to use his little old half a vote as he pleased, without giving way to the dictation of his white political bosses. In the contest between Col. Hert and Col. McCulloch, claiming to be national committeemen, Brown voted for Hert. For this act he was subjected to various kinds of humiliation and scorn by his white colleagues, one of whom tried to displace Brown with another negro for a place sought by the Kentucky colored delegate. Will Kentucky negroes never learn that the Republican party has no use for them, only their votes?

From ENQUIRER

Address: Cincinnati.

Date 8 1916  
KENTUCKIANS IN MUDDLE.

Cutting of At-Large Delegation in  
Half Will Be Necessary.

Louisville, Ky., April 7.—To-day's action of the subcommittee of the Republican National Committee in declaring against double delegations of the Republican National Convention directly affects the Kentucky delegation. Eight delegates-at-large, with one half vote each, were chosen in the recent Republican state convention, instead of four, as heretofore.

Leading Kentucky Republicans stated here late to-day that under the National Committee's mandate the members of the delegation at large from Kentucky would have to meet and settle among themselves which four would go to Chicago. Negro Republicans express gratification over to-day's rulings, as they had insisted that since seven of the at large delegation were white Republicans negro representation had been cut in half. They are confident the one negro chosen, Phil H. Brown, will be retained on the at-large body.

The other delegates elected were: Edwin P. Morrow, Augustus E. Willson, Caleb Powers, John Langley, W. Marshall Bullitt, Richard P. Ernst and E. C. O'Rear.



# The Negro Problem

Practical And The Impossible  
loads To Woman Suffrage.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—Sir: The letter of Mrs. Funk and the ease with which the militant advocates of woman suffrage are fooled by the political claptrap of Mr. Hughes, in his advocacy of a Federal amendment to the Constitution for woman suffrage, are almost enough to disillusionize the male friends of the cause.

Mr. Wilson not only is an advocate of woman suffrage, but went home to vote for it in the only way it will ever be adopted. The reason why the Hughes advocacy of the amendment is mere political claptrap is that he knows, as we all know, as President Wilson knows, that with the ever-present terror of negro political influence, not a legislature in a single Southern State from Maryland down and including Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico, 17 States in all, not counting a single Northern or Western State, will ratify such an amendment for 50 years to come.

These States have had one amendment on suffrage, the Fifteenth, and that today would be vetoed by at least one-half of the states of the Union. That amendment was responsible for the "Ku-Klux Klan" and the terrible evils of reconstruction, and all the other evils which have corrupted and degraded the negro race in a political way. They all know that woman suffrage would immensely increase the ignorant negro vote without an equal gain in the intelligent white vote. It is a mere political trick.

I trust our women voters will not fail to note the real economic advances made by this Administration, the last one—child labor—the best of all, and that was due to Mr. Wilson's personal efforts and insistence. Look again and see the effects of the parcel post, thanks to our "Davy" Lewis, which, instead of an average deficit of over \$20,000,000 in the Postal Department, turned in over \$5,000,000 in surplus. This will lead to a still greater adoption of parcel post reduction in rates. This is already benefiting the farmer and the consumer of his produce.

News

Wilmington, Del.

STATE.

The scheme of the machine to have a meeting of Negro voters in Kent county indorse the candidacy of Senator duPont by resolution failed.

That machine rule in Kent county is at an end is the prediction of the Independent leaders of the middle county.

Cornerstone of the New-Century Club of Middletown laid.

Sussex farmers expect high prices for wheat, apples and sweet potatoes.

The Crisis, the monthly magazine published by the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, offers some very interesting matter on the relation between the Negro problem and the suffrage question. It says that the South is doing everything to make woman suffrage a Negro problem, and quotes the following letter in a Southern newspaper as the type of stuff that is being used to foment trouble. This is supposed to be written by a Northern woman:

"It is beyond the comprehension of one who has traveled in this region to imagine how any Southern white women could have been inveigled into a movement so fraught with danger to the best interests of that section and which is so menacing, not only to its social, political and economic future, but to its very existence.

"We of the North have become accustomed to the suffrage assertions constantly reiterated from their platforms, that the white women of the country are in the same condition as the ante-bellum male Negroes of the South, and that we, too, need emancipation. We are used to the spectacle of suffrage workers pleading with Negro men to give white women the ballot, and we are perfectly familiar with the jibes thrown at the anti-suffrage women to the effect that, like the black slaves of the sixties, we do not realize our slavery, and have not mental capacity to desire political freedom.

"Southern chivalry should be, and undoubtedly is, based upon more solid foundations. In kindness to the misguided suffrage women themselves, as well as for the political and racial welfare of all, and the prosperity and progress of their sovereign States, Southern men should refuse to heed the foolish and fatal song of the suffrage sirens."

In interesting contrast is the following reply by the colored women of Columbus, Ohio, to an appeal for help issued to them by the organized suffragists:

"We are of the opinion that in a general sense there is no good reason why all women should not have suffrage. If by assisting in the procurement of this great constitutional right we do not injure ourselves, and, on the contrary, can add anything to our means of defense

and betterment as a race, we are willing to do it. It is certain that the granting of suffrage would be of no practical advantage to colored women, if by the enfranchisement of white women we help to increase the number of our civil and political oppressors. We have opposition enough in our struggle as a race for our civil rights and cannot consent to increase the forces against us.

"We have the impression that some of the members of your organization favor race discrimination and segregation as against colored people with reference to their political and civil rights. In fact, it has been stated that much of the race discrimination now apparent in places of public entertainment, amusement, hotels, soda fountains (even in our department stores), and discrimination against colored employes has its origin among the prominent white women of this city, including some of your association.

"We believe in the homely maxim, 'One good turn deserves another.' We are willing to co-operate with you in the effort to obtain the adoption of a suffrage amendment to the Constitution on certain considerations and conditions: we are willing to assist you, if you are willing to assist us. If your association will actively and earnestly aid us in our movement to prevent race discrimination in this city against colored people, and will co-operate with us at all times, and ways, to prevent the abuses to which we are constantly subjected in public places of accommodation and enjoyment, in residence localities, office buildings, employment, etc., we will use our influence energetically among the men of our race to further the adoption of the suffrage amendment, and will co-operate with you fully and sincerely in the promotion of your cause at all times and places where it is wise and profitable that we should do so.

"It is a generally known fact that the men of our race have been so deceived and mistreated in their efforts to secure justice, and their civil and political rights, that they do not generally favor women's suffrage, because to them the ballot in the hands of white women appears only in the light of an increased number of civil and political oppressors. Therefore, we will have a task of some magnitude and difficulty to prevent their voting against it. But we think if the white women prove their fair-

ness by assisting us as herein mentioned we can wield a great influence with the men of our race if we undertake to do so."

## COLORED CLUB ORGANIZED.

The Westfield Colored Republican Club reorganized at the Town Hall last evening and a resolution was passed to support the candidacy of Hughes and Fairbanks. Officers were elected as follows: President, P. W. Ross; vice-president, Leroy Lloyd; secretary, Hutson Oberley; treasurer, Wilton Robinson; executive committee, P. W. Ross, Leroy Lloyd and Hutson Oberley. It was decided to hold meetings every first and third Tuesday of each month until further notice. About twenty-five men were present and it is expected that the membership will grow to over a hundred in the near future.

we are Cutting Bureau in the World

## Negro for Wilson

All the negroes in the south are now supporters of the progressive or the republican parties. Will Johnson, colored porter of the Chamber of Commerce, and known to most of the business and professional men in Birmingham, leaves tonight for St. Louis to be present when President Wilson is renominated as the standard bearer of the democratic party.

Of course, unlike some of the members of his race, who went to the two conventions at Chicago last week, Will is not a delegate, nor even an alternate to the democratic gathering, but this does not seem to have dulled his enthusiasm for the President. He even "points with pride" to the achievements of the democratic party and "views with alarm" the proposed plans of the republicans and some of the progressives in their attempt to encompass the defeat of the President.

## Conecuh Co. Shows 1,034 Poll Taxes Paid

(Special to The Advertiser.) EVERGREEN, ALA., Feb. 2.—Conecuh county had collected poll taxes from 1,034 voters when the poll tax books were closed last night by Tax Collector Oliver. This is a gain of 219 over the number who paid poll tax last year. Practically 50 per cent of this number has been paid within the last few days. The quickened interest in the payment of poll taxes this year was caused by the approaching election of county officers in May.

## COLORED VOTERS RATIFY NEW REPUBLICAN TICKET

Special to THE EVENING JOURNAL. DOVER, Del., Aug. 24.—At a meeting of the Colored Hughes-Fairbanks Republican Club Tuesday night, a resolution was adopted to support the Republican State ticket as named by the convention on Tuesday. This practically means the solid vote of the colored element for the entire Republican State ticket.

From BULLETIN  
Address: Philadelphia, Pa.

## Colored Women Should Ignore Suffrage

To the Editor of "The Bulletin." Sir: The National Women's Suffrage Association is looking forward to some form of recognition in the coming Presidential campaign, and they are taking the issue very seriously.

I am not in favor of women, whether they be white or black, measuring arms with men in government affairs. Man is the head of the house; woman has her place in the world. The negro woman of the South is not to be taken seriously in this matter, for they are confronted with a problem more perplexing than the ballot, and if it should come before them they would be wise to ignore the issue. Our beloved Dr. Booker Washington so often in his

lectures said it was hard to hold a man in a ditch unless you stayed in there with him. This United States, means justice and the negro is here to stay. When malice, prejudice and hatred take flight then the spirit of God will rule in the hearts of men and color will not be mentioned.

J. L. PARKER  
St. Paul, Minn.

## TEXAS G. O. P. BARS NEGROES AS VOTERS

Contests for Seats Mark State Session—Bull Moose Rampant for Roosevelt.

(By Associated Press.)

Fort Worth, Texas, May 23.—Negroes were eliminated as voting factors in the Texas Republican convention here today. Contests over seating of delegates, in which the negro question was predominant, occupied the convention throughout the day and made a night session necessary.



**NEGRO WOMEN DISCOURAGED.**

Chicago, Nov. 9.—[Editor of The Tribune]—It is very discouraging to 19,000,000 American citizens when such influential women as Miss Jane Addams and Miss Mary McDowell vote for a party which is dominated by men of the Thimman-Vardaman type, a party whose policy is to disfranchise and oppress one-fifth of its citizens for no other reason than race hatred.

We who live in the same city with these two noble women had hoped that they would speak one word, at least, in our defense during this campaign.

We feel that the humiliation and oppression to which we have had to submit during the last four years are as worthy of some notice as the eight hour law for a few hundred men of another race.

We also feel that the peonage practiced in the south is of as much importance as the child labor law.

MRS. K. J. BILLS.

**Negroes "Shocked"**

Indiana Democratic politicians, who have been planning to make a bid for colored votes this fall, were shocked when a Arkansas Democratic congressman introduced a bill in Congress the other day to prevent colored men from enlisting in the army or navy. This added manifestation of the old time hatred of the negro race by the Democratic party came at a most inopportune time for the Indiana Democratic politicians who have been figuring that possibly they might fool some of the colored Indiana voters into voting their ticket at the coming election.

On July 27th, 1916, Representative Caraway introduced the following bill in Congress:

A Bill to prevent the enlistment of Negroes in the Military service of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

That hereafter there shall not

be enlisted or re-enlisted in the Military service of the United States, either in the army or navy, any person of the negro or colored race.

All laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

VIRGINIAN

**COLORED REPUBLICANS DEMAND RECOGNITION**

Colored Republicans of Richmond met in True Reformers' Hall Saturday, when delegates who sought recognition in a Republican mass meeting of the city and the Third Congressional District on March 8, made a report.

Under instructions from a previous meeting at this meeting a congressional convention was called, to be held April 3, at True Reformers' Hall, to elect a delegate and alternate to the Chicago convention, June 7, and to elect a chairman and district committee to nominate a candidate for Congress and a candidate for presidential elector.

A committee of five was named to issue an address to the colored voters of the Third District as was a committee of fifteen on ways and means. It was decided to meet in joint session with the Civic League of the city in the Richmond Beneficial building,

North Second and Jackson Streets, Wednesday night, when a State convention will be called to elect four delegates and four alternate delegates to Chicago; to elect a chairman and State central committee and a national committeeman.

Bee, Washington, 8/26/16

A news note from the Richmond, Va., Planet and reproduced in this week's Bee, to the effect that a delegation of Virginia colored men headed by Giles B. Jackson, will call on President Wilson and assure him of their support for re-election to the Presidency of the United States. Giles always keeps himself in the "limelight." He is one Negro who is of the opinion that President Wilson is entitled to his support. As a matter of fact Giles has no following whatever. It is doubtful whether a half dozen colored voters in his entire state will follow him. Oklahoma Patterson and Exposition Jackson would make a great combination.

**NEGRO CONVENTION TAKES UP RACE ISSUE**

Goes Into General Questions After Storm Day Discussing Political Situation.

After a day of political discussion yesterday, during which a resolution was adopted indorsing the candidacy of Hughes and Fairbanks, the delegates to the tenth annual session of the Negro National Educational Congress settled down to discussion of gentler topics today.

The morning's session was taken up with consideration of two subjects, "Is the History of the Several Black Republics the Highest Evidence of the Negro's Ability of Self-Government?" and "Is There Any Justification for Race Hatred in America?"

At yesterday's session the introduction of the resolution indorsing Hughes and Fairbanks precipitated a heated discussion, many of the delegates taking the stand that it was a wise thing to indorse Republican candidate after Republican candidate just because he was a Republican.

After a few acrimonious minutes the officers persuaded the unruly delegates of the wisdom of the resolution, and it was passed without a single dissenting vote. The resolution, after asserting that Democratic misrule has made the condition of the American republic almost intolerable, appeals to patriotic men and women to give their united support to Hughes and Fairbanks, in order that they may "at least enjoy an equal chance in the race of life under the flag of a common country."

This resolution was offered by Dr. J. R. A. Crossland, of Missouri, and indorsed by George T. Wasson, of Kansas City.

TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

**THE DISFRANCHISED NEGRO.**

Woodstock, Ill., Nov. 10.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Your editorial suggesting that government investigators watching the recount of ballots should investigate the "grandmother and grandfather laws" of the south and see whether every colored person was allowed to vote strikes the matter squarely on the head. There is no better time to do it than right now, as the whole mass of Republicans who voted for Hughes are willing to sit up and take the notice of the disadvantage we have in winning the presidential election.

Unless the colored race is allowed to vote in the south the southern states should be deprived of their representation in congress and the electoral college. The managers of our party should immediately attack the legality of the electoral vote of the south.

**NEGRO WOMEN TO VOTE**

5,000,000 Will Be Enfranchise Under Suffrage.

The Rev. Dr. Charles J. Ryder, the well-known Congregational leader, has pointed out in an interview a new problem in the woman suffrage agitation. "If the franchise is granted to women," said he, "it will enfranchise 5,000,000 negro women. The negroes of the South do not generally vote. There is no interest particularly alive to the fact that they do. But if 5,000,000 negro women have the right to vote, then the women of the nation have a special reason to defend this vote, and bring it to the polls. What is to be the outcome?"

"This is a matter to which suffragists and others have not given sufficient attention. It is a serious matter for Church and Nation. But it is only one of many big problems that will come to the front in Christian conventions of the near future. Especially will these do so at Minneapolis, October 17 to 19, when the seventieth annual meeting of the American Missionary Association will be held.

"The industrial development of negroes and Highlanders, as well as Indians, Eskimos, and peoples of Porto Rico and Hawaii challenge America's best efforts. Then here is Latin America—one of the big problems before the Christian public of the United States. Educational processes must be modernized, and given to Mexico in particular, that there may come real citizenship and self development."

at Cutting Bureau in the W.

**MR. PARKER AND THE NEGRO.**

The supporters of John M. Parker denounce as untrue that his election would bring back negro suffrage and they are loud in their protestations that their candidate and the party with which he is affiliated does not stand for negro suffrage. They claim that he and they would not stand for any such state of political affairs in Louisiana.

Well and good. But while Mr. Parker and his party are opposed to negro suffrage we must not forget that there is no such thing in existence as the Progressive party except here in Louisiana; that it has been swallowed by the Republican party and will become thoroughly amalgamated with the old party by June; that the Republican party stands for negro suffrage and social equality between the races and when the amalgamation occurs Mr. Parker and his followers in this state will become a part of the older organization and will have to accept the prevailing principles or get out.—Opelousas Enterprise.

**WHITE RULE IN SOUTH.**

Suffrage to Assure Its Supremacy, Says Mrs. Weed.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—Maintenance of white supremacy in the South is dependent on the enfranchisement of southern women, according to Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, research chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, who offered statistics to-day to prove it.

This was in answer to a statement which President Wilson is reported to have made to a group of Democratic women who called on him recently at the White House to the effect that it was not the question of State's rights, but the negro problem that kept him from declaring for Federal woman suffrage.

"All told, the white women of the South outnumber the negro women by more than 6,000,000 and the total negro population by 2,000,000 or more," says Mrs. Weed. "It is idle, therefore, to argue that the negro problem is a reason for opposing the Federal amendment. The only answer needed is to show the census figures. They dispel all useless fear."

EVENING GLOBE

New York City

**Disfranchisement in the South.**

To the Editor of The Globe—You are continually making the statement in your editorials that Negroes are denied the right of suffrage in the Democratic south, which isn't true. It is untrue, but it seems that a great many people actually believe it.

Laws have been passed in the southern states requiring voters to pass certain literacy tests, which necessarily apply to both black and white alike. I know it to be a fact that illiterate white men are not allowed to vote under these laws, while Negroes with very little education do vote regularly. Probably you will say it is undemocratic, but the illiterate men who are denied their vote under these laws wouldn't know what to do with one if they had it. In the northern and western states, where they are allowed to vote, they go to the polls like so many sheep, and cast their votes the way they are told by some political leader.

New York, Oct. 25

A READER.

**Providence, R. I.**

**Ex-Senator Chandler's View**

(From the Springfield Republican)

Former Senator Chandler of New Hampshire believes that Mr. Hughes would have won if the Republicans had had a negro suffrage plank in their platform. Negro newspapers appear to hold that practically all of the negroes voted for him as it was. The negro issue probably didn't figure materially in the election and it is very doubtful that it could have been made to.



Political-1916

Suffrage  
JOURNAL

Providence, R. I.

COLORED VOTERS OF THIRD

WARD FORM ORGANIZATION

Plans Are Discussed for Holding a  
Public Meeting.

The colored Republican voters of the Third Ward met last night at 456 North Main street for the purpose of forming an organization. It was decided that in keeping with the movement of the voters in the Ninth and other wards to name the body the Third Ward Republican Volunteer Campaign Club.

Arrangements were discussed for a public meeting and the securing of speakers. The next meeting will be called by President S. S. Lacy and Secretary Henry Hurley.

From EVENING POST

Address: New York City

Date: 8-2-1916

Negro Questions Both Candidates.

Eugene McIntosh, president of the Bronx United Colored Progressive Democratic Association, issued to-day an open letter addressed to both Woodrow Wilson and Charles E. Hughes, citing certain oppressive conditions under which the negroes in the United States, particularly the South, live, and asking the Presidential candidates for an expression of their opinion in regard to the colored vote.

in AMERICAN

Address: Baltimore, Md.

te COLORED VOTERS MEET.

Colored voters of all parts of the city held a mass meeting and completed the committee of one hundred who will take an active part to assist in getting a full colored vote registered at Pythian Castle Hall, McCulloh and Preston streets, on Thursday last. Hughes and Fairbanks were indorsed. The committee will hold meetings weekly. The following speakers addressed the meeting: J. C. Price, Rev. James H. Robinson, Alexander Williams, James T. Layton, John Williams. D. W. Richardson presided.

TRIBUNE

: Minneapolis, Minn.

NEGRO EDUCATORS VOTE  
APPROVAL OF HUGHES

Washington, Aug. 25.—The negro national educational congress, holding its annual meeting here, last night adopted a resolution indorsing the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes after an all-day debate in which a minority objected to injecting politics into the organization.

EVENING STAR

Newark, N. J.

APPEALS TO NEGROES TO  
AID FRANKLIN MURPHY

An appeal to the negro voters of New Jersey to support former Governor Franklin Murphy for United States senator has been issued by Oliver Randolph, a local lawyer.

"On his record as a veteran of the civil war alone Governor Murphy should be able to rally to his support every thoughtful colored voter in our State," Mr. Randolph says. "Governor Murphy will be the last, in all probability, of that fast disappearing group of noble men who fought for union and liberty, to aspire to the high office of United States senator from New Jersey."

TIMES STAR

Cincinnati, O.

AUG 1 1916

"Enfranchisement a Crime"

John T. Patrick, North Carolina philanthropist, Monday night, addressing the Colored Y. M. C. A., said: "I consider the enfranchisement of the negro the greatest crime enacted in the history of the United States. I want to see the negro in a position to earn a good living and own a good home. I have never broke bread at a negro's table and never shall, and they respect and honor me for the stand I take." Patrick is one of the supporters of a movement to raise a fund of \$2,000,000 to establish a negro colony on an island off the coast of South Carolina.

POST DISPATCH

St. Louis, Mo.

SEP 2 9 1916

12,737 NEGRO VOTERS REGISTER

Election Board Figures That it Means  
58,316 Negroes in St. Louis.

The registration books in the office of the Board of Election Commissioners contain the names of 12,737 negro voters registered for the November election. The Board has estimated the registration at one voter for each four and one-half of population. On this basis there would be 58,316 negroes in St. Louis.

The negro registration four years ago was less than 12,000. For the segregation election last February, 9240 negroes registered.

Money and the Negro Vote.

For every dollar that the anti-Crump machine could muster the Crump machine had five. The antimachine ticket campaign was fought on a shoestring. The Crump machine voted about 1,800 irresponsible negroes in the city and in the county. These negroes were bought like cattle on the hoof. Those who corralled his vote did the negroes themselves a great wrong, but did the white people of Memphis and Shelby County a greater wrong.

EVENING MAIL

ss: New York City

Negroes Turn to Hughes;  
Resent Wilson Attitude

Wilson campaign managers received a severe jolt to-day when it was learned the negro Democratic organization of the state had flopped, almost bodily, to the Hughes standard. In a letter to the Republican national committee, Ralph E. Langston, chairman of the executive committee of the negro Democracy, announced his intention to support the entire Republican ticket.

Langston says discrimination by the Wilson administration against negroes will alienate every negro voter.

JOURNAL

Providence, R. I.

NINTH WARD REPUBLICAN  
CAMPAIGN CLUB FORMED

William J. Davis Heads Colored  
Voters' Volunteer Organization.

Colored voters of the Ninth Ward formed the Ninth Ward Republican Volunteer Campaign Club at a meeting at 908 Westminster street last night, electing the following officers for the organization: President—William J. Davis; Vice President—Eugene Watts; Secretary—Andrew W. York; Assistant Secretary—Louis L. F. Hyde; Treasurer—George Sullivan.

Resolutions were adopted expressing the club's permanency and its political sentiment, and stating its purpose to be for co-operation with the Ninth Ward Republican committee to the extent that such co-operation will not be to the detriment of the colored citizens of the ward and city.

REPUBLIC

: St. Louis, Mo.

Negro Democratic Club Elected.

The St. Louis Colored Democratic Club has elected the following officers to serve until August 7, 1918: President, George B. Vashon; vice president, J. M. Bachman; secretary, William H. Owens; treasurer, Chas. A. Scott; sergeant at arms, R. W. Watson; assistant sergeant at arms, William Chapman; chairman Executive Committee, C. C. Rankin. This club will maintain headquarters at the Seventeenth Ward Democratic Club's clubhouse, 3133 Pine street.

Negro Voters Meet.

The Negro voters of the Fifth ward held a meeting last evening and organized a Colored Fifth Ward Foreman Club. About fifty members were present, and after organization, officers were elected.

NEGRO WOMAN WILL VOTE

HOOD RIVER, Ore., Feb. 19.—At the coming May primaries Daisy Moody, a domestic in a local family, if her plans materialize, will be the first negro citizen to cast a vote in Hood River County. Her registration indicates the girl is a native of Tennessee. She registers as a Republican.

TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

Negro Question and Robert Ewing.  
Lafayette Advertiser:

If Col. Pleasant and the Democratic speakers find it necessary for their oratorical fireworks to use the negro question as a sort of Roman candle and Mr. Parker must make Robert Ewing the target for his wordy archery, we would suggest that both candidates lay off one week and prepare a detailed and specific statement of what they can and will do if elected and how they will do it. Then give it to the newspapers and let them print it. After that they can resume their interrupted tour conscious that every voter will have had the opportunity to know exactly what legislation and reforms he can expect from each gubernatorial candidate. We submit the suggestion to Col. Pleasant and Mr. Parker.

vote?" This seems like going somewhat farther back than reconstruction days.

From RECORD

Address: Philadelphia, Pa.

Date

NEGRO VOTERS MAKE DEMANDS

Eat Ice Cream, Hear Speeches and  
Pick Officers They Want.

Dover, Del., July 29.—Ice cream and a demand for spoils were the substantial that went with the propagation of political ideals at a meeting of 300 colored anti-organization Republicans in Odd Fellows' Hall last night, under the auspices of the Hughes and Fairbanks Colored Republican Club. Professor A. B. Ruffin, Senator Barnard and Frank Hall Davis were speakers.

The demand for recognition of the colored brother was made in resolutions in which claim was laid to the appointment of a colored school supervisor in each county; a colored messenger to the Governor; the retention of colored officeholders in offices now held; the appointment of a colored doorkeeper at the county building, and the improvement of light facilities and sanitary conditions in districts inhabited by negroes.

Never before have Organization leaders in Kent county displayed such desperation as is manifested by them this year. They seem determined to retain their control of the party at all costs. They are, however, meeting with the vigorous opposition from the better portion of the party, and even some of the Negro voters are breaking away from Organization control.

AUG 2 1916



Item

AUG 17 1916

From \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

CABLE ADDRESS:  
"ROMEIKE" NEW YORK  
The First Established and Most Complete  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World  
From \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_

**"TRYING TO CLOUD  
Says S. P. Watts of  
cratic" Orator.**

Abbeville, La., March 17, 1916.  
To the Editor of The Item:  
Certain campaign orators are trying to cloud the issues of the state campaign by injecting the negro question as a live issue—not only a live, but a livid issue—and in order to square themselves with the "dear people" that are using Booker Washington's works as a "Democratic" text book.

I fail to see the difference between this course or having negroes on the stump to convince the people of the sincerity of the party using such tactics.

I am \_\_\_\_\_ S. P. WATTS  
lung Bureau in the world

The selection of only one polling place in the populous Second ward for next Saturday's Republican primaries, and that one in a section not easy to reach, seems very much like an Organization trick. The South Side, where the polling place is located, is a heavy Negro district and an Organization stronghold.

From **WORLD**  
Address: **New York City**  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**TEXAS G. O. P. BARS NEGROES.**  
FORT WORTH, Tex., May 23.—Negroes were eliminated as voting factors in the Texas Republican Convention here to-day. Contests over seating of delegates, in which the negro question was predominant, occupied the convention throughout the day and made a night session necessary for the election of delegates to the National Convention.

From **PIONEER PRESS**  
Address: **St. Paul, Minn.**  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**Negro Educators Indorse Hughes.**  
Washington, Aug. 24.—The Negro National Educational congress, holding its annual meeting here, tonight adopted a resolution indorsing the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes after an all-day debate.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the world

**Negroes to Have Democratic Club.**  
GEORGETOWN, Del., March 28.—A Democratic Negro club will be organized in Seaford within a few days. The organization is being backed by some prominent Negro politicians of this town.

**COLORED VOTERS REQUESTED TO MEET TUESDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 8.**  
The Colored voters of Norfolk are requested to attend a special meeting to be held at the Norfolk Auditorium, 731 Church street, Tuesday night, February 8, 1916. Matters of much importance are to be considered and every Colored voter in the city is urged to be present.

GEORGE W. FOREMAN, Chairman.

**NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND WOMAN  
DITTO.**

The writer of "As She Sees It," in the Lowell Courier-Citizen asks if it was fair to force Negro suffrage on the South, "why it is any worse to force woman suffrage upon Massachusetts." In the opinion of The News it would not be as bad—but it was neither wise nor kind to the Negro, to force his right to vote upon him and the South in the way it was done. It led to most of his troubles during the quarter of a century after the war. Nearly every one now recognizes that gradual suffrage for the Negro would have been better for him, better for the South, and better for the nation. Today, Negro suffrage, or even Negro freedom, is but a name in some parts of the South.—Salem News.

**NEGROES ENDORSE HUGHES.**

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25.—The Negro National Educational congress, holding its annual meeting here last night, adopted a resolution endorsing the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes after an all-day debate in which a minority objected to injecting politics into the organization.

**SENATOR OWEN'S HESITANCY.**

It is not surprising that Senator Owen, of Oklahoma, should hesitate to press his resolution providing for an investigation of the expenditure of money by the Republican National Committee. A party that disfranchises almost the entire Negro population of the South, by indirect legislation of the States, will likely be very careful how it aims criticism at its opponents.

From thirty-five to forty of the electors who will reelect President Wilson were chosen by certain Southern States in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which provides that in such cases the basis of representation in the Electoral College shall be reduced in proportion to the number of citizens denied the right to vote. The enforcement of this provision would defeat Wilson, and throw the election into the House of Representatives.

From **POST**  
Address: **Chicago, Ill.**  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

**VOTE IN FLORIDA.**

In its anxiety to bar the colored citizen from the polls Florida proposes an amendment to its constitution which will base the right to vote on ownership of \$500 worth of property and ability to read and write and to "interpret" any section of the state constitution.

There are probably not a few colored men in Florida who have amassed the necessary property and who can read and write. If these requirements measured the meshes of the franchise net, they could squirm thru. But when it comes to "interpreting" any section of the state constitution they are asked to do that which not infrequently puzzles able lawyers and makes business for the courts.

It is evident that this arbitrary requirement can be made an effective obstacle to shut out an colored man, since interpretation is a matter of opinion, and the election official can, at his discretion, refuse to accept any interpretation that may be offered. It could shut out all the white men, too, were it not for the convenient "grandfather's" clause which exempts from these tests of citizenship any person, or the lineal descendant of any person, who was entitled to vote in any state or territory prior to Jan. 1, 1867.

Florida is to vote on this preposterous amendment next November. It ought to be defeated and we hope it may be.

The mayor of Atlanta, Ga., has signed a city ordinance making it unlawful for negroes to move into city blocks in which the majority of the inhabitants are white, and, conversely, preventing white people from taking residence in blocks where the majority of the inhabitants are negroes. The matter was at once taken to the courts, and an order was issued enjoining the city from putting the ordinance into effect.

vote him who is the most dangerous kind of an enemy to the public.

"It is such men who are guilty of one of the worst crimes possible in a free government and who ought to be punished to the full extent of the law. Perhaps your investigation may develop who these gentlemen are. If so, I would like to know, and I am sure other exponents of good government and clean politics would like to know.

**Says It Is Not Nonpartisan.**

"I want to say just a word about the 'nonpartisan' committee which I understand, has submitted, or is about to submit, a report for your action. This so-called 'nonpartisan' committee is composed of nineteen men, seventeen of them Republicans and two, by possible construction, Democrats. The 'nonpartisan' chairman of this 'nonpartisan' committee was most active in the recent campaign in the interests of the candidacy of Mr. Hughes and other Republican nominees and wrote a pamphlet severely condemning and criticising President Wilson because of his Mexican policy.

"One of the other nonpartisan members of that committee was for a number of years a Republican appointee in office, was a large contributor to the Republican campaign fund, and recently one of the close advisers, counsellors and co-workers of Mr. Jep Howe of local fame and of the recently defeated nominee for governor, Mr. Lamm. Another member of the nonpartisan committee was also frequently in conference with Mr. Jep Howe, was president of the Lamm for Governor Club and is supposed to have some Republican ambitions lying in the immediate future. One gentleman on the committee I have reason to believe supported the Democratic nominees at the last election, and that is Rev. Dr. J. W. Lee. There is one other member who might be suspected of being a democrat.

"The rest are Republicans—worked, contributed or voted for the Republican nominees.

Such is your 'nonpartisan' committee—17 Republicans to 2 Democrats. I take no cloak of nonpartisanship; I am a partisan, and an energetic one and an honest one, and my every act during the recent campaign was directed toward the success of the Democratic ticket, always, however, observing the law to the fullest extent.

**Asked Shifting of Police.**

"I would like to call your attention further to the fact that this 'nonpartisan' committee, or the committee now masquerading as such, is composed very largely of the gentlemen who signed a petition to the governor and the Board of Police Commissioners, asking that the police be moved from their customary places at the polls on election day. Nine of the nineteen members of this 'nonpartisan' committee signed that petition. These estimable gentlemen have been induced by some one else to assume positions and to sign papers, of the true import and purpose of which they were undoubtedly ignorant and on account of which may have some future regret. The real object in petitioning the governor to have the police moved was to put the police in strange places where they would not know those fraudulently registered and where they would be least effective in protecting the purity of the ballot boxes. The real purpose of the move-



Political - 1916

From Suffrage  
GLOBE DEMOCRAT

Address: St. Louis, Mo.

Date  
**PUNISH ALL ELECTION FRAUDS.**

If any persons induced any negroes or other persons to register illegally at the recent St. Louis election they should be vigorously prosecuted. This is the position of every honest citizen. It is the view of the Nonpartisan Committee which has been investigating election irregularities. The October grand jury would have welcomed evidence of fraudulent registration. The December grand jury will doubtless welcome such evidence, although it should be careful not to give any "immunity baths." Nobody has advanced any proof of such an offense, although the October grand jury has returned three indictments charging other election offenses.

Mr. Breckinridge Long, former president of the Wilson Club, has taken special interest in negro registration. On the morning of the election he was quoted by the St. Louis Republic as declaring that a two months' search of the records of the criminal courts had revealed that in sixteen of the twenty-eight wards of the city there were registered 3000 negroes who had been convicted of crimes that disfranchised them. In a direct statement he was quoted as declaring that he had the court records to back every assertion he made. The Republic explained that "in every instance a transcript was made. These transcripts—3000 in number—are in Long's safe-keeping to back up the arrests which will follow today in every instance that any of these men attempt to vote." These 3000, it will be observed, were exclusive of the "negroes recently come in from the South" and those alleged to have registered from places where they did not reside.

Where are Mr. Long's transcripts? Why were they not used against the negroes that were arrested election day? Why has not the Nonpartisan Committee been invited to take a peep at them? Why were they not sent to the United States attorney instead of an extract of seventeen names from the report of the police canvass, made prior to election, which the governor's appointees did not consider seriously?

The public does not care how few Democrats are on the Nonpartisan Committee. It is interested in having the facts brought to light and in having justice done. It has its own ideas as to whether the practice of shifting the police, under which clean elections were held, was really in the interest of election crookedness. It spurns the insinuation that citizens who asked the shift had bad motives. But the main thing is to punish all kinds of election offenses. Public attention should not be diverted from this by side discussions.

From POST  
Address: Chicago, Ill.

Date  
**THE PROBLEM OF THE SOLID SOUTH.**

The spirit of revenge rather than the wisdom of statesmanship is evident in the proposals now being discussed among Republicans at Washington for solving the problem of the solid South.

The sting of defeat still rankles in the breast of the old guard, and a pencil and a pad of paper are its only requisites for complete demonstration that the old, reliable southern vote was the foundation of Democratic victory. Eliminating the southern tier of states, Hughes had an electoral college majority of 118 and a popular plurality of 239,000. So they figure it, and, having figured it thus, they proceed to plans for eliminating the southern tier, so far as it can be done lawfully.

Of course, the ground for action lies in the prior fact that the South in large measure eliminates the negro vote. Upon this fact is based the proposal to reduce southern representation in Congress and the electoral college in proportion to the number of voters deprived of the ballot. It is estimated that should this be done the South would lose from fifty to eighty members of Congress and a like number of votes in the electoral college.

Now, it must be admitted that there is some justice in the proposal and that it finds support in the Constitution. But, having said so much, we have said all there is to say in its behalf. And there is more to be said against it.

The proposal has this conspicuously objectionable feature: It is designed, primarily, as a measure of aid to the Republican party rather than as a means of ending a condition which is detrimental to the South and contrary to the interests of the whole country.

However important it may be in the thought of some of our politicians that the Republican party should be insured a majority, we conceive it to be of greater importance that the South should be converted to a national viewpoint and delivered from the narrowing and retarding influence of sectionalism.

A remedy that ignores the causes of the disease and proposes merely to make the sufferer less annoying by knocking him over the head is not a remedy that men of genuinely patriotic spirit can approve.

A punitive reduction of southern representation will not tend to decrease southern prejudice; it will not encourage the intelligent white vote of the South to think in national rather than in sectional terms; it will, on the contrary, intensify every divisive feeling and tendency, strengthen sectionalism and postpone indefinitely the happier solution of the problem which we may hope to see gradually reached by the fading out of painful memories, the allaying of suspicion and the

multiplying of commercial, social and cultural ties between North and South.

Statistically, the comparison of votes cast with representatives elected in southern and northern states discloses an amazing disparity. But the problem is not one to be dealt with on a basis of detached statistics. We may easily be misled into a grave injustice to the South if we confine ourselves to the mere figures. The present generation is not responsible for the conditions that burden it with a vast number of illiterate colored citizens. The enlightened white population of the South is generously and vigorously moving to meet this situation. Its work has not been made easier by the manner in which the Republican party has exploited the illiterate colored vote in the past. If the Republican party now uses the disfranchised colored vote as a means for reducing the South to political ineffectiveness nationally, it will make the solid South permanent and it will make it discontented and rebellious.

We hope the Progressive-Republican element of the party will not be persuaded to follow this mischievous leadership. In it, we trust, will be found a clearer apprehension of the problem. It is for it to labor so that there may be created a second national party which can command the respect and confidence of southern intelligence. There must be an end of using the negro as a party asset. There must be a broad and worthy appeal to the Americanism of the South. Thus only, slowly and yet surely, will prejudice be overcome and the solid South be merged into the nation.

From POST DISPATCH  
Address: St. Louis, Mo.

Date  
**PUNISH ALL ELECTION RASCALS.**

Charges of fraudulent registration by negroes based upon alleged facts cited by Breckenridge Long in a letter to United States District Attorney Oliver cannot be ignored in an investigation of election frauds in the city.

Mr. Long directs attention to a report filed with the Chief of Police and the Board of Election Commissioners, containing the names and addresses of negroes who were registered but alleged to be disqualified from voting for specific reasons. Among the reasons were noncompliance with the residence law and conviction of felonies. Others he charged were registered from vacant lots and unoccupied houses. Mr. Long submits a list of names and addresses of registered voters alleged to be disqualified which were selected at random as an exhibit.

We would have more faith in the nonpartisan character of the so-called nonpartisan committee of citizens which employed Mr. Bates to investi-



## NEGROES PAY POLL TAX.

## President of Union Will Turn in 867 for Longshoremen.

Albert Workman, president of the Longshoremen's Protective Union Benevolent Association, Local No. 231, will file the names of 867 negro longshoremen who have paid their 1916 poll taxes through the association. Every three months a twenty-five cent collection is taken, and, at the end of the year, those who have paid regularly are credited with paying their poll tax. The union files its list collectively and, after obtaining receipts from the city treasurer, each negro receives papers showing he has aided the public schools.

The 1916 total is considerably larger than that of last year and President Workman believes this year's figure a record. The longshoremen's organization works in harmony with the Colored Screwmen's Association on this matter. Some 800 longshoremen are members of the screwmen's union and pay their poll tax with that body.

Thanksgiving Day was observed by the longshoremen with a dinner at 2:30 o'clock. The honor guests were the founders of the association forty years ago. The program was featured with a sermon by Rev. John Markes, assisted by Thomas Clarke, chaplain. A. J. Ellis was the toastmaster and President Workman was master of ceremonies. There were approximately 150 at the tables.

of their battle to strip the Executive of his power, now willing to surrender all the fruits of their victories in the past to satisfy the whims and ambitions of John M. Parker?

Ruffin G. Pleasant and the Democratic party are irrevocably opposed to these three propositions. They are for the broadest possible scheme of home rule. They say that if a constitution is to be written it ought to be the work of a representative body, chosen by the masses and not hand-picked from the classes by an autocratic Executive. They hold that the security of the State from the perils

which beset it in the days of unrestricted manhood suffrage is to be found in the maintenance and, if need be, the strengthening of the White Primary.

Mr. Parker will be beaten because he stands for the return of the Republican party to power in Louisiana.

He deserves to be beaten because he stands for the upbuilding of a Centralized Power at Baton Rouge and the embezzlement of rights which belong inalienably to the people.

Help to beat him decisively by **STAMP-**

**ING THE ROOSTER BE NOT DISCOURAGED**

The great mass of the Negro-American voters had their heart and soul concentrated on the election of Hughes to the presidency. They needed a change and they wanted a change from the race proscription policy of President Wilson to the broader and wiser policy of fair dealing as proclaimed by Hughes. If they have lost Hughes this time, they need not be discouraged for "Truth crushed to earth will rise again, for the eternal years of God are hers." In this election the Negro did his duty. He stood solidly by the Republican party and if the Negro, North or South, had had free access to the ballot, Hughes would have been elected by an overwhelming majority.

*St. Louis Argus 11/17/16*  
The Negro vote in the North is growing larger and larger because the Negro population, in large numbers, is migrating from the South to the North, and soon the vote which the South rejected will become the corner stone of Republican success in the North. But the Negro don't come North to vote, he comes North for work and better wages, for protection to his life, for better education for his children and for the free scope the North gives to all honorable ambitions. It is that idea that makes the Negro vote the Republican ticket and with a man like Hughes carrying its standard he stood manfully for the cause.

gate election frauds if it had gone into the interested in the negro, why have they never taken steps to reduce the representation of the Southern States? They long ago nullified the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment. In fact, they sold it out in 1876.

If the Federal Government is ever to assume control of elections in order to compel honesty and fair play, Pennsylvania needs its ministering attentions quite as much as any other part of the United States. Will Senator Penrose frame a Force Bill that applies to the peculiar conditions of corruption existing in Pennsylvania and allows the United States to insure to Philadelphia, for example, an election untainted by bribery, intimidation and fraud?

## REMEMBER THE ISSUES.

If John M. Parker were not a Progressive and his election did not threaten the return of the Republican party to power in Louisiana there would still be THREE VITAL reasons why Mr. Parker should be defeated.

**REASON 1.—He stands for the abolishment of the White Primary and the return of the convention system.**

This would mean the division of the whites into parties, with the negro resuming his place as a balance of power.

**REASON 2.—He is for the Short Ballot.**

Under it the people would elect the Governor and Lieutenant Governor and the Governor would appoint the Attorney General, Auditor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Superintendent of Education, Commissioner of Agriculture and Register of the Land Office. He would control the appointees of all these officers. His influence would ramify into every parish. Inevitably he would become the head of the greatest Political Machine in the South.

**REASON 3.—He is for a constitutional convention of twenty-five, two from each congressional district and nine to be appointed by himself from the State at large.**

Even if he did not have the naming of those from the congressional districts he would only need to gain four of the sixteen absolutely to control the convention; and he could then write a constitution to suit his will.

All three of these propositions are undemocratic. They run counter to the principles for which the masses of the people of Louisiana have been fighting for many years.

Are Louisianians, after the stressful years

charges of both parties. It has presented evidence only against Democratic election officials; but we will not cavil at its efforts. We accept the indictments of Democratic election officials as good work as far as it goes. It has not yet gone far enough.

Democrats ought to be as much interested as Republicans in the uncovering of election frauds and the punishment of election rascals. They ought to go on record as in favor of a thorough house-cleaning and do their full share of the work of gathering and submitting evidence. Proof of fraudulent registration would justify their challenges at the polls and their efforts to prevent illegal voting.

The public, however, is not interested in partisan charges and counter charges except in so far as it contributes to the work of bringing out facts upon which prosecutions can be based. We are not depending upon partisan or nonpartisan committees. We look to prosecuting officers charged with the duty of legal inquiry and prosecution for results.

Charges of fraud, with information of facts implicating fraud which may be obtained, ought to be sufficient for the United States District Attorney and the Circuit Attorney. Let us have all the facts that can be obtained. Let us have prosecutions of all those against whom evidence can be found, regardless of party affiliations.

Punish the election rascals of all parties.

From **WORLD**

Address: New York City

Date

BOIES PENROSE, REFORMER.

The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States was ratified in 1868.

During the forty-eight years that have elapsed, the Republicans have been in control of the Presidency thirty-six years, and in control of both branches of Congress for the greater part of that thirty-six years. In all that period no Republican President or Congress has ever undertaken to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides for a reduction of representation "when the right to vote at any election \* \* \* is denied to any of the male members of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime."

Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania, the home and fountain of election purity, has prepared another Force Bill providing for Federal control of elections in order that the negro shall vote in the South. If Republican politicians are really so



Political - 1916

Suffrage

AUG 1 1916

## COLORED VOTERS ACTIVE IN KENT CO.

Three Meetings Held Last Week  
at Which Speeches Were Made,  
Showing United Action.

DOVER, Del., July 31.—Friday evening last, a large representation of colored people of Dover, Smyrna, Camden, Wyoming and Viola paraded in a procession from the colored club-room on Kirkwood street to the Green and back down State, Lookerman, Queen and Division streets to Odd Fellows Hall. They were headed by the Smyrna band, under the leadership of Hiram Johnson and followed by the several delegations from the various towns, the Hughes and Fairbanks Colored Club bringing up in the rear. Red lights, banners with various inscriptions and flags were in display. Joseph Cook, veteran of the Civil War, carried an old tattered flag used by his company. The procession was fully three, probably four blocks long.

At the hall a mass meeting was held, Dr. William M. Henry presiding. The meeting was opened with a short prayer by the Rev. Murphy of Smyrna, a part of the platform of the club was read and explained by the chairman. A. B. Ruffin, of Dover, was the first speaker. He portrayed the condition of the present political system as it affects the Negro and aroused the audience to a high enthusiasm.

J. C. Robinson, of Lewes, followed. His time was limited, but, he told several stories which were applicable to the political situation. He showed that some men who had been slandered the most, in many respects were the most worthy of commendation. "Negroes," he said, "are qualified to fill and should receive positions in many state and national affairs from which they are now excluded." He was applauded again and again.

The Rev. John W. Jefferson of

Philadelphia, ex-pastor of Whatcoat A. M. E. Church of Dover, urged the Negro to free himself from the political bondage under which he has labored so long. He declared that "we are still good Republicans, and we are seeking the best Republicans to be our leaders."

Frank H. Davis, of Dover, showed that the Republican party had been retreating for the last ten years, pointed out the extent of this movement and declared that it meant a thorough cleansing of the Republican party. "Malicious tales," he said, had been told and are being circulated now."

Senator John A. Barnard stated that he was not built to suit the "Ring," that he stands for principle and is willing to help colored people.

The Rev. L. W. Butcher followed with a few well chosen and well received remarks.

J. Frank Allee appeared in the hall just before the meeting closed. The chairman immediately called upon him to express himself. Mr. Allee said, in substance, that he wished the colored man well, wished them to have their own organizations, and that he would help them at any call. He further asserted that his heart is in this movement and that he yearns for the success of the Republican party.

Remarks were made by Albert Watson and the Rev. Murphy of Smyrna, Joseph Gibbs of Camden, and the Rev. Phillips of Viola. The band gave excellent service and the whole meeting was characterized with unusual interest. The chairman read the remainder of the platform and concluded the meeting with a few remarks.

Ice cream, cake and cigars were served to not less than five hundred.

An open air mass-meeting was held at Blanco church, in Kenton hundred, Thursday evening last.

The pastor of the Blanco church, Rev. Jeremiah Holland presided.

Frank Davis of Dover spoke at some length, and clearly laid before the people the origin of this movement and the object of its aggressiveness. He read the entire platform of the Hughes and Fairbanks Colored Republican Club of Dover, as set forth in its declaration of principles and commended the club for putting such wise and sane principles before the public. He appealed to the people to make an intelligent investigation of this movement and to act on principle. "Let no man intimidate you; let no man boss you; let no man dictate for you," was the gist of his talk.

Mr. Davis dropped the present issue and referred to the history of the white man before the discovery of this country and the importation

of the black man, and showed that free thought and free speech are the essentials of liberty and of the highest type of civilization. He demonstrated, also, that free thinking and free speaking did not mean license, raillery or abuse.

Samuel M. Harper, of Dover, an old shoulder-to-shoulder worker with Mr. Davis, related with great amusement and applause from his auditors, several incidents bearing directly upon his former relations with that gentleman and how happy everybody was under the old regime. Mr. Harper appealed directly to the older men of the community and delivered an ideal campaign speech.

The Rev. L. H. Butcher, of Dover, took up the work of the club in particular and showed the necessity of working together in a body. He emphasized the fact that no defeat is allowable, and that "we can and must demonstrate to the world and to honest thinking people that we will receive consideration."

Samuel Masten, of Dover, owing to the lateness of the hour, would make no speech. He said that all knew their business, and that it was imperative that all do that which they know is their duty.

J. C. Robinson, of Lewes, in his very delightful way, drew near to the people and made it evident that we are thinking, not only here in Dover and Kent county, but that we are thinking away down in Sussex. He reported excellent progress in Cedar Creek, Broadkill, Lewes and Rehoboth, and Indian River hundreds. Mr. Robinson will take an important part in the coming campaign.

The Cheswold band, under the leadership of Harvey Morgan, played several selections.

At the close of the meeting, the chairman expressed himself as having been especially pleased with the proceedings, declared himself in favor of the movement, and avowed his intention to promulgate all our principles among our people and good thinking citizens everywhere.

The entire crowd of two hundred or more people was treated unstintingly to ice cream. Excellent order prevailed, and everybody seemed satisfied and delighted.

The Hughes and Fairbanks Colored Club of Dover, Delaware, divided its forces on the night of July 27, and went to Blanco and Wyoming. A separate report of the Blanco meeting appears elsewhere. The following is a synopsis of the Wyoming meeting:

It was held under the auspices of The Hughes and Fairbanks Colored Republican Club, at Mount Zion A. M. E. Church, Wyoming; Palm Caldwell presided. The speakers were the Rev. L. L. Ashton, Dover; F. L. D. Parker, State College; Dr. William Henry, Dover; Squire Ridgely, the Rev. T. J. Oliver, Senator John A. Barnard.

There were about two hundred peo-

ple present, and an excellent spirit prevailed. At the conclusion refreshments, including ice cream and cigars were served.

On Wednesday evening, last, about forty colored voters organized a club, with Joseph Gibbs president, and Albert Palmer vice-president. Wyoming is in Senator Barnard's district and the colored population is rallying to his standard.

## TO BE FACTOR IN PRIMARIES

New Jersey Voters to Play  
Important Part in Selection  
of G.O.P. Nominees.

SUPPORTING FRELINGHUYSEN

Majority of Voters in State Have  
Come Out in Favor of His  
Candidacy for United States  
Senator.

STOKES QUILTS THE RACE

Had Made Bid for Negroes Support, But  
Found They Were Enthusiastic for  
Ex-State Senator—Race Has Narrowed  
Down to Frelinghuysen and Murphy

(By Staff Correspondent of The Age.)

Jersey City, N. J.—The colored voters of the State of New Jersey are playing the game of politics as it should be played. They have come to the conclusion that it is in the primaries where office-holders are made, not on election day when the nominees of the different parties are contesting for political honors. So with the knowledge that you must first help make a man if you expect to receive proper political recognition, the colored voters of New Jersey have set out to play an important part in the selection of the Republican nominees for the fall election.

Why Negroes throughout the country

have not paid more attention to the primaries in the past has always been a mystery to the colored politician in the South, who well knows from past experience that you obligate an aspiring office-seeker by nominating, not electing him. Until a few years ago the colored voters of the North grumbled because they did the voting and helped to elect a President, but were always given small appointments, while the Negro in the South, although his vote never counted, invariably received the representative positions.

Why Southern Negro Got Big Plums.

For years the Negro in the South has known that real politics is played in nominating a man for office; that you are only influential when you are on the ground floor. Until this year the Negro delegate from the South was a strong factor in the selection of any candidate for the Presidency on the Republican ticket. After helping decide who the Republican nominee was to be he would go home and wait until the voters of the North did the rest. Then after election day he began working for one of the various big appointments, such as Register of the Treasury and Recorder of Deeds, firm in the belief of capturing them. For did he not make the election of the President possible by nominating him?

In New Jersey the colored voters now realize that you do not get your just deserts by ignoring the primaries and then waiting until someone comes around with a carriage or automobile to take you to the polls on election day. And they have inaugurated another piece of political strategy which Negro voters in other states might emulate—that of putting the candidate on record as to what he thinks of the race question.

Next to the Presidency the voters of New Jersey are concerned in the selection of a United States Senator to succeed Senator Martine, a Democrat. Even the Democrats concede that the next United States Senator from New Jersey stands an excellent chance of being a Republican, and there have been many Republican aspirants for the toga.

Found Negroes for Frelinghuysen.

Announcement made last Saturday of the retirement of ex-Gov. Edward C. Stokes from the primaries, leaving two candidates—former State Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen and ex-Gov. Franklin Murphy, for the sake of party



harmony was significant. It can be said that one of the reasons Mr. Stokes retired was that he found nine-tenths of the colored voters throughout the state were enthusiastically for Mr. Frelinghuysen, who had come out weeks ago in a long statement giving the Negroes of the State his views on the race question. Evidently his answers were satisfactory for he will receive the support of the majority of colored voters at the primaries.

It was not until two weeks ago that ex-Gov. Stokes found out that Mr. Frelinghuysen had created an unusual interest among the colored voters in his candidacy, and then he proceeded to win over the Negro vote, but in most instances he found it committed to Mr. Frelinghuysen. With hundreds of colored voters espousing the ex-State Senator's cause, and with many of the adroit politicians working openly for his nomination, Mr. Stokes suddenly decided to withdraw from the contest.

Joseph H. Frelinghuysen is not new to the colored people of New Jersey, nor are they new to him. As head of the educational department of the State he has been very friendly to Borden-town School, which he wants to see an institution of great influence. Largely through his efforts it received from the state this year the largest appropriation in its history.

Mr. Frelinghuysen was a great admirer of the late Booker T. Washington and is familiar with the literary works of Washington, Dunbar and other Negro writers. Mr. Frelinghuysen is personally acquainted with Major R. R. Moton, the new principal of Tuskegee Institute, whose career as the head of the famous institution he is watching with much interest.

While he believes colored men should fill political positions of honor and trust Mr. Frelinghuysen desires to see the Negro more and more directly interested in commercial pursuits and make himself an important factor in the business life of the community in which he lives. He thinks the race has made wonderful progress and predicts that within the next quarter of a century the Negro will do himself proud in many avenues of endeavor.

Ex-State Senator Frelinghuysen is not the only Republican candidate the colored voters are giving their support, but as this office is the highest in the gift of the state, your correspondent points to the interest shown by the col-

ored citizens in the Senatorial contest as an evidence of their new point of view—that it is in the primaries where the game of politics is effectively and successfully played.

## REPUBLIC

St. Louis, Mo.

# 10,000 ILLEGAL VOTERS FOILED BY REPUBLIC

**Jep Howe, the Boss-Who-Didn't-Come-Back, Admits Expose of Negro Colonization Cost G. O. P. Dearly—89 Blacks Arrested.**

The revelation by The Republic on the eve of the election that the Republicans had colonized 3,000 illegal negro voters in St. Louis cost the g. o. p. ticket between 10,000 and 15,000 votes, according to the admission of Jephtha D. Dowe the boss-who-didn't-come-back.

Had not the exposure been made the St. Louis Republican vote probably would have been sufficient to elect Lamm and nearly the entire State and city Republican ticket.

The story threw the "scare of their lives" into the thousands of illegally registered and unqualified Republican voters and cut down a g. o. p. plurality of former years that has sometimes more than offset the Democratic preponderance in the State.

**Voters Have Laugh on Voters.** Although it was tragic for the Republican leaders, the lightning activity of The Republic's story of Breckinridge Long's canvass of fraudulent

votes in St. Louis was funny, and for the first time in some years the honest voter has got a laugh coming on the bosses.

In one precinct in the Sixteenth Ward challengers equipped with the names of 17 illegally registered or disqualified negro Republican voters were primed on election morning to do something in the cause of righteous politics.

When the first of the unqualified negroes showed up he was challenged. Visions of prison bars and of Breck Long's safe, with his criminal record all nicely typed among those of 3,000 others, rose before the darky's eyes, and he fled precipitately.

NOT ONE OF TH SIXTEEN OTHERS SHOWED UP.

That was only ONE precinct of ONE ward.

Probably only the Republican bosses know how many others there were who were all ready to vote a straight g. o. p. ticket before they heard through The Republic that the game was up. And the bosses won't tell.

**Challengers "Had the Goods."**

In every precinct of the city on election morning there were Democratic challengers present with the names of negroes on whom they absolutely "had the goods." As rapidly as those courageous enough to go through with it showed up, they were challenged.

The election judges in each instance voted upon whether or not to allow them to ballot. When three judges voted to accept the ballot it was received and counted. When three voted against receiving it, the voter was not allowed to pencil a ballot at all and left the polling place without voting.

When two judges voted to allow the ballot and two others voted to reject it, the voter was allowed to vote, but the ballot was numbered, put into a separate envelope and, with others rejected, was sealed and sent to the Board of Election Commissioners. These ballots were not counted and never will be unless they are opened by a court order in the event of a contest. Then they will not be counted unless it is shown in court that the maker of every rejected ballot is legally qualified to cast it and have it counted.

**Disqualification for 3 Causes.**

It is believed that for nearly every one of those ballots in the rejected envelopes Long has a neat transcript of evidence showing that the voter is disqualified by law from casting it.

This disqualification may hinge upon:

Illegal registration.  
Conviction of felony.  
Conviction of petit larceny.

For every voter whose ballot was in the envelopes of "rejects" it is believed that there were from one day forward to the respective county to three men who knew they were voting illegally and did not show up at the polls. Then there were those other hundreds who attempted to vote, were challenged and were voted

against by the election judges and departed from the polls without voting at all. Of course there were some ballots cast by disqualified voters because three judges voted favorably for them after they were challenged. But this percentage is believed to be small.

**1,000 Rejected, Estimate.**

The rejected ballots arrived in the election commissioners office yesterday. There were about 120 envelopes and some estimated that about 1,000 rejected ballots had been received. This estimate, however, admittedly was the merest guesswork.

Breckinridge Long and other disciples of clean politics just sit back and smile and smile when they hear some disgruntled g. o. p. leaders talk wildly of "Democratic fraud," "intimidation" and "open the ballot boxes."

Even if election outcomes should prove to be contingent upon a few hundred votes, the hope of having those rejected Republican ballots counted is remote, when they think of 3,000 transcripts of actual convictions in Long's possession and each transcript potent to nullify one Republican ballot.

Not what might be called a fat g. o. p. chance to turn a close race with "rejected" ballots.

**Eighty-Nine Arrests Made.**

"Jep" Howe felt the ciron of defeat sinking into his soul election day. He realized that Breckinridge Long had "put one over" on him, and The Republic had completed the work in giving publicity to it. He realized that a large number of Republican voters upon whom Jones and his "wrecking crew" had not had the time to collect the dope on would be frightened by the story of what had been done.

He was right.

He knew it when he visited police headquarters and, pounding his fist on the table while he faced Chief Young, shouted:

"You'd better do all you can while you've got the chance, for, by God, if we get Lamm in you're all going out, bag and baggage."

The thing that made Jep so vehement was the fact that a large portion of Chief Young's retainers at that time were at the polls arresting illegally-voting negroes as fast as their ballots were counted.

Eighty-nine, in fact.

Less publicly, Jep admitted the police were right in arresting the negroes.

**Harvey to Hear Any Complaints.**

And the tale isn't told yet.

Circuit Attorney Harvey announced yesterday he was prepared to hear any election complaints to be made, and that all of them that warrant it will be presented to the Grand Jury.

The Election Commissioners yesterday forwarded to the respective county clerks 405 absentee ballots cast in St. Louis. These were voted in St. Louis by persons living out in the State who couldn't get home to vote.

Those ballots cast out in the State by residents of St. Louis who couldn't get

here to vote will be counted by the Election Commissioners Monday.

Fifty sealed packages of absentee votes to be counted here were received from various parts of the State. There are about 800 to be counted, it is estimated.

per cutting down in the world

## READ, LEARN AND INWARDLY DIGEST.

The following Washington dispatch appears in the Louisville Times of March 16th:

**"EQUAL SUFFRAGE DEFEAT PLEASES CONGRESSMEN."**

"Washington, March 16.—There was much gratification here among Democratic members of the House and Senate over the action of the House of Representatives of Kentucky in defeating the Woman's Suffrage Bill. Their belief was unanimous that to enfranchise 75,000 Negro women would make the Commonwealth of Kentucky irretrievably Republican. Democratic members of Congress said they did not believe there was any considerable portion of the white women of Kentucky that desired their votes brought into competition with those of Negro women."

We have had a great many conspicuous examples of assninity out of Washington and from that part of Washington that is Kentucky. Never, we believe, have the ears of the ass been more protuberant than in this. Comment is superfluous. If insult to the men and women of Kentucky was intended, it is accomplished. If mockery was intended, it is accomplished.

There is no argument in such a statement; it is the mouthing of satisfied ignorance, and the boast of complacent boors. But we are glad at last to have the reasoning of the Democratic members of Congress from Kentucky, exposed. With this as a fair sample of it, could the enfranchisement of 75,000 Negro women make the State "irretrievably Republican," it should be prayed for on bended knees as a deliverance.



CHRISTIAN SC. MONITOR  
Boston, Mass.

## PARTIES DIVIDED IN GEORGIA BY MANY CONTESTS

Two Republican Delegations to  
Chicago — Opposition to Re-  
electing Gov. Harris — Await  
Democratic Primary Results

(Special to The Christian Science Monitor)

ATLANTA, Ga. — Although without prospects of becoming a considerable factor in Georgia state politics, the Republican and the Progressive parties have so far furnished the leading incidents in Georgia politics this spring.

As the result of a contest dating back to the 1912 Republican national convention, the Republican party in Georgia is divided, and there is no hope whatever of any compromise. Final settlement will be left to the Republican national executive committee at Chicago next June, each faction asking for recognition upon the floor of the Republican national convention.

The decision of the Republican national executive committee that it will consider no contests except from states where the delegates to the national convention are not selected by popular vote, will make Georgia one of the two states in which the committee will have to decide on the merits of the case.

In Louisiana, the other contesting state, the line is drawn upon racial grounds, and the committee will be called upon to decide between the Negro contingent and the so-called "lily white" Republicans of Louisiana. This situation arose when the state chairman of Louisiana called a convention of the Republicans to meet in the Grunwald hotel. The selection of such a meeting place, the Negroes claim, entirely prohibited them from being represented or having any voice in the proceedings of the convention.

In Georgia, however, the split in the party is along factional lines, and both factions have a liberal Negro following.

The fight is between Henry S. Jackson of Atlanta, national committeeman from this state, and Walter H. Johnson of Columbus, state chairman, each of whom is seeking control of the Republican party in Georgia.

At the meeting of the state Republican executive committee in Macon some months ago, with Colonel Johnson in the chair, the Jackson faction appealed from his rulings, elected its own chairman and proceeded with business, despite the fact that Colonel Johnson retained his seat upon the rostrum and throughout the meeting beat upon his desk with a hickory stick. When the Jackson faction had thus completed its state organization, the Johnson faction got another hall and proceeded to create another state organization.

At the various district conventions since held the sheriff and the police have been present.

Both factions held conventions on April 14, the Jackson faction in Atlanta and the Johnson faction in Macon, and at each organizations to go to Chicago were perfected.

For the first time in a number of years the Jackson faction has put forth a Republican state ticket, nominating State Senator Roscoe Pickett, state chairman of the Jackson faction, for Governor, and selecting a number of candidates for Congress.

The Johnson faction has put out no state ticket, but has taken a stand on two important questions which it is expected will be issues in this year's state campaign. One of these takes a strong stand against lynching, favoring a law which would compel a county in which a lynching occurs to pay an indemnity of \$10,000 to the family of the lynched man and disqualifying the sheriff of such a county for reelection. The other question will be the sale of the Western & Atlantic railroad. This road, which runs from Atlanta to Chattanooga, Tenn., is owned by the state of Georgia, and is under lease to the Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis railroad. The lease expires in 1919. The revenue from this road goes to the maintenance of the state's common schools. The Johnson faction opposes the sale of the road.

The Jackson faction believes that its prospects are bright for winning out before the national committee, by reason of the fact that the Johnson faction, at the 1912 convention, went over to Roosevelt, while the Jackson faction stood by Taft. The action of the committee in naming Mr. Harding, a staunch Taft man at the 1912 convention, as temporary chairman of the coming convention, the Jacksonites believe, furnishes a substantial evidence in its favor.

The state committee of the Progressives has met and called the state convention to meet in Atlanta on May 13. At the meeting of the committee the principal action was the drawing of the color line in the activities of the Progressive party. Explicit instructions were issued to all county and district chairmen that none but white registered voters shall be permitted to participate in the county and district primaries.

The Progressives will not put forth a state ticket until the state Democratic executive committee, which meets at Macon on May 3, decides whether all white voters who will not vote for the national Democratic nominees shall be excluded from the Democratic state primaries.

While two candidates have already been announced for the governorship under the standards of the Democratic party, the campaign, so far, has been rather dull. The candidates are Gov. Nat E. Harris of Macon and Dr. L. G. Hardman of Commerce, whom Governor Harris defeated in the last election.

The disposition of the Western & Atlantic railroad, compulsory school attendance, eradication of adult illiteracy, anti-lynching and free textbooks for school children will be among the main issues in the state campaign this fall.

It is expected that there will be a third candidate for the Democratic nomination, but just who this third candidate will be does not yet appear. Solicitor-General Hugh M. Dorsey of Fulton superior court, may make some announcement after the executive committee meets.

This is a phase of the situation which is of more than local interest, and upon which some look with misgivings.

Solicitor Dorsey has come into prominence largely through the fact that he prosecuted the Frank case.

EVERY EVENING

W. H. Miller, Del.

No Room for a Contest.

The political complexion of the next House of Representatives is still a matter of doubt, and the actual situation may not be ascertained for several weeks. At this time it appears the Republicans may have three to five margin over the Democrats, but this would leave the balance of power in the hands of eight or ten independent members.

Naturally, in such a situation there is talk of contests, mainly from Republican sources, however, with the purpose of increasing the Republican margin to the extent of a clear majority, in order to give

that party control of the body. If this policy could be carried out, it would mean the forcible removal of Democratic members fairly elected, merely for the purpose of making room for Republican competitors.

In view of the rather narrow margin by which Representative Thomas W. Miller of Delaware was defeated by Albert F. Polk, his Democratic competitor, talk of a contest naturally extended to this State. Mr. Miller, on being asked by a reporter of Every Evening, replied he "had been too busy getting well the past week or so to even give the matter a thought." Mr. Miller is recovering from a threatened attack of appendicitis.

It is hoped Mr. Miller will continue to give the matter no thought, or, if he thinks about it at all, resolve that he will not make any attempt to contest the election. For it is apparent, without any close investigation, that there is not the remotest room for a contest of the Congress result in Delaware. Investigation of the right kind, following a contest, would be far more likely to increase Mr. Polk's lead than to diminish it, and Mr. Miller could not win except through gross and unjust exercise of brute partisan force by a Republican majority in the House.

In Delaware the election machinery was almost entirely in Republican hands, at least to an extent to prohibit the probability of any frauds in behalf of the Democratic party, while this condition, naturally, would increase the probability of Republican frauds. Also, the vote was canvassed by the judges of our courts, and all irregularities in voting or counting that were called to the attention of the judges were fairly considered, and all that were well-founded were fully corrected. For a partisan body of any sort to go behind the returns of election thus ascertained and reverse the verdict of the voters would be a crime.

Also, there is effective precedent that should warn even desperate Republican partisans, intent only on securing control of the House, to set aside all thought of carrying out their purpose should the opportunities seem favorable. Once before this scheme of violent theft was resorted to, with results that speedily brought disaster upon the Republican party. There is no doubt a similar crime resulting from this election would bring about a like punishment.

The Philadelphia Record very effectively presents this situation of the past, which prevailed in the winter of 1889. At the 1888 election the Republicans carried

the House by 166 to 159. A larger margin was desired and contests were resorted to. Thomas B. Reed had been chosen Speaker, and under his iron rule Democratic protests were ruthlessly overridden and enough Democrats were unseated to enable the Republican House to pass the McKinley Tariff bill, which the Senate joined in enacting.

"Never did a crime bring swifter punishment," says the Record. "The McKinley tariff became a law in the summer of 1890. In November of that year a new Congress was chosen. Indignant at the high-handed proceedings at Washington and furious over the increased taxes imposed upon them by the new tariff, the American people rose in all the majesty of their wrath and kicked the Republicans from office. They then jumped upon the faithless legislators, threw them into the creek and otherwise inflicted all possible indignities upon them. The Republican strength, which stood at 166 at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, was reduced to 88 in the next House, being cut almost exactly in half. The Democratic representation at the same time rose to 236, and that party also secured control of the Senate. Not since its organization did the G. O. P. cut such a contemptible and unimportant figure as in the Fifty-second Congress.

In 1892 Grover Cleveland was elected President. These facts are cited as a warning to our Republican friends against placing any reliance upon a slender majority in the next House. It will avail them nothing. The crimes of 1890 cannot be repeated in 1917. Besides, the Democrats control the Senate, and then there is Woodrow Wilson in the White House. There will be no retrogression. Instead we expect to see both parties seeking to make a new record for patriotic and useful legislation, with 1920 ever in mind."

We hope, therefore, that even should the conditions in respect of the next House of Representatives become such that the Republicans would be in a position to largely increase their membership through contests, Mr. Miller will not allow himself to be used for the purpose. It must be apparent to him, no matter how much he may blame his factional Republican opponents for his defeat, that his Democratic competitor was fairly and honestly elected. While a contest in his behalf might afford unscrupulous partisans an opportunity of shutting their eyes to facts and fairness and voting him into the seat, it would not be a proceeding in which he could ever feel the slightest justification.



A contest for a seat in Congress from Delaware would be a rarity. We can recall only one—that of the late Judge John W. Houston, Republican, against the late Edward L. Martin, in 1881. At the election held in November, 1880, Congressman Martin had been re-elected by a majority of about 800, and Judge Houston filed notice of contest, on the ground, mainly, that his opponent's election had been due to the disfranchisement of Negroes. He did not, however, press the contest to a hearing and determination. The movement was abandoned after the initial proceedings.

## Suffragists Want "Rights Given Blacks"

Resolutions Committee  
Hears Demand of 5,000—  
Labor, Prohis and Others  
Ask Planks in Platform

*Advertiser*  
*2-8-16*  
(Associated Press.)  
COLISEUM, CHICAGO, June 7.—The committee on resolutions of the Republican National Convention held its first hearing at the Coliseum late today on matters which various interests desire to have dealt with in the party's platform.

A sub-committee of nine to formulate a platform to be later submitted to the entire committee was announced to be composed of the following members:

**Resolutions Committee.**  
Senator Lodge, chairman; Senator Borah, Idaho; Senator Sutherland, Utah; Senator Fall, New Mexico; Representative Madden, Illinois; Paul Howland, Ohio; Senator Oliver, Pennsylvania; Senator Wadsworth, New York, and Charles H. Clarke, Connecticut.

Three delegations of women were heard on the equal suffrage question and a committee representing Union Labor presented planks it desired placed in the platform.

**Women Demand Planks.**  
The women's delegation represented the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, and the Woman's Anti-Suffrage Association. Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, requested that the committee insert in the Republican platform the following proposed plank:

"The Republican party, re-affirming its faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people, favors the extension of the suffrage to women as a measure of justice to one-half the adult people of this country."

**Paraders Flood Hall.**  
The National Association Opposed to Woman's Suffrage then was given a hearing. Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge of New York, president of the national association, introducing the speakers. Mrs. Dodge said the organization she represented had members in twenty-four States.

When the anti's began speaking, a request was made of Chairman Dodge to permit thousands of woman suffrage paraders outside to enter the Coliseum.

The chairman did not comply, stating that it probably would break up the hearing.

Later, however, someone opened the doors and several thousand women wearing yellow sashes and yellow hat bands poured into the big hall.

**"Anti's" Are Hissed.**  
As the delegation opposed to suffrage was leaving the platform some of the paraders began hissing, but leaders among them quickly suppressed the demonstration.

Representatives of the woman's party organized by members of the Congressional Union for Woman's Suffrage next were heard.

**Wants Black's Privilege.**  
Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch of Kansas said the biggest things the Republican party had done was to write the 14th and 15th amendments into the constitution.

"You have stood by the black man now we want you to stand by the woman," she added.

**5,000 March in Rain**  
Defying a heavy rainstorm, driven by a cold west wind, 5,000 of the women had marched in the parade of the suffrage Association, giving an unprecedented demonstration of loyalty to the cause for which they are fighting.

Led by a platoon of police, and accompanied by several bands, the women marched two miles through the downtown business district. Notwithstanding the demoralizing condition of the weather, thousands of people lined Michigan Boulevard, and cheers greeted the marchers as they battled against wind and rain. A few of the women defied the elements to the extent that they carried no umbrellas. Some of these appeared in white dresses and straw hats.

**Labor Presents Claims**  
The committee then listened to Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, and Frank Morrison, secretary of the Federation.

The Federation asked the committee to adopt planks pledging the party to maintain the federal law securing to the workers the legal right of voluntary association for mutual protection and welfare; protecting their rights against unwarrantable issuance of writs of injunction and guaranteeing the right of trial by jury in alleged contempt cases committed outside the presence of courts.

**Urge Seaman's Law**  
It urged enforcement of the seaman's act; demanded that the immigration and contract labor laws be so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States all persons who cannot read some language and urged the enactment of a federal child labor law; the faithful observance and enforcement of all the fed-

eral eight hour laws and their extension to comprehend all departments of government; the enactment of a law by congress for a comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation act; the enactment of legislation excluding from interstate commerce the products of convict labor; government ownership of the telephone and telegraph.

**Negroes Have Planks**  
A committee from a conference of negro delegates and others wanted a plank in the platform pledging the party to enact legislation to equalize the representation in congress of all the states and in the electoral colleges.

**"Prohis" And Others**  
Former governor Foss of Massachusetts headed a committee that asked for a national prohibition plank.

Representatives of foreign language newspapers of Chicago, various organizations of Polish, Bohemian, Jewish, Swedish and other foreign speaking organizations asked that the committee declare against any further restriction of immigration laws and against the physical tests.

At 6:50 p. m. Chairman Lodge declared the hearing adjourned. The committee will hold no more public hearings.

## REGISTRATION LAW

Voter should read and get acquainted with the law as amended by the Special Session and register.

*Oklahoma Guide*  
*3-2-16*  
As amended the law required

the issuance of registration certificates to all persons who voted in the November elections of 1914, if they be still qualified electors of the state.

It provided for an appeal to the decision of the precinct registrar to the District Court by any elector aggrieved by the refusal of registrar to issue a certificate to him.

Under this law, it will be necessary for the qualified voters of the state to secure registration certificates from the registrars

of their several precinct between the 13th day of April and the 11th day of May this year.

Without these certificates it will be impossible for a person to participate in any election in the future in this state.

The law provides in an amendment that no qualified voter who voted in the the November 1914 election shall be denied the right to vote without a certificate but it is safer and more regular for persons desiring to vote in Oklahoma in the future to secure certificates from the precinct registrar.

These certificates will contain a minute description of the voter and they will give his occupation, age, race, color, politics, color of hair, color of eyes and the names of two persons who are able to vouch for him in the election precinct.

Person who may be absent from the county or sick or otherwise through a misfortune unable to register during the period designated have another opportunity during the period between May 10 — June 30, 1916.

The present registrar is the sole judge of the sufficiency of the reason given for this registration. For the benefit of persons who may become qualified electors in Oklahoma after May 10, 1916, the law provides that such persons may make an application to the registrars in the precincts of which they may be qualified voters not more than twenty nor more than ten days before the day of holding an election, and upon complying with all the terms and provisions of the act may receive registration certificates.

The certificates required by law shall be the permanent license of the voters.

The law provides that if a certificate may be lost, destroyed or mutilated a new certificate may be issued by the precinct registrar upon showing by the voter that he is entitled to such certificates.

Under the terms of the amendment adopted the last day of the session, the voters who voted in the election in November, 1914 are entitled to enrollment and registration certificates and it is made the duty of the registrars to issue such certificates.

**Jefferson County Poll  
Tax Payments Heavy**

(Special To The Advertiser)  
BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 2—Poll tax collections in Jefferson county, the tax becoming delinquent last night, amounted to \$25,815 for the year. There were 11,600 poll tax receipts issued for the current year and 5,610 for back years, a total of 17,210, against 10,682 in 1914 and 18,381 in 1913.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

## LONG ATTACKS FRAUD INQUIRY COMMITTEE

In Letter to Oliver He  
Charges Negroes Were  
Fraudulently Registered  
by Mysterious Leader.

ACCUSATIONS ARE  
CALLED VAGUE

Quotes from Police Report  
Which Chairman Drabelle  
of Election Commissioners  
Says Reveals No Illegality.

Breckinridge Long, former president of the Wilson Club, who, with a great blare of trumpets announced on the morning of November 7 that he had uncovered a list of several hundred fraudulently registered negroes, and which proved to be akin to the preposterous charge of wholesale negro colonization made by Attorney General Gregory, made public a letter to United States District Attorney Oliver last night, in which he attacks the Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee. The Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee was organized after it became a matter of public knowledge that hundreds of voters of St. Louis were intimidated and wrongfully challenged. The citizens banded themselves together, as they stated, for the purpose of protecting the good name of St. Louis and of running down the men, irrespective of politics, who had so boldly struck at the sacred

right of suffrage.

### Personnel of Committee.

On the Citizens' Committee are: Paul Bakewell, chairman; Murray Carleton, O. L. Garrison, Dwight F. Davis, N. A. McMillan, Joseph D. Eascom, Forrest Ferguson, A. L. Shapleigh, Charles F. Bates, Robert H. Stockton, John F. Shepley, Charles W. Whitelaw, Rev. Dr. J. W. Lee, Robert McK. Jones, E. C. Simmons, W. J. Kinsella, John Fowler, John T. Milliken and H. J. Pettengill.

Every newspaper in St. Louis, with the exception of the St. Louis Star, and including the St. Louis Republic, has endorsed the work of the Citizens' Committee.

The first work of the committee was to retain Charles W. Bates as counsel. Bates has submitted evidence to District Attorney Oliver, which, Bates has told the committee, proves conclusively that a conspiracy existed to deprive citizens of their right to vote.

Simultaneously, the state grand jury has indicted three Democrats for alleged intimidation of voters, and has recommended that the succeeding grand jury, which will be impaneled today, investigate thoroughly the malicious challenging complained of publicly by the bipartisan Board of Election Commissioners.

### Vague Charges Are Made.

Long, in his letter to Oliver, attempts to defend the action of the Board of Police Commissioners for not shifting the police on election day from their regular beats. The general transfer had been in effect at previous elections and was requested at the last election by the Board of Election Commissioners as a preventive of fraud.

Notwithstanding the belated defense by Long of the stubbornness of the Police Board, the practice of shifting was generally regarded as a means of breaking up connivances between certain unscrupulous policemen and corrupt ward heelers.

Vague charges are made in the letter of Long to Oliver that negroes were registered fraudulently through some mysterious leadership. In an attempt to substantiate this amusing wail he quotes from a report made by the squad of canvassing policemen who worked under Sergt. Patrick Kirk, who was indicted in 1904 on charges of interfering with voters and neglecting his duty at a polling place. This police report, in which Long gets so much comfort, was examined in detail before the election by the Board of Election Commissioners, who, through Chairman Drabelle, announced that it showed no fraud, and that it was vague and indefinite. Drabelle said, further, that the irregularities shown in the police report were such as might result from natural causes, such as removals and deaths of voters.

### Barking Up Wrong Tree.

Persons versed in federal law are of the opinion that Long, in asking Oliver to investigate alleged fraudulent registra-

tion is barking up the wrong tree, even though he be a lawyer himself, and that the communication should have been addressed to the state authorities, if violations of the registration laws really are apparent.

Long's letter follows:

"My Dear Mr. Oliver—I have understood from the press and from verbal sources that some investigation is being made, or is to be made, and submitted to you for your action in regard to alleged fraudulent actions during the recent election. It is upon that subject that I desire to communicate with you.

"If there is any public sentiment to the effect that the election was not fair and clean and honest in every respect, not only on election day, but during the weeks and months preceding that day; if there is any public sentiment to the effect that illegal acts were committed to deprive those entitled to vote from the exercise of their suffrage; if there is any evidence at all to sustain these allegations, then there ought to be an investigation.

"But, if an investigation is had, it ought not to be one-sided, and ought to be full, complete and detailed, and should cover not only acts committed on election day, but acts on the days for registration and on the days preceding registration days and on the days between registration and election days.

### Should Begin at Registration.

"It should not begin at the attempt of a particular individual to vote, or the challenge of another individual of one's right to vote, but should extend to the people who induced him to register and who conspired to have his name and the names of others fraudulently placed upon the registration books and then proceed to the challenge.

"Such an investigation will be welcomed by every good citizen, and the punishment meted out to those guilty will be welcomed by all those interested in the cause of good government and clean politics. Such an investigation would set at rest, once and for all, and would prevent the future perpetration of, fraudulent registration before election day and the casting of fraudulent votes on election day.

"You might be able to trace to some committee, or to some individual or individuals acting for some committee, a list of names and addresses of 20,000 or more negroes, throughout Missouri, who have not been in the habit of voting regularly, and you might develop the effort made to have them register and vote at this last election.

### Police Have List of Names.

"Such an investigation I hope the Department of Justice, acting through you or through whomsoever else they may designate to help you, will make. In connection with such an investigation, I desire to call your attention to a report of which I only yesterday heard, and which I have just this morning seen. That report was made to the chief of detectives of the City of St. Louis, and is now in his possession. It was made pursuant to orders from the chief of police. It covers sixty-six typewritten pages and contains the

names of between 750 and 1000 negroes whose names appear upon the registration books, but who were not entitled to vote. "It gives the names, the addresses, the ward and the precinct of those not entitled to vote and gives the reason for the disqualification, and, in many instances, gives the name of the person from whom the information was obtained in order that it may be verified.

"That report was made before election day and was in the hands of the Police Department of the City of St. Louis before election day, and on election day and on every day since then, but has not been used. It is amenable to your process, and I suggest to you that it should be availed of by you in your efforts to investigate the truth of the situation.

"For your information, as regards the character of this report, I desire to submit herewith the names of a few individuals by me copied from it. (Here follows a list of seventeen names.)

### Charges Wholesale Irregularities.

"These are only a few of the names selected at random from a long list, but they are sufficient to indicate (1) that there was a wholesale fraudulent registration of negroes having moved here recently from the South and registered contrary to law; (2) that there was a wholesale illegal registration of negroes who had been disfranchised because of crimes they had committed; (3) that there was a wholesale registration of negroes from vacant lots and from houses where they did not live, all contrary to law.

"Besides the names given in the police report, an investigation should cover all those illegally registered—whether they attempted to vote or not.

"An investigation of these facts might bring to light the persons responsible for having caused these registrations. It is not the unsuspecting negro who is the enemy to the public, but it is the man who conspires to illegally register and

Washington Herald

## WOMEN APPLAUD NEGRO'S LETTER

Colored Man Sympathizes  
with Suffrage Workers Who  
Hold Third Birthday.

MEMBERS RAISE \$3,179

Mrs. Amos Pinchot Declares Nation's  
Strength in Democracy Being Un-  
dermined by Preparedness Idea.

At the joint celebration of the third anniversary of the organization of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage and formal opening of its new headquarters in the Cameron House, in Lafayette square yesterday afternoon, more than \$3,000 was raised in the form of pledges to carry on the work for woman suffrage.

The pledges ranged from one of \$71 contributed by Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, to several hundred of one dollar each. Mrs. William Kent, who presided as chairman of the meeting, gave \$150; Mrs. Charles Boughton Wood, of this city, gave \$100; Mrs. George Henry of Pontiac, Mich., gave \$110; Miss Mari Ernst Kenner, of Philadelphia, gave \$100; and Mrs. Cochran, of Philadelphia contributed \$100. Smaller amounts were pledged by Mrs. Bertha Helm, Mrs. George Rublee, Mrs. Nevil Monroe Hopkins, Dr. Cora Smith King, Miss Sheldon Jackson and others. The exact amount raised was \$3,179.

Many of the contributions were unique. Mrs. William Kent and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis each pledged \$25 for a grandchild. Miss Elsie Hill stated that besides her own contribution she would pledge an additional contribution of \$5 from teachers in Central High School. Announcement was made of a contribution of \$10 from Martin Cowdry, a colored man. When Mrs. Kent read the letter from Mr. Cowdry, inclosing the contribution, in which he said "I obtained my right to vote under the Fifteenth amendment and want to help you women get your right to vote in another amendment," her voice was drowned in the applause which swept the hall.

Reasons why women should be allowed to vote and jabs at Congressmen who have not yet come to espouse the cause of suffrage were made by a host of speakers, including Miss Frances Joliffe, Miss Elsie Hill, Mrs. William Kent and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis.

President Wilson was praised by Miss Julia Lathrop for his nomination of Louis Brandeis to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. She declared that Mr. Brandeis had done much for the women of this country and that he had tried to read a little human intelligence into the rigidity of the law.

### Their Interview with Wilson.

Mrs. Amos Pinchot, of New York, told of the interview a suffrage delegation obtained with the President in New York City last Thursday.

"While we had no definite appointment with the President," said she, "we took advantage of a little loophole in Mr. Tumulty's message and went anyhow. We sent up word that we would like an interview and word was sent back that the President did not understand we had an appointment and that he would have to forego the pleasure of seeing us.

"We sent up word that we understood we had no appointment but asked him, since it was impossible for him to see us at the time we set, if he would not allow us to wait until it was convenient and see him at a time he should appoint. Word came back expressing polite regret.

"We waited and when the President came down he made a nice address, in which he said that he had not yet con-



sulted the party leaders on the subject of suffrage and had not changed his own mind on the subject."

**Arraigns Preparedness.**

Mrs. Pinchot severely arraigned the agitation for "preparedness" and declared it constituted a menace to peace abroad and democracy at home.

"Never in my life have I so desired to vote as now," said Mrs. Pinchot, "because never have I felt so strongly that woman's voice should be heard in defense of her country, not military defense, but the defense of those principles which have made the nation great—our belief that the true strength of a nation lies in its contribution to the progress of democracy. True power does not mean military might, but an enlightened understanding of the rights of individuals and nations, and a determination to respect them. This belief has been undermined and these rights threatened by the present agitation for a change in our military and naval policy."

Representative Mondell, of Wyoming, declared that he was delighted to have heard Mrs. Pinchot's speech, "because I happen to be one of a minority on this subject in the House."

"It is remarkable how the virus of militarism has been working in this country for the last several months. I believe that there should be a new definition of treason. I define it treason to exhibit moving pictures such as have been shown in this country lately. When American men will stand for the things which they are shown to stand for in these pictures, then American manhood will be dead. Those who continually suggest future wars with foreign powers are, to my mind, also guilty of treason."

**SUN**  
**New York City**

**COLD HANDS GREET  
COLORED BRETHREN**

**Mad, Glad Old Days Gone,  
They Yearn to Help  
Pick Winner.**

**FAMED PREACHER IS ONE**

CHICAGO, June 5.—That manifestation of virtue and self-denial on the part of the Republican organization when it cut down the number of negro delegates from well over a hundred to just twenty-five has produced a most interesting and amusing situation in this national convention of the party.

One might fancy offhand that the patriotic services of the colored delegates would have been more in demand at this convention than any ever held. Here are a dozen or more candidates all fishing for votes, all eager to aug-

ment their small strength, all scrambling to make just a little better showing on the first ballot than the other fellow, but not one of them is making a fuss over the colored brethren.

It's amazing. It's pathetic. It might even be described as heartrending. Pause for a moment to consider the plight of the colored brother, all dressed up and no place to go. The Congress Hotel, the Auditorium Hotel and the Blackstone Hotel, not to mention half a dozen other hostleries in the Loop district, are all cluttered up with candidates' headquarters that look the same, sound the same as candidates' headquarters used to look and sound.

**Room to Stand; That's All.**

White visitors get the same unctuous greeting, the same old glad hand. The negro visitor gets just as much standing room as his feet are entitled to; that's all. Not one of the licensed or unlicensed boom pilots has summoned the colored brother to help save the nation. Bill Bailey is out in the cold and nobody seems to want him to come in.

The whole thing was exemplified this morning in a corner of the lobby of the Congress. Seven colored delegates sat with folded hands upon the bellhops' bench. They stared with troubled eyes at the milling throng of white delegates and waited for a call that never came. They couldn't understand it, somehow. It wasn't according to the way the game had been played, ought to be played. Somebody had taken the joy out of life.

One recalled the old days, the sad, old, mad, glad old days of the convention when ebony was popular; when the political managers made a fuss over the colored representatives of the party in the South. Why, they had scarcely arrived in town before they were hailed exuberantly.

Managers for rival candidates button-holed and pulley-hauled them, inquired about their preferences and tastes, asked what they wanted to do to amuse themselves. Did they need a little change just for spending money? If so, take it, Br'er Bailey, and enjoy yourself.

**The Wheel Has Turned.**

But the wheel has turned for Bill Bailey. It may be a good thing for Bill and for the Republican party, but it is a situation that makes it less pleasant for the once popular colored man. For the past day or two they have been trying to locate themselves. When they first came to town they drifted to Frank Hitchcock's headquarters in the Congress Hotel and stood hopefully in the anteroom. But somehow Mr. Hitchcock was too busy to see them and none of Hitchcock's lieutenants had a word of cheer to offer. They departed dolefully.

Then the word got around among them that John W. Weeks of Massachusetts might be a good man to call on. They flocked to Weeks's headquarters, where they were received amicably, but not pressed to stick around.

Same at the Fairbanks rooms, at Cummins's and at Burton's. The Colonel's various sets of headquarters had no time for them. And then the gloom settled. They realized that they

were just barely among those present, that's all.

This afternoon one encountered the colored delegates wandering from hotel to hotel, listlessly, hopelessly. Groups and crowds of white delegates were buzzing merrily, but they let the colored brother drift past and turned not a glance in his direction. As matters stand he will be left to vote for whom he pleases.

Some indication of his preferences was easily obtained. All want to be with the winner, naturally, but most of them in their hearts are for Col. Roosevelt. They like Justice Hughes and would gladly support Root if they believed Root could be nominated. The chances are that the Colonel will get the majority of them for a ballot or two.

**Banker and Famed Preacher.**

As has been said, only some of them went scouting for the traditional favors. Perhaps half of the number, or a little less than half, disdained that sort of thing. They are a new kind of colored delegate, of a type not familiar at national conventions.

Some are business men with large interests. There is Church of Nashville, Tenn., who is contesting for a seat as delegate at large. He is president of a bank and inherited a third share of the \$1,000,000 his father left. C. T. Walker of Augusta, Ga., is one of the best known colored preachers in the country. He used to be pastor of the Mount Olivet Baptist Church in New York city, which is the largest negro church in the United States, and when he resigned he refused an offer made by John D. Rockefeller to increase his salary \$1,000 a year if he would stay at Mount Olivet.

If there is one thing the colored delegates are emphatic about it is their dislike for Wilson. That might be expected from the Republican colored men, but these delegates insist that the dislike for Wilson is strong all through the negroes of the country and that the President will get few colored votes. They have it against him that he turned many colored men out of office and appointed none and that he sent a white man to Hayti as Minister, when it had always been the custom to have the country represented at the negro republic by a black man.

**EVENING SUN**  
**Baltimore, Md.**

**Independent Voting And  
The South.**

Commenting on an editorial in this column in which it was pointed out how party lines had been shot to pieces in the recent election, a correspondent in the Forum recently lamented the fact that this occurred only in the North and West and that the South might always be depended upon to vote one way, no matter what the Democratic candidate stood for or what the issues were. Unlike the abortive efforts of Mr. Hughes and his party to arouse sec-

tional prejudice and the ill-natured taunts of such papers as the New York Sun since the election, the temperate criticism of our correspondent deserves an answer.

It is, in the first place, true as to some of the Southern states, although no more true of them than of most of the New England states, or of Pennsylvania, or of New York outside of the city, or of Michigan; and these have not the same excuse for being "solid" that the far-Southern states have.

The South, however, is not "solid." Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri are all Southern states and used to be included in the "Solid South." Of these, Delaware and West Virginia have become reliably Republican, and the others have all gone Republican in national and state elections and are always more or less doubtful. North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee have had Republican state administrations—to their sorrow—and representatives in the Senate and the House.

Those who know anything of the Republican party in the South, and the kind of treatment accorded the South by Republican national administrations, very well understand why most of it is incurably Democratic. Southern delegations to Republican National conventions are object lessons on why decent men shun the party in that section of the country, and that altogether aside from the fact that they are composed largely of negroes.

Consider the case of Roosevelt. When he became President the South was disposed to like him very much, partly because his mother was a Southern woman, partly because it had a kindly feeling for McKinley, but chiefly perhaps because he had made a reputation in Cuba with his Rough Riders, many of whom were Southerners. When Roosevelt attended an exposition in Charleston, S. C., he was received with the greatest hospitality and enthusiasm and made a hero of. In return for this he appointed as Collector of the Port of Charleston a typical negro politician, in whose office force were white women. Whatever may be thought elsewhere of negro equality, social or political, South Carolinians looked upon the Crum appointment as an insulting slap in the

face, and in fact we know of no city where it would have been popular. This was only one of hundreds of similar instances where Southern communities were outraged and insulted by the character of the men, both white and black, appointed to Federal positions, even judgeships. While there have been and still are many respectable and intelligent Republicans in the South, these have very rarely been appointed to office or had anything to do with the management of their party. Republican politics there ever since the Civil War have been unbelievably corrupt and indecent. Is it any wonder that the states farther south gag at the idea of Republican administrations, local or national, and vote the Democratic ticket no matter what the issues? Under a Democratic administration they can at least have decent Federal officials and feel that they are looked upon as a part of the nation, not as a conquered province to be punished, as seems to be the idea of Republican leaders generally.

**NEGRO ALDERMEN**

*The Palatka Advocate*  
As the Negroes in the recent city election of 1906 solidly against the new city charter which pointedly discriminated against us and it was overwhelmingly defeated, they did on Friday the 10th inst. in a joint precinct meeting set about to correct some of the doubtful criticisms made and to show one good faith in the issues for which we contend in placing on the ticket for councilmen in the coming election such men from the standpoint of character that are above reproach.

Ex-Councilman A. L. Browning has served on the city council in former years and while there he has maintained the respect of the noble body of our city fathers and did yeoman service for his people and it was sorely regretted by all when he resigned, and now it is with joy we hail his willingness to return. The nomination of Mr. L. L. Trapp forcefully emphasizes a marked change from the grooved and beaten path and was the healthiest move the good colored people of this burg have made for some time. The choice of Mr. Trapp shows an honest attempt to place our best in places of trust, confidence and responsibility and that henceforth the best element of

the race here will lead itself unreservedly to this end.



Political - 1916  
Suffrage

STAR

Indianapolis, Ind.

## Taggart's Party Alliance Should Keep Negroes From Supporting Him

To the Editor of The Star:

In the Star of the 19 inst. James A. Bryant, a negro Democrat, undertakes to pull the wool over the eyes of the negroes by attempting to show that

Thomas Taggart is a "defender of citizenship, regardless of color." He cites in proof of his assertion that Mr. Taggart protested against the bill introduced in Congress by a Mr. Caraway, I believe, from Arkansas. As regards the negro, that particular act of Mr. Taggart shows him not wholly in accord with the doctrines, traditions and legislative acts of his party. Thus far very good. And for this one friendly act, Mr. Bryant wants the negroes of Indiana to support Mr. Taggart. If Mr. Taggart's past acts politically were in accord with this protest in favor of the negro, then the black men could rightfully and consistently support Mr. Taggart as being their friend as a race separate and apart from the great bulk of the population of this country.

The thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal constitution have for quite fifty years been the avowed sentiment of the Republican party as to the civil and political rights of the negro; these amendments are the fruition of the work of Cash Clay, Sumner, Garrison, Lovejoy and their coworkers and supporters who blazed the way for the birth of the Republican party and the emancipation of the negro from physical slavery. Thus reads the glorious record of the Republican party.

### Nullify Amendments.

The Democratic party has nullified these amendments pertaining to the manhood rights of the negro. Look at the separate coach laws, the disfranchisement laws, the unwritten lynch laws in "good old Dixie" and answer, Mr. Bryant, if they are not the products of the political "wisdom" of the Democratic party, with which Mr. Taggart affiliates and to which he has sworn allegiance.

But why does Mr. Taggart go down to Washington to do missionary work when he purposely overlooks the heathen here at home? It is common knowledge that Tom Taggart is boss of the Democrats in the city of Indianapolis as well as in Marion County and the state of Indiana. Joe Bell dare not fail to heed Taggart's counsel, advice and commands. When Sam Perrott went around and distributed his hickory clubs to be used on negroes' heads to drive them away from registration places and when negroes were beaten and driven away from such places, what did Mr. Taggart say or do? Did he protest then? Was he then the friend of the negro that his Washington act proclaims him to be? He was then and is now the local boss of the Democratic situation and machinery of his party. Did he use his "boss-ship" and the Democratic machinery to see to it that the negro voter got a fair deal?

Mr. Taggart could have stopped all the beating and slugging of negroes by speaking to Joe Bell and demanding that the

police powers of this city be used to protect civil and political rights instead of destroying them. Did he do it? There is no record that Taggart spoke out or protested against the policy of clubbing negroes in 1914. The methods (mild methods) of the South used by Taggart's party down there were imported to Indianapolis in 1914 and Taggart's silence in 1914 shows that he and his party here endorsed the methods imported as long as there was a good prospect to get Democratic results.

### In Bad Company.

Taggart is now in very bad political company. His party is bad enough on other questions confronting the American people to merit condemnation from everybody, but on the negro question it is simply rotten.

Such a negro (supporter of Taggart and the Democratic party) betrays himself as unworthy of the benefits of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments; his action belies and befools the very spirit of freedom fought for by the boys in blue and consecrated by their sufferings and spilled blood upon a hundred battle fields. Let the negro voter realize the needs of the whole country and be truly national in his views and duties and he will thereby more quickly attain all his rights than by falling down and worshipping the political "golden calf" of Indiana, Tom Taggart.

Indianapolis.

E. B. CHEATHAM.

## SOLONS FIGHT PITCHED BATTLE

### Inkwells as Shells Prepares Democrat Attack in Oklahoma House.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Feb. 18.—Tumultuous scenes occurred in the Oklahoma House of Representatives late to-day, while the members were voting on a section of an election law designed to take the place of the famous "grandfather law," recently declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court because it disenfran-

chised the negroes.

Partisan feeling culminated in a near riot caused by charges of corruption and the passing of the lie between members, during which ink bottles and paper weights were used as weapons. A serious affray seemed inevitable as Democrats massed and advanced toward the Republicans and Socialists. Arthur H. Geissler, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, was knocked down and rendered unconscious by Representative Lorise E. Bryant, of Osage County.

The proposed law is the product of a Democratic caucus. It had passed the Senate and was up for final passage in the House, with Republican and Socialist members offering vigorous opposition. Geissler was on the floor through the courtesy of a visitor's permit, issued him as Republican state chairman.

### Taunts Member as "Unfair."

Representative Paul Nesbitt, Democrat, of Pittsburgh County, had voted in favor of the proposed law, and, as he announced his vote, Representative Sams, Republican, taunted Nesbitt with being "unfair" to Republicans. Nesbitt replied that he was raised in a section where the Republicans had overridden him with corrupt practices and that he had no desire to be fair to Republicans.

"They probably took you for the yok that you are!" shouted Sams. "If you make that charge on are a!" replied Nesbitt. Sams arose in his seat, and, assuming an attitude of defence, shouted toward the Democratic side of the House, "Come on!"

In an instant every Democratic and Republican member of the House was on his feet. Ink bottles and paper weights were thrown back and forth. The Democratic members advanced through the aisles toward the Republican members. Speaker A. C. McCrorey left his chair and rushed out of the hall. The Democrats greatly outnumbered the Republican combatants, and after a few volleys of ink wells, paper weights and books the melee ended.

### Battle Spread to Neutrals.

Representative Tom Hensley, Democrat, went to the "side line" and engaged in conversation with Geissler. When Hensley walked away Bryant stepped up to Geissler and demanded: "What right have you to be talking to a Representative on the floor of the House?"

Geissler replied: "Beg pardon, what is your name?" Whereupon Bryant hit Geissler in the face, according to witnesses, knocking him to the floor and rendering him unconscious for several minutes.

Bryant became lost in the crowd that rushed around Geissler. No further disturbances occurred.

President Wilson recently pardoned two Oklahoma election officials convicted for enforcing their "grandfather test." Two others now are on trial in the Federal court at Guthrie.

MISSISSIPPI

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

Jackson

Theo. G. Bilbo, Governor.

W. J. Buck, Private Secretary.

January 24th, 1916.

W. M. Bell (Col.),

606 S. Hinds St.,  
Greenville, Miss.

Sir: *Chicago Defender*

I am in receipt of your letter. There could be no law passed as to compelling the negroes to pay poll taxes that would not be applicable to the whites also.

*2-9-16*  
The best suggestion I can make for your race is that they get the

best education possible, obey the laws of the state and the United States, work hard to make a living and keep out of politics. The great need of your race is, more personal purity among both sexes.

Respectfully,

THEO. G. BILBO,  
Governor.

## W. ALLISON SWEENEY

Politics!" he writes.

Now what do you think of

What do I think of it, this Governor's letter printed above?

Think of it—at the risk of lese majeste, NOTHING!

Being but a type of his kind, and only fair to middling at that, the SIGN OF THE ASS, the democratic trade-mark gleaming from every angle of his gubernatorial carcass, there's nothing particular or unusual to be indignant over, in this familiar glimpse of the stock estimate that polywogs of his kind places upon BLACK EMERICANS, whether hailing from Massachusetts or Mississippi.

But there's room for a smile, don't you know, if one is built that way.

In attaching the prefix "colored" to his correspondent's name, was this small pigeon-livered official: "Gov.? Yes, Suh! Of Mississippi, Suh," taking precautionary measures, anticipating generations yet unborn, when his bones, having gone from dust to mud—black mud, it could not be said of him that ONCE IN HIS LIFE he so far forgot his southern ideals and training as to have been guilty of replying to a courteous note addressed to him BY A COLORED GENTLEMEN in the same INDISCRIMINATING TERMS used in answering the letters of white gentlemen?

But sticking a harpoon into the guts of this Mississippi Governor's screed, going further into it, it is to laugh, brother; to almost scream, were it not for the solemn, ghastly memories awakened: "Keep Out of

I opine this smug, complacent fellow, who prates of his "old mammy," no doubt, and the "possum and ash cake" she used to prepare, is not overly strong, either in "book larnin'" or native brilliancy, but at that, governor of a state; a more or less important political and geographic division of this great Commonwealth, it is inconceivable he could be guilty of such a "break."

"Keep Out of Politics!" "The amusing cuss!"

Not an acre of land, not a township, a county, a hamlet, village, town or city within the boundaries of that domain, stained forevermore with the crimes of slavery and disunion, of which he is Governor, but what has been moistened by the blood of colored men, shot, bludgeoned, hunted, torn to pieces by mobs and night riders, for striving, at different periods, and up to this very day, AS AMERICAN CITIZENS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, and SEALED IN BLOOD AND SUFFERING, TO CAST ONE VOTE AND HAVE THAT VOTE COUNTED.

Sure, he's funny, or is he just naturally "nuts," this little Governor of this crimson-stained state!

What's this: "THE GREAT NEED OF YOUR RACE IS MORE PERSONAL PURITY AMONG BOTH SEXES."

I was, and in the main, am still disposed, taking into consideration many influences and forces, under the heads of Cus-



tom, Tradition and Environment, running back into the centuries, to observe and criticize with some charity, if not complacency, an occasional sin and crime against Black Folks, as slaves, freedmen, and citizens, that that specific section of our land known as the South, has, beyond any other section, been guilty of, but, HERE I reach a dead stop!

It is written: "Fools rush in where angels fear to go."

When a two by four Executive of a sovereign STATE, and that a SOUTHERN STATE, and that SOUTHERN STATE Mississippi, that statistics informs us leads every Southern State, in the matter of miscegenation, forced and otherwise, in which the pursuing culprits were, and are to-day, and will be to-morrow, WHITE MEN, leaving behind them a BROOD OF INNOCENTS, helpless, maimed, stained, facing the battle of life FATHERLESS, jeered at, pitied, a bar sinister going with them everywhere, not stopping at the grave, my charity flees from me; an unusual something seems leaping through my veins—and, well, just at this moment meeting the Governor of Mississippi I am very much afraid I could not treat him with politeness.

## MUSKOGEE MAYOR RENOUNCES NEGRO CITIZENS

MAYOR WYAND WOULD DRIVE NEGRO BACK IN MUDHOLE. WOULD BE GLAD IF ALL COLORED PEOPLE WOULD MOVE OUT OF REEVESVILLE.

6/10/16  
Voice of the People  
(Special to the Voice), Muskogee,

Okla., May 10.—Despite the fact that the Negroes of Muskogee are heavy tax payers and law abiding citizens, tends to cast but little human justice upon them, so far as the cities "bosses" are concerned for it is alleged by members of the Negro citizens committee of Reevesville that the Hon. (?) J. E. Wyand vice crusader, and Mayor of the city said that he for one white man would be glad if all Muskogee "Niggers" would move out to Reevesville, and is said to have

added further that: "If a white man goes out there he should have hell shot out of him," which tends to show that the Mayor is strongly opposed to the "Nigger," as he calls him residing at a place that is not by any means in harmony with the white citizens that community, for first of all, Reevesville is a settlement without paved sidewalks or police protection without electric or gas lights and is a sequel to a mudhole during the rainy weather, and is by no means fit for a decent person to find comfort in residing there. Yet, the Mayor is bringing it before the eyes of the white citizens that it is the best place for them, and unless the more humanly whites of this city reprove the action it is quite probable that "Reevesville The Mudhole" will be the residential section of its Negro citizens.

Each week of the summer season the United States health bureau urges the city authorities to look after the health of its citizens, and sends notices to various newspapers for publication, that the citizens may not over look this fact, but at Muskogee, without any means of sewers to protect the Negroes against the various diseases that standing water often brings forth, is evidence enough to neulcate that the action of the Mayor is far inhuman, and that his whole heart and sole rests upon their being segregated, also, they are denied fire protection, but may be that's why the water is left standing, but nevertheless there should be a withdrawal of their tax fees, or a definite reckoning between them and the whites.

In the recent campaign which resulted in the Mayor's election the Negro was lugged into it, and minus a particle of property or gentlemanly reason, on the Mayors part. The Negro on going to the polls found that he was not registered, and hence, he could not vote. The results of the election showed that Wyand receiving 2000 votes, and his opponent with barely more than 500 was conclusive evidence that there were no Negro votes casted.

THE NEGRO IN FLORIDA ELECTIONS  
Isn't it a fact that the negro, under the present system, helps elect, since they vote in your primary?

Would it be any worse for them never be two political parties in to help elect in the regular election Florida. tion than to elect in the primary?

These questions asked of the Independent several days ago by Mr. A. R. Welsh, seem to us deserve an answer, and we have noted none in that paper.

Assuming that by "your primary" is meant the Democratic primary, for only the Democratic party now nominates by primary, Mr. Welsh evidently has a wholly wrong impression. For the negroes most certainly do not vote in the Democratic primary.

Mr. Welsh, although a resident here of some years, apparently does not yet understand Florida's election laws, and no doubt there are many others.

Florida has solved the negro question so far as state and county offices are concerned, and she has done it fairly and legally, without any disfranchisement. By this law a primary elections held, and all political parties are required to nominate their candidates by this primary; and the state committees of the parties are given the power to prescribe the qualifications of those who may vote the respective party tickets. Nowhere in this law is there any reference to any color or race or party, and it is therefore absolutely fair.

A political party under this law is one polling five per cent of the total vote of the last election. And that is fair. It so happens that the Democratic party is the only one that has recently polled that per centage, and therefore the Democratic nominating ticket is now the only one in the primary; but the Democrats are not responsible for that.

The state Democratic committee in prescribing the qualifications for voting the Democratic ticket in the primary specifies "white citizens;" and therefore the negroes do not vote in the Democratic primary. The negroes may "help elect in the regular election," as Mr. Welsh puts it, as freely as anyone; but as the Democratic nominees are now sure to be elected, and as only whites voted in the Democratic primary, the negro is in effect wholly eliminated.

If Mr. Welsh is right in assuming that two parties would be best for the state, the Republicans can bring that about by organizing themselves as the Democrats have done; i. e., have their nominations made by white voters, and then get busy. Surely Mr. Welsh must know that so long as negroes may participate in Republican affairs there can

## "THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT Has Done Negro More Harm Than Good."

To the Editor of The Item:  
Some time since you accorded me, a colored man, a prominent space in your paper and I am thereby made bold to solicit further consideration. I quote from the Chicago Tribune:

"It is a fiction that a negro has full civil, meaning full social, rights in any American community. If the law protected negroes completely and if they insisted upon exercising all privileges theoretically accorded them a general suspension of many lines of business would result. There would not be a hotel in the city. There probably would not be a restaurant or a theater and there might not be nearly so many churches. The facts candidly faced seem ugly, but custom and habit, undisturbed by agitators, make them harmless. They have been harmless and it is only disturbance that can make them ugly. . . . The social relations in which the white and black parts of our population stand with regard to each other never will be determined by enactment of law or ordinance."

This is absolutely true, and the intelligent colored person knows that the repeal of all laws, which were mistakenly enacted for the purpose of trying to enforce, by legislation, the recognition of the colored race, socially and politically, is for the immediate and ultimate betterment of both races. The adoption of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States was a great mistake—a mistake greater from the standpoint of the negro than from that of the white man.

Free-born Americans are not going to submit to laws that the majority conscience disapproves.

The consequent violation of the amendment, the fraudulent voting, the political bulldozing and the legislative subterfuge by which it is accomplished, while natural and hence excusable, has had the necessary evil consequence of lessening in all classes, respect for all law.

This contempt for law has done more injury to the colored race, who, because in a minority, is entirely dependent for protection upon the enforcement of law, than political liberty, or the right of franchise, could have benefited it.

The opposition of the white people of the South to the political or social equality of the negro, fresh from slavery, was natural and right. Aside from the justice of an opposition borne of the ignorance and immorality of the race, due to the degradation of recent slavery, the antagonism was accentuated by the fact that the emancipation was enforced, and amounted to the confiscation of private property. Impotent

of retaliation against the government responsible for the property loss, the resentment of the dispossessed owner took form against the liberated slave.

If the sentiment was unjust, it was nevertheless human. The mistaken attempt to ignore and over-ride this natural antagonism augmented its violence, and cultivated a racial prejudice, far beyond that, incident solely to a difference in breed.

I strongly advocate the repeal of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, thus removing from the states the fear of the negro as a political factor, and thereby lessening the prejudice against him, and consequently leaving to him the opportunity to secure, not by statute, but by his intellectual and moral development, in the fields of endeavor which naturally and voluntarily open to him such political and social recognition as the approving public conscience may voluntarily accord him.

PAUL PICOU.

## STOUGH WILL ATTEMPT TO SWAY NEGRO VOTE

Evangelist Plans to Swing Balance of Power Against Mayor Riddle

ATLANTIC CITY, Feb. 7.—With but six days left in which to complete his herculean task of expelling the devil from Atlantic City, Evangelist Henry W. Stough has announced that tomorrow night he will carry the battle into the black belt of the city and speak in several of the largest of the colored churches.

Stough makes no secret of the fact that his object is to appeal to colored churchmen to join in the movement of 4000 white churchfolk and a host of trail-hitters to shatter the grip of Mayor Riddle on the colored vote.

The colored vote constitutes the balance of power, and without it, the legions Stough has enlisted for a clean-up at the city commission primaries in May contend, Riddle cannot be re-elected.

Indignation is general throughout the city over the manner in which John D'Agostina, a Riddle henchman, in "Little Italy" who was arrested for attempting to stampede Stough's Sunday meeting a week ago, escaped conviction in the city court before Recorder Gaskill Saturday.

Stough grilled city authorities for permitting bathers to tango on the beach to sacred music in summer before the greatest crowd of his campaign last night. He hopes to launch, before he leaves the city, a week from today, an organization to drive Mayor Riddle from public life and destroy the movement slowly taking form to revive the wide-open Sunday in Atlantic City.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage

POST

Chicago, Ill.

AP 23 1916

### Mr. Wilson and the Negro Vote

By Rena Michaels Atchison

IT WAS SAID that 10,000 colored men voted for Mr. Wilson in 1912. Why? Did they think that Mr. Wilson's southern birth and training would be helpful to them in securing political justice? Mr. Wilson's oft-repeated phrase, "I speak as a southerner," has been emphasized, from the first, by acts which show him to be a southerner of the old type and not one who represents the progressive element of the new South.

His Jim Crow methods of segregation of colored men and women in the departments at Washington show that he feels as a southerner and no as an American on this question of simple justice. His uncalled for humiliations of men and women who had rendered efficient service in those departments for many years leads us to believe that the Washington correspondent of the Detroit Free Press may be correct in attributing Mr. Wilson's opposition to suffrage to the same cause.

"Persons close to the President," declares this correspondent, "say they believe his private opinion is that woman suffrage in the South would be bad for that section of the country on account of the increase it would cause in the negro vote."

Suffragists of the South know that this is the specious argument of every southern man who is opposed to giving the ballot to women, white or black. This is another of Mr. Wilson's excuses.

He knows, or he ought to know, that the enfranchisement of the women of the southern states would in no way complicate the race problem.

There are in the southern states 2,087,286 more white women than negro men and women put together. In all the fifteen southern states, except Mississippi and South Carolina, the white women greatly outnumber the negro women. In nine of these states the white women outnumber the total negro population. In Mississippi and South Carolina, where the negro population outnumbers the white population, the colored man is practically disfranchised. Mississippi imposes a heavy educational qualification; South Carolina both an educational and a property qualification.

Mr. Wilson knows, or he surely ought to know, that the enfranchisement of women in the South is not a question of race, but of sex. The intelligent women of the South know this, and it was because of this that at the recent conference of the National American Woman Suffrage Association twelve of the southern states voted for the federal amendment. They know that their only possible hope of obtaining the ballot is thru a federal suffrage amendment. The white women are not afraid of the colored woman's vote.

A highly educated negro, a graduate and post-graduate of Yale University, told the writer that he never attempted to vote. He had to decide whether martyrdom for the ballot or living for the education and uplift of his people would count more in the end, and he had chosen the latter

course. This incident accounts for the fact that the percentage of the negro vote to the population in 1912 was in Mississippi 3.3, in South Carolina 3.3, in Georgia 4.6, in Louisiana 4.7, in Alabama 5.5, in Florida 6.8, in Texas 7.7, in Arkansas 7.8. In Michigan the ratio was 19.6 and in the whole country 16.4.

Why should the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments be mere scraps of paper in any state of this republic? Everyone who is an American at heart will indorse the Detroit Free Press in its statement of the case:

"If woman suffrage or anything else should increase the negro vote it would bring about in our own country that condition of 'full and free elections' for which Mr. Wilson has stickled in the case of Mexico. It would apply to ourselves the lofty ideals we have advocated volubly for other countries and for humanity. It would be consistent and a sincere practice of professions. But Mr. Wilson, who has repeatedly declared his public opinion that only by the exercise of self-government can other nations and humanity rise to higher levels, confides to persons close to him his opinion that it would be bad for his own country to permit its people the exercise of self-government."

And thus "the new freedom" for man means the perpetuation of the old political bondage of the women of the South, black and white. Will the colored women of Illinois vote for the perpetual bondage of their sisters in the South or will they vote for the man, Charles Evans Hughes, who has declared for giving the ballot to every woman thru a federal amendment, and for the Republican party—the only party thru which the colored man could have received the ballot.

For the first time the colored women of Illinois have the power to vote for President by presidential electors. By voting for Mr. Hughes they can take the first step toward the enfranchisement of their southern sisters, or by voting for Mr. Wilson they can keep all the women of the South in perpetual political bondage.

### AS TO GEORGIA REPUBLICANS.

*The Atlanta Independent*  
To the Editor of The Telegraph:  
The "Macon" correspondent of the Atlanta Journal in the issue of the 31st ult., quotes Alex. Akerman as declaring, "There is no doubt that Walter H. Johnson will lead an uninstructed delegation to Chicago." I am surprised to see Mr. Akerman allied with or interested in any movement which concerns the Republican Party of Georgia. In 1908, on my return from the National Convention, I traveled on the same train, in the same sleeper with Mr. Akerman. He voluntarily informed me that he was disgusted with the Republican Party, as handled by Walter Johnson, Hitchcock & Co.; that he had determined to discontinue his connection with it. He was then friendly with Judge Speer, giving me a detailed statement of how good and kind the Judge had been to him, how the Judge had made Blun agree not to interfere in appointments pertaining to his court or its officers, before he would support Blun for National Committeeman, that the Judge was to

control all appointments connected with his court. I know Akerman, to be elected State Chairman by the Republicans of Georgia? He is the same Goree that was Chairman of the Democratic Committee of Hamilton county, Tennessee, of which Chattanooga is the county seat. He is the same Goree that had the Negroes re-close touch with Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, which no intelligent man could possibly believe. The truth of the matter is, he is on the ragged edge in company with McKee, Goree, Dewitt Cole, Jack Spence and that class of machine politicians, who if Walter Johnson fails to carry his point and the committee refuses to order a primary—which would be manifestly unjust—for the gratification of the "Progressive Republicans," a Republican for office only. It was too much for him. Would you, the meetings and conventions with Negroes—such as the Republican Party of Georgia, support this man Goree, with this record, for Chairman of Georgia has always held, and on account of poverty must always hold—of Georgia? No, I do not think so. The intelligent Republicans, of whom Alex. Akerman speaks, should have twenty years will go down in disgrace with this old-line leader, whose greatest efforts for party success has been his sanctimonious attitude toward party adherents, his playing into the hands of Democratic Senators and Congressmen, who has influenced endorsements, until prior to the defeat of Taft, three-fifths of our Federal offices were occupied by a class who could neither vote or assist in party organization. If Walter Johnson's own statements be true, he should have long since dragged his dishonorable and intelligent men in the ease-wearied body into utter seclusion. Instead of that this "Grand Old Man" of this Union, men who are capable of guiding the party out of this Spence, but in reality from Alex. Akerman—comes back after having sold out to Roosevelt and disregarding his instructions in 1912, comes back equipped with money furnished by Roosevelt's sympathizers seeking what further evil he may do the Republican Party of Georgia. This "sub rosa" organization, headed by Walter H. Johnson, having for his henchmen Hugh L. McKee, C. P. Goree, Dewitt Cole, Alex. Akerman, Jack Spence and that class of old-line machine politicians, never can again successfully control of the party organization. These men have held on to the machinery of the party for no reason but to enjoy the emoluments of office; in fact, they are Republicans for "revenue only," who are willing to turn over the organization to a few Progressive Republicans and disgruntled Democrats, because on account of their infidelity they can no longer perpetuate themselves in power. Who is this



Commercial Appeal  
Memphis, Tenn.

# NEGROES AND WHITES MIXING O. P. FEST

State Campaign Manager Slips  
Into Memphis.

BIG SLUSH FUND RUMORED

Conference Runs Until 1  
O'Clock at Peabody.

NEGRO LEADERS ATTEND

Bob Church, Negro Leader, Slips Into  
Conference at 11:30 O'Clock—Re-  
publicans, Desperate at Success of  
Gov. Rye's Speech, Are Prepared to  
Make Wild Effort to Carry Shelby.

J. Will Taylor, chairman of the state  
Republican executive committee and head  
of the state campaign, slipped into Mem-  
phis on a 10 o'clock train last night. Two  
hours later he was in a midnight confer-  
ence at the Peabody Hotel with a score  
of local Republican leaders, including R.  
R. Church, Jr., negro leader.

Word had been passed about amongst  
the boys on the streets all day that J.  
Will Taylor was coming with a great  
slush fund to be used in Shelby for Tues-  
day's election. Several local Republican  
leaders denied that Taylor was coming,  
but most of them met him at the train  
last night. That part of the street rum-  
or was verified by Taylor's appear-  
ance.

If the tale of the slush fund is not  
true also, then a crowd of politicians  
hobnobbed way into the morning right on  
the eve of the election for the first time  
in history when the discussion was other  
than the distribution of funds.

Church's Presence Significant.

Church's presence at the conference is  
significant. It is usual for a negro or  
two to attend and take a leading part  
in Republican conferences in this coun-  
ty. But during the present campaign the  
whites and negroes have declared vocifer-  
ously that they are hopelessly apart.

Both whites and negroes have a candi-  
date for Congress. John W. Farley, the  
white candidate, attended the conference  
last night, despite the presence of

Church, who is head of the Lincoln Re-  
publican League of Tennessee, the negro  
organization that has been organizing the  
negroes all over the state and drilling  
them to vote.

David W. Marks of Covington, candi-  
date for joint senator from Shelby and  
Tipton, was also among those present.  
In fact, at the conference were the lead-  
ing spirits of the three parties that are  
making the fight against Rye and De-  
mocracy in Shelby County. They are  
the Republicans, the local optionists and  
the negroes.

The Republicans assuredly must have  
a great fund to turn loose in Tennessee  
if they are financing three campaigns in  
Shelby.

It was a conference that will go down  
into the history of Tennessee politics that  
was held at the Peabody Hotel last night.  
It took place on the third floor.

Beasley With Taylor.

Mr. Taylor was accompanied by James  
S. Beasley, who was chairman of the state  
board of prison commissioners under B.  
W. Hooper. They arrived on the 10 o'clock  
train from Nashville. They were met at  
the station by Harry O. True, Charles B.  
Quinn, Dave Marks and others.

The crowd filled two big touring cars  
and a runabout. All came up Mulberry  
Street, but one by one they sought side  
streets. They came to the Peabody sepa-  
rately.

Yandell Haun, Harry Anderson and  
others were awaiting the party in the lob-  
by. As soon as Will Taylor had registered  
more than a dozen went up to the confer-  
ence. John W. Farley, the white Re-  
publican candidate for Congress, arrived  
20 minutes late.

Bob Church came into the hotel by the  
parlor entrance at 11:30 o'clock. He was  
accompanied by another man, who the  
elevator boy said was a "Mr. Pace." He  
entered the elevator at once and was  
whisked up to the third floor and entered  
the conference chamber without the for-  
mality of knocking.

Shortly before Church's arrival C. B.  
Quinn and H. O. True departed.

At 12:30 o'clock cigars were ordered up  
and at 1 o'clock the conference broke up,  
its members leaving in parties of twos  
and threes.

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT.

Assuming that the movement of the  
Negroes to organize and send a delega-  
tion to Chicago is what it purports to  
be, that is, a Negro movement, pure  
and simple, without the backing of any  
white men, what are we going to do  
about it? Even if the courts allow  
the grandfather clause to stand as it is  
written, the time is at hand when it  
will be worthless anyhow, because the  
Negro has prepared himself to meet  
the conditions imposed. If the Ne-  
groes were organized they could be an  
active force in politics at this moment,  
to the extent of holding the balance of  
power.

The Constitution of the United  
States prevents the people of the  
Southern States from dealing with this  
problem honestly and aboveboard. The  
obstructing amendments were written  
in passion, if you choose, but they are  
there. Does any Southern white man  
believe that they can be removed,  
even now? Half the Northern States  
would have no vote with us first, and  
before that they would have to be

convinced that our intentions were  
honest.

We are in position to show a good  
deal of evidence to that effect today,  
but if we are honest with ourselves we  
must admit that there is also a good  
deal of evidence that can be brought  
against us. How can North Carolina,  
for instance, go into the court of  
Northern public opinion and plead that  
she means well by the Negro and will  
deal justly with him as long as the  
crime of Wayne county goes un-  
avenged? How can the South, as a  
whole, plead for a free hand in dealing  
with the Negro while Georgia drips  
with his blood? We have a vast prej-  
udice to overcome in the North, but  
it is not all prejudice, and every time  
one of these assassinations takes  
place the problem becomes harder.

It is the immutable law of the uni-  
verse that no crime goes unpunished.  
Our hands are stained with blood, and  
there is a terrible presumption that  
some of it is innocent blood. We have  
paid for it already, paid in more ways  
than we know, and a price greater than  
most of us imagine. We have paid for  
it millions upon uncounted millions of  
money; we have paid for it in the pros-  
titution of our system of justice and a  
growing contempt for all law; worst of  
all, we have paid for it in a coarsening  
of our moral fiber to such a degree that  
now reports of such horrors rouse in  
us only a languid interest.

But there is no assurance that the  
score is settled yet. Part of the pay-  
ment is the alienation of the sympa-  
thy of our own race in the North, so  
that they are pretty sure to leave us  
to fight our battle without help or en-  
couragement from them. It may easily  
come to pass that the payment will in-  
clude another struggle worse than the  
one of the last generation. Is it not  
time to quit running up the account?—  
Greensboro, N. C., News.

EVENING POST  
New York City

## RIVAL DU PONT LEADERS SEEK NEGRO VOTERS

FAMILY HEADS IN BITTER FIGHT  
FOR PARTY CONTROL.

Nightly Meetings in Delaware with  
Parades, Fireworks, and Free Ice  
Cream in Republican Primary Elec-  
tion Campaign—Four Committee-  
men Expelled by Organization for  
Attending Alfred I. du Pont Meet-  
ing—The Fight for Senator.

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]  
WILMINGTON, Del., August 1.—The Re-  
publican party primary fight in Delaware  
has developed into a bitter struggle of du  
Pont family factions for political su-  
premacy, and the contest is marked with  
as much acrimony as was the legal con-  
test over the sale of Coleman du Pont's  
large block of stock in the du Pont Pow-  
der Co. Coleman du Pont and Henry A.  
du Pont, United States Senator, are lead-  
ing one faction; Alfred I. du Pont, who  
conducted the legal battle to have the  
sale of Coleman du Pont's stock set aside,  
is leading the other faction.

The Coleman du Pont-Senator du Pont  
faction comprises the regular Republican  
party organization, which has been in  
control in the State for more than ten  
years, and Alfred I. du Pont heads the  
opposition. The need of new leadership  
in order to insure Republican success at  
the election, the organization leadership  
being charged with unfitness and unbear-  
able intolerance, is the slogan of the oppo-  
sition.

While workers of both factions are ear-  
nestly seeking votes at the party pri-  
maries to be held on Saturday, August  
19, this work is being conducted quietly,  
except in Kent County, where the fac-  
tional campaigns have aroused both ex-  
citement and deep resentment, because  
of the charges of a disregard of right  
and justice by the organization forces,  
which are in control of the party ma-  
chinery. The contest is being publicly  
waged in the newspapers of Wilmington,  
three of which—one morning, one after-  
noon, and one Sunday newspaper—are  
controlled, if not absolutely owned, by du  
Pont interests. The afternoon daily and  
the Sunday newspaper are supporting  
Coleman du Pont and the Senator, while  
the morning newspaper is the ardent ad-  
vocate of the cause of Alfred I. du Pont.

Accustomed to long years of absolute  
submission to its dictation in party af-  
fairs, supporters of the organization re-  
fuse to admit that the opposition can be  
based on any other than motives of party  
treachery. The publicly expressed de-  
sire of the opposition to bring about a  
change in party leadership as a move for  
the benefit of the party, and one abso-  
lutely necessary to restore it to public  
confidence, is repudiated scornfully by or-  
ganization leaders and denounced as trea-  
son to the Republican party of State and  
nation. In Kent County, the party com-  
mittee has actually treated it as such and  
visited the punishment of expulsion upon  
the offenders.

EXPULLED FROM PARTY.

For the alleged offence of attending a  
meeting of Republicans called for the  
purpose of considering the propriety of  
ringing about a change in the party  
leadership, four members of the Kent  
County Republican Committee were ex-

pelled from their positions. One of these  
four members is State Senator John A.  
Barnard, who holds over throughout the  
1917 session of the Legislature, and, in  
the event of the next State Senate being  
divided politically as was the last one—  
nine Republicans and eight Democrats—  
would hold the balance of power, and be  
able to make the body either Democratic  
or Republican, as he chose. Yet so  
desperate are the organization leaders  
that they expelled Barnard, charging  
him with party treachery, and declaring  
his connection with the party forfeited,  
despite his official position of such great  
political importance.

The primary campaign in Kent Coun-  
ty is being conducted with great vigor,  
and is marked by special efforts to en-  
list the support of the negro voters. Hith-  
erto, the negro Republicans have been  
faithful followers of the old party orga-  
nization, but many of them are now sup-  
porting the opposition. Meetings of col-  
ored voters are held nightly all over the  
county, with parades, fireworks, and free  
treats of ice cream and other refresh-  
ments. Both factions seem to be liberally  
provided with money for the campaign.  
There is now no doubt that Senator du  
Pont's renomination by the Republican  
State Convention to be held on Tuesday,  
August 22, depends entirely upon victory  
for the party organization at the prim-  
aries. He has openly allied himself with  
the organization, and Alfred I. du Pont  
has publicly urged the defeat of all aspir-  
ants to nominations, high or low, who  
adhere to the present party organization.  
This certainly includes Senator du Pont,  
but thus far there has been no intimation  
of Alfred I. du Pont's selection for the  
Senatorial nomination, in the very prob-  
able event of the State convention falling  
into the hands of the opposition. He  
has, however, intimated that he is not  
seeking it for himself.

## TWO DELEGATES FROM NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

(Special to The New York Age.)  
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Aug. 1.—In the Presi-  
dential primaries, held April 25, the  
surprise in the voting in the city was  
the probable election of two Negroes,  
James A. Lightfoot, a lawyer, and W. F.  
Cozart, a head waiter, to the National  
Republican convention as delegates from  
the Second district over County Clerk  
Harry L. Knight of Burlington County  
and Richard M. Moore, a Bridgeton  
glass manufacturer.

The heavy vote was due to the efforts  
of Mayor William Riddle in a battle  
with City Commissioner Harry Bacha-  
rach and his brother, Congressman Isaac  
Bacharach. Out of twenty-five precincts  
in the city the Negroes carried twenty-  
one. The other sections of the district  
will like show their defeat.



A meeting was held out in the vicinity of Kenton, a few nights ago, when a well-known Organization Republican worker of Clayton made a comparison between the treatment of certain white Republican leaders and colored Republican



leaders by an alleged anti-Organization worker of Smyrna. But investigation showed that no such incident had occurred.

Other Republicans of Smyrna are becoming indignant over the repeated attacks made on reputable citizens of this town by Organization leaders.

#### "REFRESHMENTS" AT MEETINGS.

The following circular was found in the automobile of a Dover Republican, who was in Smyrna Tuesday night:

#### Union REPUBLICAN MASSMEETING

Held in the interest of the Colored Voters of Fifth Representative District at the Knights of Pythias Hall, Queen Street, Dover,

Friday Evening, July 14, at 8 o'clock sharp Music. REFRESHMENTS.

Prominent Speakers will address the Meeting. Everybody Invited.

#### ANOTHER "GAG" STATEMENT.

There was a meeting last night at Rockwood, Fourth district, at which many white and colored voters were present. James Hiron, chairman of the county committee, was the speaker and Alden R. Benson, State chairman, was among those present.

The speaker, it is said, unfolded his gag rule plan by saying that the organization would allow only one set of names to go on the primary ballot, and if these names received only two votes out of thousands, they still would be recognized as the "duly elected delegates" to the State convention.

#### TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

#### "THE NEGRO BUGABOO."

Some of the Democratic speakers in the present campaign evidently fear that they cannot win the voters on real live issues and therefore "hike back" to the negro question as one upon which they may be able to stir up the electorate, and they do so in spite of the warning they have received from the leading Democratic statesmen and Democratic journals of Louisiana, of the harm that may follow forcing this counterfeit issue to the front.

Col. Pleasant himself, despite the desire he expressed at the beginning of the campaign to meet Mr. Parker in discussion of the real issues, the problems that are still before the voters and ought to be determined at the earliest day possible, is apparently drifting in the direction of the negro issue; and is more definite about it than he has been heretofore. He goes back to the time of Capt. Theobalds, forty years ago, and asks whether we want a return of the conditions that then prevailed. Why not go back further? Why not reorganize the White League of 1874 to protect New Orleans from negro government, or revive the Knights of the White Camellia of nearly a century ago? What these ancient but treasured memories

have to do with the present campaign has not been made clear. Those who rode with Theobalds have pointed out the absurdity of digging up the ancient skeletons along the Ouachita and trying to instill fresh life into them with hot air. What connection there is between the present campaign, in which only white men are engaged, and only white men are candidates, and the brilliant and successful fight of the last century against the negro, it is difficult to see. Col. Pleasant cites, apparently in support of the attempt to reopen the negro question, the fear that Mr. Parker is opposed to our primary system.

We have never before heard it suggested that the primary, now or any time in the past, has had any connection with the campaign against the negro. The contest between the race was settled long before the primary was even dreamt of. The negro has been disfranchised and white supremacy established beyond all question and for all time before Louisiana even took up the primary plan of making Democratic nomination.

We gave, the other day, the vigorous protest of the Ruston Leader, than which there is no truer Democratic and white supremacy paper in the state—against this false and mischievous issue. The Shreveport Journal, equally stalwart for white supremacy and Democracy, is equally emphatic in its warning. Those who are advocating this blunder cannot pretend that they have not been warned, clearly and specifically, and their folly pointed out to them.

"There is not an atom of justification for politicalizing the negro in Louisiana," says the Journal. "The imagination can conceive of no deader political factor than the negro in this state. The constitution of 1898 fixes irrevocably the political status of the black man."

Not only are the leading Louisiana Democratic papers warning us on this score, but throughout the South the folly and harm in this attempt to breathe new life into the negro question is being pointed out. It is declared absurd even in states like Mississippi and South Carolina, where the negroes are still in a majority. How much more absurd is it in Louisiana, with more than 300,000 white majority. As the Journal points out, this issue only weakens the Democratic cause besides carrying an element of danger with it. Those who wish peace, order and progress in Louisiana should protest against this false issue, should protest against this attempt "to frighten the people about this negro bugaboo," should, as our neighbors assert, "let the negro alone."

#### CALL

New York City

## The Awakening of the Negro

WE ask the attention of our readers for the account—which appears elsewhere in this issue—of our correspondent, E. J. Dutton, of the Independent Political Council of Harlem, an association composed mainly of colored people. It is interesting to note that he declares that the most influential and intelligent of the membership have reached the intellectual point from which they can discern the worthlessness of the Republican party to the Negro as a medium for bettering conditions for that race, and that many of them have gone even farther, and recognize that the well-being of the Negro is ultimately bound up with Socialism. And this is no small progress, when it is remembered that, as Mr. Randolph, their president observed, "the Republican party is a religion to the colored man."

Of course, popular history records that the Republican party "emancipated the Negro," and it has never permitted the Negro to forget the alleged fact. Not that he was likely to, for his feelings of gratitude to that party always have been strengthened by contrast with the abominable social conditions forced upon him by those he has come to regard as his hereditary social enemies—the Democrats of the South. He may have his doubts about the heaven provided for him by the Republicans, but it is incontestable that he recognizes the hell the Democrats have prepared and still maintain for him in the Southland. And that this should find expression in a traditional gratitude to the Republican party is exactly what might be expected. The political level of intelligence among the mass of white voters is, in reality, no higher, but the cunning Republican politicians keep this tradition alive in order to maintain among the Negroes the wage slavery substituted for chattel slavery fifty-odd years ago.

That the Negro is gradually awakening from this political trance, and is beginning to recognize the fraud that has been practised on him, is one of the most encouraging signs of the times.

Some of the more intelligent of the Independent Political Council will vote for Socialism and its candidates, Benson and Kirkpatrick, next Tuesday. This is good, but more important still is the growing perception among Negroes that in Socialism lies the only real and final emancipation, not only for them, but for the entire human race. While we heartily welcome our colored Comrades who have reached this perception in the struggle for industrial freedom, we should like to impress upon them the still greater importance of assisting the other members of their race to perceive the same truth, and help place the Negro, who has tasted the bitterest fruits of both chattel and wage slavery, in the front ranks of the fighters for Socialism, the Hope of the World, for the rising intelligence of the Negro can only mean that he must ultimately turn to Socialism as the sole medium of relief for his oppressed and exploited race, in common with the oppressed and exploited of all other races.

#### NEGRO DIVINE RAPS WILSON.

Says President Has Discouraged Members of Race.

"Self-Help for the Negro" was the keynote of all the addresses delivered in the Western Negro Baptist convention yesterday, in session in the Pleasant Green Baptist church, Kansas City, Kas. Representatives from fourteen states are present. The Rev. T. L. Griffith of Topeka presided.

"Race, nation or individual who waited for others to do what should be done for self will never amount to

anything in this world," declared Dr. Griffith, "and the negro must learn that he must help himself and earn his way to civilization as other races have done. Civilization is not a garment to be purchased at some downtown store and worn off on first fitting."

Dr. Griffith spoke in words of praise of the brave Tenth cavalry whose troopers marched to death with songs on their lips and smiles on their faces for the American flag in Mexico. Then he took a fling at President Wilson, who had discouraged the race that had never been ready to die for the flag. No recognition was given the race, he said, but all they had gained in the fifty years was taken from them, and the position of recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia.

The convention was addressed by Rev. L. G. Jordan, D. D., of Philadelphia, Pa., foreign missionary secretary; J. R. Ransom, D. D., of the A. M. E. church; Dr. J. C. C. Owens, presiding elder of the Kansas A. M. E. conference; J. Frank McDonald, editor of the Western Christian Recorder, Kansas City, Mo.; G. A. Gregg, professor in Western university, Quindaro; Mrs. L. Louise McDonald, Kansas City, Mo.; W. T. Botts, Omaha, Neb.; L. K. Williams, D. D., Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Eva Hicks, Chicago; G. W. Hayes, Leavenworth, Kas., and S. Bates, Des Moines, Ia.

The annual sermon was preached by the Rev. W. H. Young of Springfield, Mo. President Griffith delivered his annual message. Secretary John Goins reported for the executive board, and reports were made by Treasurer George McNeal and the field secretaries, the Rev. W. W. Russell and Professor C. W. Rodgers.

Rev. W. R. Jackson, postmaster of Okla., preached the annual sermon last night.

Press

#### WILSON AND THE COLORED VOTE

President Wilson will receive the votes of very few of the colored men of the United States. The leaders of the colored people claim that he is the first President since Buchanan who has gone out of his way to ignore and humiliate the colored race and that he has shown his prejudice against them in a great many ways. Even Cleveland during his two terms in the White House showed himself to be a friend of the negro on many occasions, but Cleveland was a Northern man without any of the prejudices which Woodrow Wilson inherited. During his campaign Dr. Wilson promised broadness, fairness and generosity on this, as well as every other question, but none of these promises he has fulfilled. In a recent issue the Colored American Review scores the President severely for his many acts and failures to act and as this journal expresses the sentiments of 10,000,000 colored people in the United States it is not likely that many of those who vote will mark their ticket in Dr. Wilson's favor.

Kansas City, Mo.



## THE SOUTH IN THE SADDLE

Now Ruling the Country and Willing to Continue by Grace of Any Northern Element Which Will Call Itself Democratic—No Convictions Save on the Race Question.

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: Some of our Democratic Southern Senators, Senator Tillman among the number, are complaining because the Republican speakers are calling the attention of the Northern people to the fact that the South is again "in the saddle."

The South is either in the saddle or it is not. It is either governing the country or it is not.

To call the attention of the country to the fact, if it is a fact, is not, as Senator Tillman asserts, waving the bloody shirt. If the Northern people are satisfied that they themselves cannot run the government so well as the Southern people can, then they ought to vote for Mr. Wilson. There is no sense in trying to evade the fact that the South is the brains and backbone of the Democratic party. The South is perfectly willing to assume all responsibility of running the government, but is not laboring under any delusion as to its tenure of power. Be assured that every question of national importance which comes up will be settled in conformity with the welfare and happiness of the South, so long as the South is in the saddle. The South, of course, wants the North to pay the taxes and the taxes to be spent for the benefit of the South. The South has been taught that the North, when in power, taxed the South and spent the money for the North.

But, aside from the question of who shall pay the taxes, and where shall the taxes be spent, there is staring the country in the face the great fact that the solid South is a real menace to the happiness and welfare of the country. The South can never vote any other way than Democratic. Let the Northern people face that fact. In large sections of every Southern state the negroes either outnumber the whites or equal them, and for safety's sake the white people are determined never to divide so as to give any political power to the negro. Every public question is secondary to that. The South has stood for Sam Randall, of Pennsylvania, a Democrat in favor of high protection. Then it went wild over Watterson and a "tariff for revenue only." It stood for Cleveland and the gold standard, and then for Bryan

and free silver. It would as cheerfully have voted for the most hidebound conservative Democrat as it did for Wilson.

The South is perfectly willing to form a coalition with any dissatisfied element in the North, provided that element is strong enough to assure victory and will for the time being allow itself to be called Democratic. Every question is of secondary importance to the South in comparison with the one which appeals to us every day, namely, How does the solution of this question or that question affect our relation to the negro?

The negro is before us, in the flesh, tangible; all other questions are theoretical. We are going to settle this question—the tangible one—to suit ourselves. We have no firm convictions on any other question.

An important question came up some months back. President Wilson and his Secretary of War, Mr. Garrison, agreed that the best way to prepare the country to defend itself against foreign aggression was to compel every able-bodied male citizen of military age to undergo military training for a stated period.

The President went before the country and aroused the people to a realization of the danger of unpreparedness. His speeches were very effective. He came back to Washington ready to place before Congress his plans to raise this great army of soldiers. In the meanwhile the Democratic Congressmen from the South had heard from their constituents. These Congressmen went to Mr. Wilson and told him that the South would not for one minute agree to arming and training as soldiers the young negro men of the South. The king can do no wrong, and Mr. Garrison was unceremoniously kicked out of the Cabinet.

The menace of the South is real. We are a menace to ourselves as well as to you. Thousands of us vote the Democratic ticket, but in our hearts hope the good sense of the North will save us from a calamity of our own making.

AN OLD CONFEDERATE.  
Wytheville, Va., Oct. 16, 1916.

## THE COURT RULES

## AGAINST REJECTED ST. LOUIS BALLOTS

Judge Reynolds in Court of Appeals Rules Mandamus is not Proper Remedy. Facts will be Laid Before Legislature in January

11-24-16  
NINE HUNDRED BALLOTS  
REJECTED BY JUDGES

Missouri Law Giving Judges of Election Booths Arbitrary Power to Reject Ballots of Challenged Voters Should be Repealed

Judge Reynolds, presiding over the St. Louis Court of Appeals, handed down a decision Tuesday, denying the right of the court to order the rejected ballots of the Negro voters, challenged on election day, counted.

The judge made a verbal statement in which he said the rejection of a qualified voter's ballot under the circumstances complained of was an outrage, but that the proper remedy was not a mandamus, but a change in the law which would make such a condition impossible.

The official memorandum of the decision was as follows: "The application for an alternative writ of mandamus is dismissed without prejudice, the court being of the opinion that mandamus is not in this case the proper remedy.

Judge Selden P. Spencer, counsel for the Republicans, said the facts will be taken before the legislature soon after it meets in January.

The rejected ballots are those of Negroes who were challenged at the polls election day. The law prohibits only those from voting who have been convicted of petty larceny or greater crimes. Challenges without cause were made promiscuously by the Democrats November 7, for the sole purpose of cutting down the Republican vote. As a result nearly 3,000 Negro votes were lost, including the 900 rejected ballots and the voters who left the polls refusing to be humiliated. This number more than doubles Gardner's majority in the state for Governor and furnishes good ground for a contest, which is likely.

EVENING POST  
New York City

## The Electoral College.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST:

SIR: What the people of the United States need is a primer explaining the Electoral College. Ignorance of it is widespread. Probably more untruths and more half-truths are uttered about it than any other feature of our Government.

For more than a century the people of the United States have encamped alongside a political volcano threatening eruption at any moment. The absolute breakdown of executive government is a possibility at every Presidential election. We close our eyes to danger, trusting that heaven may always avert it.

A Presidential election is a triple process. The second step will be taken when the electors vote at their respective States capitals on the second Monday of January; the third, when the certificates showing how they have voted were opened on the second Wednesday of February in the presence of both houses of Congress. The dangers coiled up in these certificates cannot be known until the President of the Senate breaks the seals on that day. If as might easily happen, enough electoral votes to defeat the popular verdict were then rejected, there would be an instant demand for an amendment to the Constitution.

No constitutional amendment should be favored unless it provide who would become President were the candidate successful at the popular election to die before the electoral count takes place. At least one unsuccessful candidate has died in that interval; it is not impossible that a successful candidate may yet do so. In a debate in the Senate in 1887 Hoar maintained that the House of Representatives would then have power to choose the President, but Ingalls argued that it would not—that there was no constitutional machinery for continuing the executive office. The Presidential Succession act does not cover the case, inasmuch as it relates to a President in office, and not to the President-elect.

It is possible to sport with dangerous chances once too often. Let us find, if we can, what form of amendment is most desirable. For fear of stirring up the question of negro disfranchisement the nation should not be asked to court danger forever or accept some imperfect substitutes. To take that attitude is to put ourselves in perpetual bondage to the South.

Of course, no amendment ought to pass that does not simplify the electoral count and make its successful operation a certainty. This means that the defects in the Congressional law of 1887 regulating the count must be grappled with—a mighty problem which will test the faculties of statesmanship.

J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY.  
New York, November 29.

EVERY EVENING

NOV 29

## Unsatisfactory Electoral System.

As usual, the result of the election has provoked discussion of our electoral system of choosing President and Vice-President, with earnest recommendations of reform. The suggestion that seems to find most favor is a change to election by popular vote.

But it is not at all certain that this change would be any better, and it might prove worse. It would accentuate the protest of one part of the country against the solid voting of the Southern States, with large majorities resulting from disfranchisement of Negroes. It might incite the desperate efforts, here and there, to increase the popular vote for one candidate or another by fraudulent practices.

Fortunately, the objections to the electoral system are not so apparent in respect of the latest elections as they were in previous contests. Mr. Wilson leads largely in the popular vote and has a majority in the Electoral College, and therefore will not be a minority President.

Still, the question will be agitated, and there may be much talk in Congress next winter, with the usual probability of things being allowed to stay as they are. It is a fact that while the electoral system is far from satisfactory, no better system, or one more assuring of a fair record of popular sentiment, has been suggested.

Far more necessary are changes in the administrative system so as to provide for making the results of a popular election effective within a more reasonable period after election day. We elect a President early in November, but compel him to wait for inauguration until the fourth of March next ensuing, and experience has demonstrated that this is a bad time of the year for such an interesting popular function as the inauguration of a President.

Also, the country elects a new Congress in November, but that new Congress, unless called together in special session, does not meet for organization until the first Monday in December of the year following. How long this time must seem to new members. The Senate, as a rule, is called together in special session for a few days after March 4, to confirm important appointments by the President, but the House is seldom in-



cluded in this call. In recent years there have been several callings of the new Congress, House as well as Senate, in special session before the beginning of the regular term, and that may be the case next year.

BANNER

Shville, Tenn.

## GOVERNOR RYE FRIEND OF NEGRO

### Ira T. Bryant Addresses a Card to Members of His Race.

"Gov. Rye has been the governor of all the people and a real friend of the negro" is the declaration of Ira T. Bryant, secretary and treasurer of the A. M. E. Sunday-School Union, set out in a card to the members of his race regarding their duty at the polls Tuesday. The card is as follows:

"Next Tuesday is election time. God Almighty hates an ingrate. It has been said that the Indian never forgets an enemy; the white man never forgets a friend, but that the negro forgets both. That's not true. The rank and file of the negro race (who, by the way, are not office seekers, vote-sellers or bootleggers) will not forget Gov. Rye on Tuesday. It matters not how bitter they may be as it concerns certain other public officers they will not forget that in a time of need Mr. Rye has been a friend indeed. I was one of a delegation of negroes that called upon him when the iniquitous anti-tipping bill was up before the legislature. His only promise to us was that he would do what he thought best in the case. He did and it was to veto the bill when it came to him for his signature. When a dirty force of cheap politicians, Republicans and Democrats, black and white, were striving with all their might to throw our splendid state normal school into politics and sought the support of the governor, he promised to personally investigate all reports and to rid the school of whatever destructive forces that were impeding its progress. He immediately set to work to have a most rigid investigation of its affairs made by the board of education, which resulted in the placing of the school on the highest plane of any school of its kind conducted by negroes—a credit to the great State of Tennessee and the pride of its negro citizenry.

"In other words, Gov. Rye has been the governor of all the people. Regardless of race or color, and that's all any honest negro should ask. There are thousands of negroes throughout the state who, like myself, did not support him before, who will welcome the opportunity to cast their vote for him next Tuesday and thus show to the world that we are grateful men who do not forget our friends."

## G. O. P. STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

### PACKED IS CHARGE; ACTION DEFERRED

Because Chairman E. T. Franks and others of the Republican State Central Committee found it "packed" with Louisville men personally interested, they claim, the protest dealing with the methods employed in reorganizing the Republican County Committee here was not gone into by the State Committee in session at The Seelbach last night. Attention to the fact that four "interested" Louisville men held the proxies of four out-in-the-State members of the central body was called by Edward Hulp, president of the Get-Together Club, formed originally by Republicans and Progressives, and by G. J. Doig, president of the Lincoln Club, a Republican organization of Louisville. Chairman Franks and others of the committee agreed that the Louisville men holding proxies had no right to sit in their own case, and for that reason decided to defer consideration of the protest three weeks in the hope that every member of the State body may be present in person then.

Although no testimony was heard, the Central Committee decided to recognize the county committeemen in Whitley holding credentials signed by M. M. Crecilis, secretary of the old County Committee, for the time being at least, or until such time as evidence may place them in favor of the committeemen allied with the so-called Joe Schneider faction. The committeemen recognized are members of the Charles Finley faction.

Disputes in Morgan and Nelson counties over the recent reorganization of County Committees were left to the Congressional Committees of those counties for settlement.

#### Negroes Are Active.

A delegation of negroes, representing the Civic and Political League of Kentucky, submitted a petition to the State Committee calling upon it to set aside the action of the recent State convention, so far as it relates to the naming of delegates to the national convention and call a new convention for the pur-

pose of naming to the national convention four delegates, one of whom shall be a negro, from the State-at-large. The State Committee informed the negroes that it was powerless to do as asked, but suggested that possibly the National Committee on Credentials would refuse to seat the eight delegates from the State-at-large named at the recent State convention, in which event four delegates, one of whom will be a negro, will be seated, each authorized to cast a whole instead of half a vote.

John H. Gilliam, of Scottsville, defeated H. G. Garrett, of Winchester, for re-election as vice chairman of the State Central Committee, receiving a majority of one. Alvis Bennett was re-elected secretary of the committee without opposition, and Logan C. Murray was elected treasurer.

The four Louisville Republicans who held proxies of absent committeemen were Chesley Searcy, George Dailey, S. A. Anderson and H. C. Sanders.

Deliberations of the State body were held behind closed doors, on motion of J. M. Chilton, member from this district.

#### ENQUIRER

Cincinnati.

## BAJES

### Of Negro Voters

### Are Brought Into Ohio By G.O.P., 'Tis Charged.

### Democrats Aver State Is Being Colonized.

### County Chairmen Told To Be on Lookout.

## Railroads Suspected of Aiding Republicans in Alleged Effort To Turn Election.

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE ENQUIRER.

Columbus, Ohio, September 13.—Warning went out to-day from headquarters of the Democratic State Committee to county chairmen to be on their guard against colonization of negro voters in Ohio from the Southern states.

Apparently the view is held that this work is being done by agencies co-operating with the railroads, the managers of which are said to be desirous of defeating President Woodrow Wilson at all costs because of his action in the eight-hour affair. That there has been a large influx of negro laborers from the South there is no denying, and that most of them have gone to work on railroads is equally true.

In the warning that went out to-day the statement is made that the Republicans have surrendered Kentucky and are endeavoring through the expatriated votes to insure the carrying of Ohio and other states of the North. Among other things the letter of warning sets forth the following:

"On reliable information it is known that one crew has been shipped to Cleveland, another to Marion, Ohio, and still another in the southeastern part of the state. Attention is called to the fact that this shipment is being made from Kentucky into Indiana, Ohio and Illinois, ostensibly for railroad work. From Henderson, Ky., 700 have been taken within 60 days. Sixty-five were shipped in one day last week over the traction line to Evansville, Ind. Agents have been among this class offering \$3.25 a day for railroad work. Travelers along the railroad report large camps, most of the men engaged simply in cutting weeds on the right of way. Unusual activity has been noticed since the passage of the eight-hour bill.

"This simply shows that the Republicans are giving up a state known as hopeless to swing the balance in states they consider close. It is a repetition of the deal of 1896, when voters were bought at so much a head and voters were stampeded. Floaters were boldly voted, one negro later testifying that he had voted five times at various places along the railroad. The object then was to beat Bryan. It was accomplished, but the total vote swelled far beyond proportion of voting population.

"The purpose, of course, is to colonize close states for Hughes. These colonists would vote for Hughes wherever they might be, but their votes will count for more in states where there is a possibility of winning the Presidential Electors."

#### Not a Question of Race.

"Southern Democrats often agree on the principle that two strong political parties would be of benefit to the South," The Advertiser of Montgomery believes, but adds, with indisputable truth, that "each man wants the other fellow to break away to another party," that each "wants somebody else to leave the Democratic party and go into the Republican party."

The error is widespread that the South is Democratic solely on account of the presence of the negroes. That is an accentuating and fortifying fact of Democratic ascendancy in the South but not the first cause. Being preponderantly an agricultural region, having nothing to gain from protective tariffs, the South would have remained Democratic had there been no period of Reconstruction.

The North's post-bellum policy towards the South has prevented the formation and maintenance of a minority Republican party up to this time—such a party as otherwise might have come into being with the rise of the textile industry. Some of the manufacturers of the South, of steel and iron in Alabama and of yarn and cloth in the Carolinas, would naturally be Republicans but local considerations bind them to the Democratic organizations. Growers of sugar cane and of citrus fruits occupy a similar position, their products deriving benefit from protective duties.

The South is Democratic and will so remain, regardless of the negro question. The economic policies of the Republican party have borne harder, meantime, on the Southern negroes than on any other class, they being agricultural laborers and small farmers. If the race question could be eliminated from politics the Southern Democratic majorities would be increased because the negroes would be Democrats. The negro farmer and the white farmer have identical economic interests in the government and in legislation.



# Political - 1916 Suffrage

## SOUTHERNERS SEEKING TO SAVE LIQUOR TRAFFIC BY AID OF NEGRO VOTES

By Sam W. Small.



SAM W. SMALL.

An amazing thing has happened in the evolution of American politics. Southern senators and representatives who have heretofore stood valiantly for the historic attitude of the southern people in opposition to negro suffrage are now the foremost advocates of a referendum by act of congress to fasten the liquor traffic upon the capital district and city of the nation with the necessary, indispensable aid of negro voters. The interests of the liquor trade have done with these southerners what all the congressional amendments, the whole power of the national republican party for forty years and all arguments of the friends of negro suffrage have been powerless to accomplish—that is, converted these statesmen of the solid democratic south to the belief that the time has arrived to impose upon negro suffrage the power and duty of saving the liquor traffic from the perils of district prohibition.

They are ignoring the mandate of the constitution that congress shall have "the exclusive" power to legislate for the federal district in the name and for the behalf of all the people of the United States, who are the proprietors of the seat of government by cession of the states of Maryland and Virginia. They are proposing to invite the co-operation in legislation of a multitude of unorganized, hitherto disfranchised, and otherwise politically nondescript people, a large number of whom are citizens of other states or temporary official employees of the general government.

No similar proposition, although often presented by those persons, has ever before been entertained by the congress.

### A Marvelous Spectacle.

To accept it now and enact a referendum system for the liquor question in the District of Columbia will present to the people at large, and to the people of the southern states especially, the marvelous spectacle of southern congressmen inviting a balance of power of negro votes to fix upon the national capital an odious liquor traffic that offends national character and convictions.

How strange it will appear to the people of Alabama to see Senator Oscar Underwood, of that state, the author of a house joint resolution (H. J. R. 21, 60th congress, 1st session) "proposing an amendment to the constitution providing for the repeal of the fifteenth amendment," now pending in the senate with all his might and main to enfranchise the 30,000 colored men of voting age in the District of Columbia for no other pur-

pose under the heavens than to enable them to turn the scales of a referendum vote in favor of the defeat of the district prohibition bill and to save the life of the liquor traffic in the capital of the nation!

How much stranger still will it appear to those same people of Alabama to look upon their famous Achilles of Caucasian supremacy, Hon. Thomas J. Heflin, sworn opponent of negro suffrage and author of the proposition in congress to separate the races in the street cars of the national capital, now championing, for the salvation of the saloons of the federal district, the submission of the prohibition bill to the vote of an electorate that cannot possibly be constituted without handing over the majority-making power of such election into the hands of 30,000 negro voters!

### Senator Hardwick, Also.

How more amazing than either of those cases will be that presented to the people of Georgia when they see Senator Thomas W. Hardwick, who championed negro disfranchisement in the Georgia general assembly, who broke his way into congress as the apostle of the repeal of a part of the fourteenth and the total wiping out of the fifteenth amendments to the constitution, and who more than once has introduced joint resolutions providing for such repeals, now leading the forces for a white and black referendum on the district prohibition bill! He is the trumpeted and trusted Napoleon of the liquor miscegenationists who demand a district liquor traffic as the bastard outcome of this duo-racial suffrage.

How soon, now, may we look for these southern leaders of the national capital liquor negrophiles to return to their southern home states and sound the slogan of enfranchisement of the negroes of Alabama, Georgia and every other prohibition state in the "black belt" in order that prohibition may be repealed in them and the hellish liquor traffic, now almost wholly a northern institution, riot victoriously over the south again, riding upon the backs of a debauchable and debauched negro electorate?

Add to the above trio those stalwart protagonists of white supremacy, Senators Ollie James, of Kentucky, and Blair Lee, of Maryland, who are standing like a twin Casabianca on the burning deck of the doomed liquor craft, trying to harbor it safely in the national capital. The white democrats of both their states have made consistent and persistent records against suffering vagarious negro preponderant votes to decide the political, social and moral questions upon whose right settlement depend the peace, domestic securities and happiness of their white citizens. It will be intensely interesting to hear Senators James, Lee, Underwood and Hardwick back home explaining to their people why it was necessary to enfranchise the negro voters of the District of Columbia in order to protect three hundred capital city saloons from the fatal grip of congressional prohibition.

The Colored Woman and "Woman Suffrage Christian Advocate."

In a suffrage meeting held recently in the city of Denver, Mrs. Townsend Scott of Baltimore, a delegate on the "Suffrage flyer," which was touring the Western part of the country, is quoted as saying, "Southern wo-

men do want the vote and they do not fear the colored woman's vote." She contended that if the same qualifications are imposed on white and colored women the issue can safely be left to take care of itself. The speaker is said to have remarked that "Colored women are industrious, moral and intelligent to a far greater degree than the colored men. Many of them, too many of them, are supporting lazy, worthless husbands." She said that "only a few days ago a colored man, a big, strong fellow, came to her door asking alms, 'because lady,' he plaintively said, 'my wife done left me'."

From FREE PRESS

Address: Detroit, Mich.

Date JUL 15.

### BETTER CLEAN THEIR OWN HOUSE FIRST.

One of the issues on which Mr. Wilson will make his campaign this year is the Mexican situation. He will urge, and his supporters will urge in his behalf, that he should be sustained in his policy concerning Mexico's affairs because that policy is to leave the people of the country to settle their own troubles and that this is the Democratic idea and in accordance with American ideals.

On this issue Mr. Wilson may carry the solid south. How much actual belief in the principle of the rule of a country by its people have the voters in the southern states who will indorse the principle by large majorities?

A statement has been given out from Washington about the number of men of military age in the various states. Roughly the figures correspond to the number of voters in the same states, including a few more at one end of the age scale and a few others at the other end, but substantially the same. In the country as a whole the ratio of voters in 1912 to the total number of men of military age was 71 per cent. Let us see how large a proportion of possible voters voted in some of the southern states that Mr. Wilson may carry.

In South Carolina 17 per cent voted in 1912; in Georgia 23 per cent; in Florida 29 per cent; in Alabama 28 per cent; in Mississippi 18 per cent; in Louisiana 22 per cent.

That is to say, out of every 100 qualified voters, speaking roughly, anywhere from 83 to 71 did not have a voice in their country's affairs at the last election.

Everybody knows the reason. It is the Negro issue. The constitution of the United States guarantees the Negro against discrimination on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude, but these states do not permit the Negro to vote.

Put it on a population basis. In South Carolina only 3.3 per cent of the people voted in 1912; in Georgia only 4.6; in Florida 6.8; in Alabama 5.5; in Mississippi 3.6; in Louisiana 4.7.

The people of Mexico as to whom the voters of

the southern states may insist by their ballots this year that they are entitled by natural rights to regulate the conduct of their own affairs are much the same class as the Negroes in the south. In many parts of Mexico they do not measure up to the average of the southern Negro, and they have not the advantage of the influence of contact with cultured white men to elevate their standards or to check their passions. But they must nevertheless have the right of the ballot which is denied by the voters to the American Negroes.

Consistent, is it not? When the voters of the southern states have cleaned up their own house they will be more logical in partisan support of the lofty rhetoric about cleaning up the Mexican house. If it is a natural right for a Mexican half-breed peon to have the ballot, why is the ballot denied to his better, the American Negro?

### POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE

NEGRO

6/20/16.

Southern Christian Advocate

Ostensibly, the suffrage laws in the South do not discriminate against the Negro. We all know the intent is to prevent as many Negroes from voting as possible, but as far as the letter of the law is concerned, the suffrage of qualified persons without regard to race is approved. It is therefore reasonable to assume that as the Negroes meet the test they will be permitted to vote. This sentiment prevails in some sections. In the recent registration in Atlanta for the vote on the recall, 548 Negroes registered as against 393 at the last registration. In the first ward the Negro vote was quite a factor, there being 185 out of a total of 675 votes in that ward. More and more the Negro will become a political factor. It will be a long time before his vote will have the relative influence that it had at one time but his vote will be considerable. There are southern white men who believe that there can be no true democracy that discriminates with prejudice against any class of citizens.

From FREE PRESS

Address: Detroit, Mich.

### OPINIONS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.

A Washington correspondent informs us that "persons close to the president say they believe his private opinion is that woman suffrage in the south would be bad for that section of the country on account of the increase it would cause in the Negro vote."

In the south the Negro vote has been small. The state of Virginia, in which President Wilson was born, cast a total vote when he was elected amounting to only 6.6 of its population.

President Wilson began his manhood career in the state of Georgia, where he essayed to practice law.



The vote of Georgia in 1912 was 4.6 of its population.

Some of the other ratios of total vote to population in 1912 were: Alabama, 5.5; Arkansas, 7.8; Florida, 6.8; Louisiana, 4.7; Mississippi, 3.6; South Carolina, 3.3; Texas, 7.7.

The ratio for the whole country that year was 16.4. The ratio in Michigan was 19.6. Michigan obeys the constitution of the United States and makes no distinctions of race or color in the franchise. The northern states make no such distinctions. The southern states do make distinctions; this is the reason why the ratio of their votes to their population is so low.

If woman suffrage or anything else should increase the Negro vote, it should bring about in our own country that condition of "full and free elections" for which Mr. Wilson has stickled in the case of Mexico. It would apply to ourselves the lofty ideals we have advocated volubly for other countries and for humanity. It would be consistent and sincere practice of professions. But Mr. Wilson, who has repeatedly declared his public opinion that only by the exercise of self-government can other nations and humanity rise to higher levels, confides to persons close to him his private opinion that it would be bad for his own country to permit its people the exercise of self-government.

Oh, Humanity, what burlesque does Hypocrisy play in thy garments!

From **ST. LOUIS, MO.**  
Address **ST. LOUIS, MO.**

Date **NOV 5 1916**  
**HIS RECORD STICKS.**

John M. Parker insists that he has no wish to see the negro brought back into politics and that the success of his campaign could not have that effect.

But Mr. Parker never has attempted to deny that his election as Governor would be tantamount to the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt by the Republican convention and if Mr. Parker has a wish even nearer his heart than his own triumph it is that his idol may again sit in the White House.

If Mr. Roosevelt were re-elected as a Republican candidate what would be his position as respects the right of the negro to mix in politics and hold office in the South?

For an answer it is only necessary to turn back to the record of his administration.

During that administration the collector of internal revenue of Alabama played a conspicuous part in the exclusion of negro delegates from the Republican convention of that State, just as Mr. Parker's apologists say he would do in this State. When the negroes of Alabama brought the matter to the attention of Mr. Roosevelt he promptly removed the collector and in doing so issued this public announcement:

Neither the Administration nor the Republican party of the North will stand for the exclusion of any section of our people by reason of their race or color, when in other respects such persons have complied with the laws and are eligible under the law to full and free participation in political action and are of a high standard of personal character.

Mr. Parker professes to be a Progressive. He bitterly denounces the Democratic party both locally and nationally. He is heartily in sympathy with some of the fundamental principles of the Republican party, including that of high protection.

The Progressive party is in a moribund state. It will be finally interred at Chicago in June and Mr. Roosevelt, whether he is the nominee or not, will again become a Republican; and John M. Parker must follow suit because there will no longer be a Progressive party and, without self-stultification, he cannot return to the Democratic fold.

Do the thinking white people of Louisiana, calmly studying the racial aspects of this campaign, feel that they can vote for John M. Parker and run the risk of bringing the negro issue back into Louisiana politics, which would follow as surely as night follows day if Mr. Parker and Mr. Roosevelt were both to win?

That "Grandfather Clause" Again  
*Southern Christian Advocate*  
Since the "grandfather clause," which was written into the constitutions of several of the Southern States some years ago, when it was desired to disfranchise the Negro voters and retain the poor and illiterate whites, has been declared by the United States Supreme Court to be unconstitutional, ineffective, null and void, politicians are beginning to take advantage of the decision in its recoil upon those whom the law was intended to favor. Recently it was announced that suits had been filed in the District Court at Gretna, La., an over-the-river suburb of New Orleans, against the clerk and ex-officio registrar of voters demanding that the names of twenty-four citizens of the Sixth Ward who had been voting under the provisions of the grandfather clause be stricken from the list of legal voters. It was stated that this case would be watched with interest, no doubt, in all sections, as there are thousands of voters throughout the State registered under this provision. Furthermore, four other States are said to have practically the same clause in their constitutions, and cases similar to the Gretna case may be expected in all of these States, bringing discomfiture to many thousands of their citizens.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune says: "We must get rid of these grandfather voter sooner or later; the sooner the better, so that they will not involve the State in what may

prove serious differences with the federal authorities." 2/10/16.

## ATTACKING THE PRIMARY.

It is not surprising that a man of the emphatically conservative type, such as William H. Taft is recognized to be, should enter the arena and tilt against the primary system, but it is surprising to see The New York Times, a Democratic organ, second the former President and go him one better in assailing the new system which was to revolutionize politics in all American States.

We are not astonished that The New York Herald, strongly suspected of a fondness for so-called "big business," should also train a gun on the primary, but it is unexpected to find The North Dakota American, whose editor is a Progressive and a Wilson man go even farther than The Herald in attacking the system which he helped to establish in his State.

The New York Times frankly endorses the attack by Mr. Taft on the primary system, saying, "he probably expresses the opinion of most moderate men in saying that the primary is a fraud." The Times particularly objects to the primary because instead of abolishing the boss, it has enthroned him. In other days the boss could be held responsible, but acting through a primary and a primary organization, he can and does dodge all responsibility.

The Times must have had knowledge of conditions in Alabama; its brief description is accurate of conditions as they exist in Alabama. Alabama has a right to speak with the authority gained from experience. This State was one of the very first in the Union to establish a complete and direct primary system; in Alabama the system is now fifteen years old.

The voters of Alabama are not ready to abandon the primary; for one thing there is no apparent substitute for it except the convention system, which it has replaced. In equal frankness it must be said that the people have lost some illusions and some enthusiasm for the primary. It is no longer regarded as a political panacea; it is no longer looked upon as a sweeping reform which overcome all ills.

In fact, it is regarded as a very human institution, with certain manifest defects, endured now because there is nothing better in sight. The minority opposed to the primary are becoming more and more outspoken.

The Times and the North Dakota paper cite the undeniable failure of the direct primary to eliminate bosses. Every thinking and informed man knows that not only has Alabama not banished bosses, but that the political bosses, in recent years, have been more arrogant and powerful than ever

before. And, they are, as pointed out by The Times, not held personally responsible for their acts as in the old days, because their work is done by indirect methods.

The Times failed to discuss one feature of the general direct primary system which has given concern to thoughtful men—that is the evil influence it has had in deteriorating the character of the electorate. If men who know are to be believed, the source of power in a Democracy is often corrupted at the head. Assuredly, repeated charges are made publicly of political corruption. Candidates who have made the race for public office in Alabama, even some who have been elected, throw up their hands when they talk of their experiences in a primary.

If Alabama had been fully satisfied with the workings of the primary it would have found some laws with which it would have been content. But every Legislature since 1901 has adopted a brand new set of laws, regulating primaries. These laws are official admission that the primary has not worked out as it was expected to do. The last Legislature went even further in adopting a code of corrupt practice laws and a new set of primary laws which introduce a dreamy theory of second choice voting. The operation of this new system to be tried this spring for the first time will be watched with interest.

From **REPUBLICAN**

Address: **Springfield, Mass.**

Date **NOV 5 1916**

An inquirer the other day asked how The Republican could support Wilson, in view of his record in relation to the Negro. The New York Evening Post now more than justifies our answer that the Negro was not an issue in this campaign. It says:—

Curiously enough, Mr. Hughes has not taken advantage of this situation. It is one issue—about the only one—he has failed to use, though he could have scored heavily on Mr. Wilson had he done so. More than that, he has refused to answer letters from groups of prominent colored men and white friends of the race asking his position. His only reference to the problem was in an unsatisfactory speech at Nashville. Once when governor he said to a delegation that he did not care a rap for the Negro vote, and he has lived up to that in this campaign.

The publisher of the Evening Post is one of the most prominent and uncompromising friends of the Negro in America, and what he says about Mr. Hughes in this connection is undoubtedly based on inside information.



Political - 1916  
Suffrage

EVENING TELEGRAM  
New York City

# 'BLACK AND TANS' FIGHT G. O. P. 'LILY WHITES'

Chicago Convention Leaders Endeavor to Adjust Louisiana's  
Contest of Rival Delegations, One Without Negro Representa-  
tion and Other with Equal Number of Both Races.

CHICAGO, Friday. — Consideration of claims of contesting delegations to the National Convention was resumed to-day by the Republican National Committee, which opened its deliberations here Thursday with a continuous session lasting more than nine hours. The result of Thursday's work was a decision in the cases of sixteen delegates, nine from Georgia and seven from Alabama.

The Henry S. Jackson delegation from Georgia was awarded seats and seven protests in Alabama were settled by the seating of six regular delegates-at-large and a protesting delegate from the Ninth Congressional district. The committee also voted to place the delegates from Puerto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines on the temporary roll with the recommendation that they be given votes.

The Louisiana contest, involving twelve delegates, was first taken up to-day. Next on the schedule were the contests in Mississippi, Missouri and North Carolina, in the order named. The fight in the Louisiana delegation is between the so-called "Lily Whites" and the "Black and Tans," as has been the case at many other committee meetings preceding national conventions. The contesting delegations were chosen at separate meetings in Louisiana, the "Lily Whites" holding their meeting at a hotel in New Orleans, where negroes were not allowed entrance. The delegation consequently was composed exclusively of whites, the negro population being given no representation. The other delegation is composed of an equal number of whites and negroes. Neither side is committed to any candidate.

## TEARING DOWN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The Advertiser insists that the question of the method of electing Presidents is one which should hold the attention of the people at this time. The movement to discredit the present method is making headway. The

question is under discussion throughout the country. We believe when a second thought is given it that the people will unquestionably stand for the present method; but judging from the line of reasoning some of our journalistic friends are going out on, they have not yet given the matter serious thought. There are three substantial objections to abolishing the electoral college, two of which The Advertiser has already given attention:

(1). In practice the direct election of Presidents would greatly reduce the present voting power of those Southern States which have found it prudent to restrict popular suffrage. In theory it would make no change; actually it would bring radical changes and unavoidably so.

(2). The direct election system would lower the dignity of the States and lessen the voting power of the smaller States, while enhancing the voting power of the larger States.

(3). The system proposed would forever make it impracticable for any State—say a Northern State, for example—to put further restrictions around popular suffrage.

Who shall say that some day Ohio, or Illinois, or New York, may find it necessary to disfranchise certain elements—it is not an unreasonable hypothesis. Yet, direct election of Presidents would make it impracticable for them to take any such step, however desirable it might be to take the ballot from some persons who now have it.

## THE NEGRO'S FREEDOM.

Editor Ohio State Journal:

Several people, my intimate friends and others, knowing that I stand unyieldingly for the colored man as a race and a citizen, have urged me to answer a speech by a so-called leader of the colored people. I did not at first relish the idea. Rev. Mr. Gilliam is a very smart man, and I don't like to see quarrels among those supposed to be leaders of the race, but I must take this learned scholar to task for the speech he made at the Broad Street M. E. Church on Sunday evening.

Rev. Mr. Gilliam wishes it to appear that we were given the ballot a little too soon. He even goes so far as to say that it was not long before some negroes conceived the idea that they were qualified to become the president of the United States. Having been born a free man, Rev. Mr. Gilliam cannot realize that, the sooner the black man received his rights, the less he would have had to suffer. The ballot was not given to him too soon. Had he had a chance to demand his rights by the ballot sooner, probably such men as Thomas Dixon and others of like disposition would not have had the opportunity to teach him to steal chickens and snatch women's purses. Had he been given his freedom and the ballot sooner, the crimes that would necessarily follow the emancipation proclamation would have happened sooner, and the blackest curse that ever blighted America—the dark hatred for the negro—would by this time possibly have been eased a little. Eased to such an extent, probably, that, when a negro unfortunately happens to get into serious trouble, he would not be given such harsh sentences as he is given now.

Rev. Mr. Gilliam said that Lincoln perhaps did not appreciate the negro's utter lack of knowledge of the big task of citizenship. This is a task that needed preparation on the part of men and women just lifted from slavery and savagery. Allow me to ask how those 4,000,000 of black Americans could have prepared themselves for citizenship when there were in existence such organizations as the "carpet-baggers," the "Ku-Klux Klan" and other such societies? While some of these societies prodded him on to crime, the others sought to punish him. We have made an extraordinary progress, as Rev. Mr. Gilliam has said, but, had we been given the ballot sooner, before the idea of slavery had gotten such a hold on the Southern states, our progress would have been much greater. It is only everyday logic to say that, the sooner an evil is stopped, the lesser the after-results will be. And if Rev. Mr. Gilliam is to continue as one of our leaders, he must paint us in a different light than he has done.

O'CONNELL TONEY.  
Columbus, Feb. 7.

## DR. GILLIAM'S ADDRESS.

Editor Ohio State Journal:

I notice a statement in your issue of Monday, Feb. 7, relative to granting of citizenship to the negro. Rev. Dr. Gilliam, a negro of some note in our city, attempts to improve on the diplomacy of President Lincoln.

I cannot agree with Dr. Gilliam on the contrary, it seems to me that the negro has never had his full rights as a citizen except on paper. So why is Dr. Gilliam spending so much time, burning his midnight oil, spending his energy, in endeavoring to find faults in the nation's greatest president? Dr. Gilliam, you show that you are not a progressive but a retrogressive man. You do not look ahead but behind you as Lot's wife did in Biblical times. You say that the negroes conceived the idea that they could be president of the nation. You cannot prove such a statement in any history, not even in the most biased ones.

Is it not a fact that today in certain sections of our country negroes are forbidden the right to vote? They are de-

nied their rights as citizens, are denied even the public utilities in the South-land. Now a real leader would be spending his energy in the direction of helping the Southern negro to obtain his rights instead of looking back to the '60s. Can any intelligent negro give Dr. Gilliam credit for appearing before a white congregation to depress our race?  
H. H. THOMPSON.  
Columbus, Feb. 8.

News Observer  
Raleigh, N. C.  
OCT 1 1916

## Republicans And the Negro—A Contrast With Democracy.

To the Editor: Tuesday morning I read the in "News and Observer" an editorial, "Republicans and the Negro," which caused me to recall my personal observations of a number of years with reference to the actual political status of the two old parties in this State as to the negro vote.

When a young man at my home on the farm in Albertson township, in Duplin county, I always attended the political speakings and elections at old Prospect Church, the capital of the township, and there were approximately one hundred white voters and about eighteen or twenty negro voters in the township. Every white man voted the Democratic ticket and every negro voted the Republican ticket. And this condition prevailed for years.

I have been living in Mount Olive now for eighteen years.

In 1902 Hon. R. L. Glenn made a political speech here to a large crowd, composed of white people only, about one-third of them being ladies. A few weeks later, during the same campaign, Mr. Marion Butler had an appointment to speak here, but for some unknown reason could not come, and Mr. Robert G. Maxwell, of Duplin county, was here and made a speech, filling Butler's appointment. The crowd present was about as large as the crowd who heard Mr. Glenn, but Maxwell's crowd was composed of men only, about one-third of whom was negroes. Verily, the ox knoweth his master, etc.

A few weeks ago George E. Butler and one Frank Linney spoke here to a good sized crowd, and around the door and in the rear of the hall was a goodly number of negroes, some of whom were heard to remark on the streets afterwards, "Dey sho did tell it to 'em."

Yesterday ex-Gov. R. B. Glenn spoke here to good-sized crowd, composed of ladies and gentlemen, all white, the negroes and Republicans being conspicuously absent.

What do these things mean? A local Republican recently remarked that his purpose was to get white Democratic voters "mad" and they would then vote the Republican ticket. It is frequently reported of him here that he is out in the country making a house to house canvass in behalf of his party; and if his tactics are as indicated by



his remarks then he is filling the minds of the voters with whom he talks with any and all kinds of vile and vicious stuff and malignant ill-will so as to prejudice them against the Democratic party and its candidates.

This, perhaps, is one of the policies of the Republican party in North Carolina, and may be recalled by all who remember fusion days in this State.

Respectfully,

A. S. GRADY.

Mount Olive, N. C.

## TRADE IS CHARGED TO CORRIE FACTION TO GET BLACK VOTE

Negroes and Part of G. O. P.

Vote Offered by Tom Blodgett in Return for Future Support, Alleges W. B. Russell.

### QUITS CORRIE'S RANKS

#### AFTER HEARING OFFER

"Until This Time I Did Not Realize How Fatal Blodgett Alliance Would Be to Good Government," He Says.

Stingingly arraigning the Corrie faction and Tom Blodgett, a republican politician, W. B. Russell, a painter, of 53 Kennedy street, charges an eleventh hour attempt to trade the negro vote, controlled by Blodgett, to the Corrie faction in an attempt to defeat Asa G. Candler, nominee for mayor.

Therefore, Mr. Russell, at the last moment, quit the Corrie ranks and became a Candler supporter. A communication to the voters of Atlanta explains fully his reasons for making the change.

In his letter Mr. Russell says: "The last straw came when Tom Blodgett, a leader of the black portion of the republican party, stated at those meetings (the meetings which he—Russell—had attended as a supporter of Corrie) that he proposed to deliver

to Mr. Corrie the solid negro vote and a large portion (his following) of the republican vote."

#### Blodgett's Condition.

"It was stated," declares Mr. Russell, "that if he did this, he would expect, by way of reciprocity, that all the supporters of Mr. Corrie would in future elections, even by failing to participate in the primaries, join together with his crowd and take an active part in all our municipal elections."

Mr. Russell declares that he was active in attempting to get C. W. McClure to announce for mayor and later drifted into the Corrie ranks and that he was induced to act as he did by misleading statements made to him.

The charge that such an attempt has been made by the two parties to unite in their effort to throttle the vote of the democrats and deliver the reins of government into the hands of Blodgett's followers was confirmed Tuesday when a number of negro voters called The Constitution to investigate the promises made to them by anti-Candler campaigners.

#### W. B. Russell's Letter.

Mr. Russell's letter, which amply explains itself, follows:

To the Voters of the City of Atlanta: I have lived in the city of Atlanta, off and on, for the past fourteen years. My father was a confederate soldier and a member of the Seventh Georgia cavalry, and I was born and have always been a staunch democrat.

Under a misapprehension of the true conditions and being misled by statements made to me, I became involved in the movement to induce Mr. McClure to enter the race against the democratic white nominee for mayor, and from that I gradually drifted into the Corrie movement, have attended several of the Corrie meetings and was a worker in their headquarters.

While there I learned a great many things, which were not pleasing and which did not satisfy my conscience as a good democrat.

The last straw came when Tom Blodgett, a leader of the black portion of the republican party, stated at those meetings that he proposed to deliver to Mr. Corrie the solid negro vote and a large portion (his following) of the republican vote.

It was stated that if he did this he would expect, by way of reciprocity, that all the supporters of Mr. Corrie would in future elections, even by failing to participate in the primaries, join together with his crowd and take an active part in all of our municipal elections.

It thus dawned upon me that I was involved with the wrong crowd, so I immediately got out. There was no other course for a self-respecting, loyal democrat. Until this time I did not realize how fatal the Blodgett alliance could in the future be to good government.

I ask you to publish this because I want my many friends in Atlanta to understand the step that I have taken and the reasons therefor.

W. B. RUSSELL.

Atlanta, Ga., December 5, 1916.

#### POST

Chicago, Ill.

#### A Voice for the South.

CHICAGO, Nov. 11.—To the Editor of THE POST. Sir: In today's "Everybody's Say-So" an article "As to the South," signed "H," seems to have been judged meritorious enough to be given space, so, also, I suppose, an answer to it will be accorded the same courtesy.

"H" asks the following questions,

and I answer them:

1. "Is it because of the negro that the nation should not go Republican?" "H" seems to assume that the Republicans have a right to own the country. It is on account of the Germans that the nation did not go Republican on Nov. 7, 1916.

2. "Has the negro gained ascendancy and power over the white man, dictating to him what he should or should not do?" No, but northern politicians would like to force that condition upon the South. See the Force bill of the Harrison administration, and the attempt during Taft's term, to into the "black belt" in Chicago, "H," and see who is running it.

3. "Is it because they prefer free trade to a protective tariff?" There is no such thing in this country as free trade, never has been and never will be.

4. "Is it because the Democratic party always does more for the advancement of their country than the Republicans?" Generally speaking all of the big, outstanding, beneficial economic measures put thru for the benefit of the people as a whole have been accomplished by Democrats. The Republicans have unmistakably been uniformly partial to the North. They never heard of the golden rule.

5. "Do you know that there is a North and a West, both sections being larger and wealthier and more advanced?" What has that to do with Democracy or Republicanism? If the North and the West had been ravished, gutted and left to die as the South was, where would they be now?

6. "Do you know that by giving the Democratic nominee your solid electoral vote, you place a big handicap upon the opposing and, at times better, nominee?" Anything or anybody that handicaps that Republican bunch deserves the thanks of the country.

7. "Do you think that by doing so the leader of the nation is not always the true choice of the nation?" Depends upon what you consider to be "the nation." A great portion of it is south of the Ohio River.

8. "Do you know that you have become sectional in scope, not nation?" I do not know what "sectional in scope" means. The South will always be politically sectional until the North gets out of the idea that it is all of the United States.

9. "Do you know that you had a chance to indorse a third party, the Progressive, but failed to do so?" Under any other leader than Theodore Roosevelt the South would have been strongly Progressive, but southerners have been onto that braggart for twenty years. The South is now Progressive only.

T. H. E.

#### EXPRESS

Buffalo, N. Y.

OCT 14 1916

## USES WILSON'S DISLIKE OF NEGRO

sby, in speech to Colored Republican league, shows expressed policy reversed.

### NEGROES WEEDED OUT

Conditions made most unpleasant for colored postal employees and salaries cut.

### BECKER MANAGER FOR MOORE

Former sheriff takes charge of district attorney's campaign—Wilson here on October 30th.

William H. Crosby in an address to the Negro Republican league at Broadway and Michigan avenue last night called attention to the manner in which the Wilson administration had discriminated against negro citizens. He quoted from a speech of President Wilson at Philadelphia on July 4, 1914, declaring that the Democratic party set up no barrier against any particular people, and contrasted it with what actually has been done. Said Mr. Crosby:

"As soon as President Wilson was inaugurated there was formed in Washington a secret organization known as the Democratic Fair Play association. Among its honorary members were such noted opponents of the negro race as senators Hoke Smith, Vardaman and Tillman. President Wilson himself was included. The object of this association was to get rid of most of the negroes in the government service to make way for white Democrats. This scheme was exposed before it could be carried out."

Mr. Crosby told of the dismissal of negroes in the government service during Wilson's term. He credited the Cleveland administration with having been fair on this question. Mr. Crosby continued:

"The present Democratic administration found nearly 200 negro employees in the postoffice and in the office of the auditor of the postoffice department, with salaries ranging from \$1,800 down. Now there are less than 100 with anything like decent salaries. Every colored clerk in the office of the auditor has been reduced, with the exception of two. In the postoffice building negro employees have been assigned to obscure quarters, hidden away in some remote section of the building. They are discriminated against in every way as relates to the class of work, conveniences and common comforts."

Frederick Becker, former sheriff, will

manage the campaign of Guy B. Moore for election as district attorney. Headquarters for Mr. Moore have been opened in Niagara street near Franklin. Volunteer help has been offered to Mr. Moore from many sources because of the ability he has shown during his connection with the district attorney's office. Since he was appointed district attorney by Governor Whitman he has continued the methods of fairness that characterized the administration of Wesley C. Dudley.

The Republican campaign committee will announce today the arrangements for the Whitman and Calder meetings to be held at the Elmwood Music hall and Dom Polski next Wednesday night. Governor Whitman will begin a speaking tour of the state next Monday. It is expected that he will arrive in Buffalo about 5 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon. William M. Calder, Republican candidate for United States senator, will join him here.

Following the usual conferences at Republican headquarters yesterday Chairman Sisson said that the campaign programme had been well worked out and would soon be put into effect. The real campaigning will be during the last two weeks.

Voting machines for the instruction of voters were placed yesterday in Republican and Democratic headquarters.

Several complaints were received yesterday at the department of elections to the effect that a number of voting machines in local booths were not properly adjusted and that in some cases endorsing bars were lacking. Commissioner Beyer said that every machine in the city would be properly adjusted and complete by election day.

The formation of Wilson and Marshall clubs seems to be the chief occupation at Democratic headquarters. One was formed last night in the 27th ward.

It was given out from the Wilson special train in Philadelphia yesterday that President Wilson will speak in Buffalo on October 30th. Arrangements have been made to get the Broadway Auditorium on that date. He will speak in New York on October 31st. The other addresses on the Wilson itinerary are Chicago, October 19th, and Cincinnati, October 26th. He will, however, hold forth at Shadow Lawn on other dates.

What puzzles local Democratic headquarters is the intention to hold the Buffalo meeting under non-partisan auspices. No one seems to know what non-partisan invitations have been extended. The organization feels that it will be expected to furnish the enthusiasm and the crowd whatever the auspices may be.



## Suffrage

## ROOSEVELT AND THE NEGRO.

FOUR years ago John M. Parker could have been elected Democratic Governor of Louisiana if only he had consented to be a candidate. He refused all importunities to run. He said he would not break his resolution never to accept public office.

He is running this year as a Progressive candidate because Theodore Roosevelt desired him to. But Mr. Parker has found that the people of Louisiana do not bear toward Mr. Roosevelt the same feelings of idolatry as he does, for they see beneath the thin veneer of Mr. Roosevelt's pretended friendship for the South long years of hostility to the South and her institutions and traditions, and Mr. Parker is angrily declaring that Mr. Roosevelt is not behind his candidacy.

Mr. Parker says this hostility does not exist. He urges that the Progressive party in the South is to be a white man's party; but unfortunately for Mr. Parker the Progressive party is about to be remerged into the Republican party and Mr. Roosevelt is again to become either the nominee of the Republican party or its most conspicuous leader.

When he does he automatically repudiates Mr. Parker's theory of a party white in the South and black and white elsewhere. When the merger takes place the Democratic party will be as always the white man's party in the South and the Republican party that of the white men and the black men; and so far as the racial question is concerned Mr. Roosevelt will again be in congenial company, for from early manhood, as when he nominated John R. Lynch, a coal black Mississippi negro, for temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention in 1884, in a glowing and eulogistic speech he has always been the ardent champion of equal rights, social and political, for the negro North, South, East and West.

His defiant appointments at Charleston and Indianapolis; his selection of the minor negro judge at Washington whom Mr. Wilson merely re-appointed, after eight years creditable service, and, as the Washington Post, hostile to Wilson, says only in accordance with the long custom of allowing the negroes one of these five judges; his dining his family with Booker Washington in the private rooms of the White House; his appearance on the stage at Chicago to declare the negroes whom he embraced as the equal of any white men in a convention of which John M. Parker was a member,

all bear testimony to the consistency of his record of antagonism to Southern thought on the negro question.

The attitude of the Republican party toward the negro is too well known in Louisiana to require any jogging of memories here; but now that Mr. Roosevelt is going back to the fold it is interesting to recall that scene in the convention of 1904 which nominated Mr. Roosevelt when James Blaine Caslin, a curly-headed negro boy of Georgia, and Louise Roberts, a young white girl of California, stood together on the platform and waved flags in unison as whites and blacks, making up the convention, went into a frenzy of enthusiasm.

A fitting celebration of Roosevelt's famous "Door of Hope" through which the colored brethren were to ride in carriages to social and political equality! It was this scene which inspired the negro Baker to write his much-discussed letter of the times to The Washington Post

Let not my colored brethren, he wrote, forget that scene in the Republican convention when a beautiful white girl was placed upon the stage and by her side was placed a negro boy. They then placed flags in their hands and allowed them to lead in the cheering. **THUS MAKING THE FIRST AND GRANDEST EXAMPLE OF THE EQUALITY OF THE RACES THAT HISTORY RECORDS.**

Mr. Roosevelt has never changed his views. As a sop to Mr. Parker and a bid for Southern votes he temporarily assented to the experiment of excluding the negro from the Progressive party in the far South; but just as soon as his return to the Republican party is consummated, he will forget whatever he may have said to John M. Parker and re-affirm his allegiance to the fundamental racial principle of the Republican party, which in the Chicago convention of 1904 furnished the scene described by this negro leader.

**Meantime, Louisiana on Tuesday will show just what chance a Roosevelt candidate has to be elected Governor of this great State.**

## PARKER AND THE NEGRO.

In a local article in the Times-Picayune, obviously written by a partisan of Mr. Parker, appears the following:

Another interesting angle to the Parker campaign appeared Thursday when negroes began to register in the city and in some of the parishes, announcing their intention of voting against Parker.

"I want to vote against Mr. John Parker, who says he doesn't want the negro to vote," several of them have said.

This sounds to us very much like a press agent's yarn. It has been common report for some time that negroes were being facilitated in their effort to register in the New Orleans office. It may be

that, since the primary, they are becoming even more active in the city and that they are beginning to register "in some of the parishes."

But either the statement that they are declaring they "want to vote against Mr. Parker" is a cheap invention or they are being drilled to say this by some of Mr. Parker's workers.

In any event if our neighbor's report is true, then it is the duty of the Democratic Governor of Louisiana either to call Registrar Montgomery to account or put some one in charge of the registration office who will carry out the spirit which animated the great convention of 1898 in trying to solve the suffrage question. Only a white supremacist ought to fill that office; and no one will believe that the present Governor of Louisiana, born and reared in North Louisiana, has or can have any sympathy with a policy which looks to the bringing of the negro back into politics into Louisiana.

Meantime the significance of this publication, if it is true, can hardly be escaped. For nearly twenty years the negro has played no part in the politics of Louisiana. He hasn't tried to register and we have had racial peace in the State, and the negro has made greater progress than during any other period since reconstruction. Yet almost simultaneously with the launching of Mr. Parker's Republican-Progressive movement the old spirit moves him and he comes again to the front.

Let no one believe that if he ever gets back on the rolls his affiliation will be with the Democratic party, whose traditional political enemy he is and will be for years to come.

## ABOUT THE SAME AFTER ALL

When the Negro was eliminated from the ballot, we were told that we would have a clean electorate, that the buying and selling of votes should be done away with and there would be no more whiskey at the polls, but alas! our fondest dreams of a pure democracy fade away. We have just had a white Democratic primary and the St. Tammany Farmer tells in a most direct way what happened, at least, in its section of the country. This journal says:

"The election is over. Let us give thanks. But at the same time let us have the self-respect to say: 'Never again shall we stand idly by and witness an electorate degraded by a system of pan-handling that invoked aid in every form, from the lifting of a mortgage down to the half-pint flask of whiskey. For some years candidates have allowed themselves to be held by voters who have made election times the harvest season for Bacchanalian revel, but this past election shows that the parish has not only advanced in ways of which we are proud but has adapted our Democratic principle of suffrage to the alleviation of a thirst that all the whiskey in St. Tammany parish could not quite quench. There seemed to be no privacy about

**THAT "GRANDFATHER CLAUSE"**  
The Journalist. Since the "grandfather clause," which was written into the constitutions of several of the Southern States some years ago, when it was desired to disfranchise the Negro voters and retain the poor and illiterate whites, has been declared by the United States Supreme Court to be unconstitutional, ineffective, null and void, politicians are beginning to take advantage of the decision in its recoil upon those whom the law was intended to favor. Recently it was announced that suits had been filed in the District Court at Gretna, La., an over-the-river suburb of New Orleans, against the clerk and ex-officio registrar of voters demanding that the names of twenty-four citizens of the Sixth Ward who had been voting under the provisions of the grandfather clause be stricken from the list of legal voters. It was stated that this case would be watched with interest, no doubt, in all sections, as there are thousands of voters throughout the state registered under this provision. Furthermore, four other states are said to have practically the same clause in their constitutions, and cases similar to the Gretna case may be expected in all of these states, bringing discomfiture to many thousands of their citizens.

The New Orleans Times-Picayune says: "We must get rid of these grandfather voters sooner or later; the sooner the better, so that they will not involve the state in what may prove serious differences with the federal authorities." — Southwestern Christian Advocate.

Philadelphia Inquirer

## The Negroes and Suffrage

Editor Inquirer:—Will you kindly inform me through the column of your paper, which of the States have disfranchised the negro. As I understand it, it is purely a State law. In this event does it prohibit the negro from voting at the Presidential elections? And can a negro declare his constitutional right to vote for a President? What is the gist of the "Grandfather's Clause," so often quoted in this connection? W. A. C.

1. The negroes have not been deprived of suffrage as negroes; but, in Southern Democratic States, most of them are practically disfranchised and debarred from voting because they are unable to comply with the qualifications as to education or property that are imposed on all voters alike, regardless of color or race. This applies in a greater or lesser degree to Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

2. The "Grandfather's Clause" is that which entitles a negro to vote, as in Louisiana, if his father or grandfather was entitled to vote on January 1, 1867.



it. Pockets bulged with bottles, and jugs were paraded shamelessly. You did not have to be a candidate to be approached if you were a friend of a candidate you were a subject for tribute. It is stated that one saloon man sold more whiskey the Saturday before election than he did at Christmas time. Others must have gotten their share of the trade. The candidates had to pay for it. And the candidates not only had to pay for whiskey, but if reports are to be relied upon, they were asked to pay for surgical operations, mules, wire fencing, false teeth and the Lord knows what else." 2/17/16.

We regret that this record had to be made; we regret all the more that it is true, but it simply shows that we are all made of the same mud after all, and it hardly pays the kettle to call the pot black. Surely Negroes could not have done much worse, and we believe that the qualified electorate among the Negroes of today would not have been guilty at all of such depredations.

## The Signs of Political Emancipation

BY B. J. DAVIS.

Atlanta Indolence and parties include all men of the That 90 per cent of the white men same political opinions without regard south are moral cowards and intel- to races. But government by races, lectual slaves will not admit of argu- based upon the color of the skin, the ment. That in order to remain in kink of the hair, or the flay of the power in spite of the will of the peo- feet, is unjust, unfair and destructive ple whom he is to govern, he is will- of every fundamental principle of ing to sacrifice representative govern- representative government. The white ment to race prejudice. With the primary, in the end, will prove ab- white man south it is not a question ominable to all decent men and wom- for the people, by the people, and en. A government that must appeal of the people, but a government to race for existence ought not to by white men, of white men and exist, and in the end will fall of its for white men to the exclu- own wickedness and shortsightedness. sion of every other man. That this A government that does not take into suicidal policy has retarded the mate- consideration the interest of the hum- rial progress of our section of the blest citizen in common with the in- country is not disputed, even by the terest of the wealthiest, is both in- advocates of a government by white human and ungodly, and will only men, for white men to the exclusion exist until the people are educated in of every other race of men. the principles of free institutions.

The municipal election last Wednes- The race of Mr. Corrie against Mr day shows an uprising of the people Candler was remarkable. It was a and an effort of white men to free great victory for independent thought themselves from the slavery of and freedom of action. The white white man's government against black primary ought to go. If the white men. Straws tell which way the man, with all of his years of freedom wind blows, and if there is any truth of civilization founded upon his in this philosophy, white men are tir- wealth, intelligence and ancestry, car- ed of the yoke of the demagogue and not keep the reins of the government have started an effort to free them- in his hands without arraying race selves from a government by races against race, color against color, and and to establish a government by appealing to the baser prejudices of races and to establish a government this kith and kin, he is unfit to control of the people, for the people the government. If he cannot meet and by the people. Any gov- the black man in open political com- ernmental policy destructive of bat, granting to the Negro the same these just ends ought not to exist. A advantages he appropriates unto him- government by parties is bad enough, self, he is afraid of the struggle of

the survival of the fittest and admits the Democratic ticket, in common construction of the greatest country the fallacy of his own boasted racial with the Republican ticket, if the in the world—America. Democratic party stood for equal jus- tice to all men. But so long as the Democratic party is made a white man's party and stands for white rule, without regard regard to fitness, the Negro must vote against it, even when it wears the livery of a saint.

In Atlanta we have 17,000 register- ed voters. More than 7,000 of which remained from the polls from lack of interest in municipal affairs. Mr. Candler was the nominee of the white primary, not of the Democratic party, but of a primary which has for its purpose the exclusion of all men not white, from participation in govern- ment affairs, a movement which favors the taxation of all men, white and black in common, but denies rep- resentation to all men except white men. Mr. Corrie, the Independent candidate, was in no sense the repre- sentative of any organized effort. He was an engineer applying himself daily to his trade. Thousands of us never heard of him until he announced He was only backed by those white men who were tired of political slav- ery and sought to free themselves at the ballot box.

Mr. Candler was backed by the prestige of the white primary, by the business men and every business or- ganization in the city. He has the reputation of being a multi-million- aire with more than enough money to buy every vote in Atlanta, if they were purchasable, with the wealth, and intelligence of the city at his back. On the other hand, the Inde- pendent candidate was without the wealth or the intelligence of the peo- ple behind him. Instead of millions, he was poor with no Board of Trade, no Rotary Club, no white primary, no millions and no Democratic machinery behind him, with the charge of having appealed for Negro votes hanging over his head.

Mr. Candler beat him less than two them be elected by majority of the es, Mr. Candler received 6, 166 and Mr. Corrie 3, 257. It seems from this showing that the disintegration of the white primary has set in, and the years are not many when white men will have to stand upon the principles of fair and just government for all men, if they expect preferment at the polls. The day of appealing to race prejudice, the color of the man's skin or to his previous condition of servi- tude are numbered, and as white men grow morally strong and intellectu- ally free, they will rise upon every oc- casion and cut out the abominable cowardly white primary.

Thousands of Negroes would vote

The result of the election is a hope- ful sign. If the Independent candi- date had had money, time and organi- zation at his back, the result of the election might have been different, and the Independent regards the up- rising against the white primary candi- date as sufficient warning to the men who control the destinies of our city to change their policy and appeal to all men who are qualified to vote to give assistance in the selection of the men who are to control the destin- ies of our great city.

The Negroes are hopelessly in the minority in the south, in the state and in our city, and there is no pos- sible chance for the Negro to domi- nate the white man politically, and he should be encouraged to become a useful and helpful political factor, as well as an economic and industrial factor. His highest usefulness and his greatest services economically and industrially depends upon his politi- cal freedom. A party or government that is not unmindful of the life and property of all of its citizens in time of peace ought not to expect the citi- zens to be mindful of the life and property, of the reputation and pres- tige of the government in the time of war.

The Negro loves the southland and a majority of us are going to stay here. The best of us are going to stay here and fight it out, live down and override the prejudice and dis- crimination now directed against us, and win our places, not only in the economic, social and industrial phases of the south, but politically, by sheer force of the worth of our character and usefulness as men and contribu- ting factors to the wealth, character and respectability of this south land. It is our home. We are a part of its thought, its conscience, its character and its traditions, and we are not going to abandon it and run away to any other section. We are going to stay here and demonstrate to the demagogue and our friends that we deserve better treatment, as we are going to grow into our rights as men and women.

The days of the white primary are numbered. It is an old relic of past days. It is the culmination of a pre- judice that must be thrown off if the south reaches its rightful place in the

VERY EVENING

AUG 5 - 1916

## THE REPUBLICAN MONEY SPENT FOR ICE CREAM

Milford Negroes Get a Taste of the Generosity of Some Party Workers.

### ORGANIZATION AND ANTI-ORGANIZATION

Special Correspondence of Every Evening

Milford, Aug. 5.—Milford Negroes have been enjoying ice cream and other luxuries at the expense of some of the party men here and in other parts of the State. This generosity is not confined to either faction of the party, but it appears to be about equal in each.

A determined move is being made here to overthrow the Organization in both Milford hundred, Kent county, and Cedar Creek, Sussex. In order to do this it is necessary to influence the Negro vote. This can be done only through "diplo- matic" methods, and these are being em- ployed. Clubs have been formed, as is the case in other parts of the State, and they are being supported, presumably by money that has been given them, and the surplus is going for ice cream and other luxuries. Organization forces have felt the effects of the disaffection, and it is understood they are also opening their purse strings in order to try to get the "antis" among the Negroes back into line.

THIS MONEY WENT ASTRAY.

One instance is known where \$100 from some "anti" source found its way into the hands of one of the regular lieutenants, with the supposition that he would fall in against the Organization, but instead of doing this he and some friends are said to have had an ice cream treat and to have turned the balance over to a Negro club.

At this writing it is difficult to predict what the result will be. The fight against the Organization is strong. The failure to settle a postoffice row here during the last Republican administration has not been forgotten, and it is likely it will largely influence some of the votes against the Organization. New leadership for the party is the slogan of the opponents and they are making every effort to oust the regulars.



# Political - 1916 Suffrage

## STANDARD UNION

Brooklyn, N. Y.

### A Great Problem That Has Begun to Solve Itself.

If the States in the Solid South, some eleven in number, where the colored citizens are included in the count of heads that forms the basis of the votes of these States in the Electoral College, permitted the manhood suffrage that is guaranteed by law, a law which is and long has been a dead letter, Mr. Wilson would not have had, the free States voting as they did, any chance of election.

The bulk of the negro population is Republican.

For more than a generation the negro vote in the Solid South has been suppressed, with the result among other things, that one Southern vote in Congress, representing oftentimes, less than two thousand votes perfunctorily cast at the so called "election," counteracts the votes of two hundred thousand citizens in the North or West.

Of course it is an old question now and seldom obtrudes itself on the public attention, except when as at present, there is a close Presidential election and consideration is forced on the public mind of the ugly fact that in a great section of our country there is no such thing as government by, for and of the people. Nor are the Southern people wholly to blame for the lamentable condition which, in certain circumstances, might threaten the life of the Republic itself.

All the people are responsible for the original sin.

There was a time when black slavery was general in every State in the Union. The growth of intelligence and the coming to the country in vast numbers of some of the hardest and best among the white races of Europe eliminated slavery from the North and left it to grow and spread in the South, where it had always been strongest.

The staple States stood stoutly for slave labor.

But soon the anomaly of slave labor in any part of a free industrial Republic, with the train of brutality and immorality such labor involved, became an impossibility.

God never made a man good enough to own another man.

That was the Lincoln doctrine.

And soon it became the doctrine of the majority of the people, but not until the war between the States over this question of black slavery put the life of our Union in dire jeopardy.

Only a part, though it was the most important part, of the matter in dispute was settled by the outcome of the Civil War. Black slavery was abolished forever, but millions of illiterate black men and women were at the mercy of the white people who had been their masters and sold and bought them like cattle.

They were not fit for the ballot, these liberated slaves.

Yet, unless the whole value of the anti-slavery movement was to be lost and the blood of America's white sons who had fought for the liberty of the negroes were to be made a vain sacrifice it was necessary to arm the black men with the ballot and turn over to them the safeguarding of their own liberty. Perhaps it was too hastily done. At any rate, the first results were bad almost beyond description.

Reaction was inevitable.

It took the shape of the forcible suppression of the negro vote by the white race, and with the tacit, if not the actual, approval of the people of the free States, who felt they would have been forced to do the like, even though a minority, were they threatened with the political and, in a sense, social domination of a race they had held in slavery but a few short years before.

The real crime of the South was of a different character.

And that was not a crime, either, paradoxical as the statement may seem, for it was merely a compliance with the Constitutional provision which directs representation in Congress and in the Electoral College shall be based on the population of the States.

The negroes were citizens, but they were not allowed to vote.

Even when negro schools and colleges had been established and many of the negroes surpassed great masses of the native white population in education, in artisanship and as farmers, the barrier to a free ballot was not removed. It was the slave owners and their sons confronting the slaves and the children of slaves.

In the free States the conditions were entirely different.

No white man had owned slaves in the North for several generations. The prejudice against the black man who had been a slave survived in a social sense and was not less strong than in the South, but, politically, the black man in the North and West was not oppressed. He could and does vote as he pleases. If he has the votes he can send a black man to Congress, to the State Legislature or to any of the local elective boards.

And that is how a great problem has begun to solve itself.

For several decades now the negroes have been steadily leaving the South and coming to the North, where wages are better and their political freedom is assured. George E. Haynes, professor of social science at Fisk University, has just made public some interesting statistics on the subject. Here is an excerpt from a letter written by Prof. Haynes to the New York "Times":

"The movement of negro laborers from the South in large numbers during the past few months has created considerable discussion in the public press, North and South, and not a little concern in parts of the South. A striking feature of most of this discussion is the absence of statements about the migration of negroes before the present movement."

"The indication of this movement since 1880 is shown by the percentage of increase of the negro population of the following nine Northern and border cities: Boston, Greater New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Evansville, and Indianapolis, Ind.; Pittsburg, and St. Louis. The census figures for these nine cities showed that between 1880 and 1890 the negro population increased about 36.2 per cent.; from 1890 to 1900 it increased about 74.4 per cent."

The newest movement North and West of these colored native Americans is growing rapidly. It threatens to be a flood. The South may well be alarmed, for the labor of the negroes can only be supplied by white men, and almost necessarily white men of foreign birth or descent who will demand a higher wage and will not be chary about asserting

their political rights. A great danger will have passed away from this country when it shall have no longer a race problem to settle at the South.

TIMES

New York City

## DEC 4 - 1916 PENROSE TO FIGHT FOR A FORCE BILL AT THIS SESSION

Demands Federal Supervision of  
Congress Elections, So Southern  
Negroes Can Vote.

SEEKS HELP FROM LODGE

Abolition of Electoral College  
and Popular Election of  
President as Alternative.

NO CHANCE OF PASSAGE

But Will Afford Offset to Democratic  
Investigation of Republican  
Campaign Fund.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—On the eve of what promised to be a Congressional session devoid of sensational happenings, Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania has let it be known that he will press a measure that is sure to furnish the foundation of a bitter partisan contest that may overshadow all other legislative doings of the three months remaining of the present Congress. Mr. Penrose said today that he intended to introduce a bill providing for Federal supervision of national elections. Those who remember the contest of twenty-six years ago over the so-called Force bill realize that there may be lively times ahead in the legislative arena.

Senator Penrose came to Washington Saturday night and conferred with some of his Republican associates over making an issue of the conduct of elections in Southern States. The proposed action of the Pennsylvania Senator will offset the understood purpose of the Democratic leaders to undertake a Congressional investigation of the expendi-

tures made by the Republicans in the late campaign. There is little prospect that the Penrose measure will make any headway toward enactment, but it will serve as a text for Republican orators in Congress to set up the claim that through the suppression of Republican votes in the solid South the Democrats were able to bring about the re-election of Woodrow Wilson.

Soft Pedal on Sectionalism.

It is too early yet to make any prediction as to what support Mr. Penrose will receive from his Republican associates in the Senate. In recent years there has been a disposition to put the soft pedal on efforts to raise questions that have a sectional tinge, particularly where the South was affected, and in the recent Presidential campaign Charles E. Hughes was taken to task by President Wilson and other prominent Democrats on the charge of having raised the cry of sectionalism in the contention that the National Administration in Washington was in control of Southern politicians who used their prestige and power to give the South the advantage of legislative enactments.

"I have not fully decided just what form my bill will take," said Senator Penrose tonight. "I may offer it as an amendment to Senator Owen's Corrupt Practice act or introduce it as a separate bill and follow the same line that Senator Lodge did in 1890. I think it is about time that the laws of the United States should be enforced and the negroes of the South should be given their constitutional prerogatives. The people of the United States, except those who have watched the elections in the South, do not know how flagrantly the election laws are violated, how negroes are cheated of their franchise and the natural opposition vote, the Republican vote in the Southern States, is never reflected.

Electoral College as Issue.

"This condition must stop. It may be necessary to abolish the Electoral College in order to get at the evil, for then the solid South would only be a historical myth in electing a President. Now it is almost impossible to overcome the solid 145 electoral votes representing the South, made up largely of the votes of white men. Unless the South sees fit to allow the negro to vote, I would favor Federal supervision, as was proposed by Senator Lodge while a member of the House in 1890. That bill was passed by the House, but was lost in the Senate in 1891. If Congress objects to Federal supervision, then I mean to work for the elimination of the Electoral College, and the election of the President of the United States by a popular vote.

"As I said, I have not fully made up my mind just which is the best way to proceed. But I have conferred with several of my colleagues and with leading men of the country, and I find that there is a desire everywhere for a square deal for the Republicans of the South, and if this square deal cannot be obtained without Federal supervision, let us have Federal supervision or the popular election of President.

"The 145 electoral votes of the South do not represent as many voters as those in two or three of our Northern States. It is an outrage how the rest of the country is overbalanced by the South. For instance South Carolina casts about 45,000 votes, about as many as three of the largest wards in Philadelphia. And for those 45,000 votes South Carolina gets nine votes in the Electoral College."

Senator Penrose concluded by saying that the argument for Federal supervision or some change in the election system of the South was overpowering.

Force Bill Fight of 1890.

When the Federal Supervision bill was



before Congress in 1890, it caused the greatest filibuster ever witnessed in Congress. At the instigation of President Harrison, Mr. Lodge, then a member of the House, offered the bill, which passed the House, where there was a strong Republican majority. The House passed the bill July 2, 1890. It did not reach the Senate until the short session of the Fifty-first Congress, and was finally defeated there after a prolonged filibuster by a combination between the Democratic and Free Silver Republican Senators. The late Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland, who led the fight against the bill, finally compelled the Republicans to abandon the measure, and secured the passage in the Senate of the Free Silver bill, which was the price paid by the Democrats to the Free Silver Republicans for their opposition to the "force" measure.

The bill was commonly termed by its opponents "the force bill." They insisted that the measure gave the Federal Administration the right to employ Federal troops at the polls and thus force the election of Administration candidates.

Senator Penrose tomorrow will confer with Senator Lodge and seek his aid in the proposed legislation.

## RECONSTRUCTION—NOT THE

WAR.

We knew it was coming. We have been interested in an abstract way, over the almost unanimous awarding of the credit of the Democratic victory to the vote of the Western States, while wondering why at least some of the Democrats should not put the honor where it properly belonged—to the South. While our Democratic commentators were obsessed with the idea that the West elected President Wilson, we knew that in the bitter gloom of unexpected defeat, the Republicans were abusing the Solid South. So, we knew that it was coming—that the blame for the Republican defeat would be placed upon the South, so bitterly assailed during the campaign. What is more, the Republicans are right—the South again saved the Democratic party. Had one Southern State gone Republican, Wilson would not have been re-elected. We can depend upon

it, the Republicans will not forget it, while we, of the South, seem inclined to enter into the general paean of praise to the West.

We are struck with the bitterness of a typical Republican letter in The New York Herald, written by a Pennsylvania Republican. "It seems to me," says the writer, "that the crux of the whole controversy of the Presidential election is lost sight of when the fact of the solid Democratic vote of the South is not taken into consideration. Eliminating the South, Hughes was elected, and as, if the Lord returned to earth and ran on the Republican ticket, the South undoubtedly would still vote the way of the fathers and not for the interest of the United States, it stands to reason that the vote of the voting population, that weighs principles and not ancient grudges, would give the man supposedly defeated the victory."

This lecture on political morality, be it silver buttons, a party with silver on the observed, emanates from Pennsylvania, that sideboard and family portraits on the wall State notorious for the type and character. The Whigs in the South, like the Whigs of its politics. What is more, the lecture in the North, would, if let alone, have gradually emanates from the State of Thad Stevens, dated into a conservative Republican party who more than any other one man, is responsible for the Solid South. The South is solid they were driven by Reconstruction into the Democratic party, not because the Democratic party. And, if the truth is told Confederacy was overthrown, and not because many of these old line Whigs, though they it is opposed to the Union. Our critics should voted the Democratic ticket as regularly as get this truth clearly in their mind: too many election came around, in and after Reconstruction of them are ignorant of it—the South is reconstruction, never became quite reconciled. solid, not because of the war, but because of Reconstruction. They have gone now and their sons, as well as the sons of Democratic fathers, vote fromed to as the one county with sufficient courage and manhood to eliminate the Negro from politics. It was Yazoo, headed by the late Maj. Wash Gibbs, who wrested the State from the domination of the Negro and carpetbaggers, by shouldering their muskets, and standing at the polls in Jackson, with the solemn pledge that the first Negro that offered to vote be met by a volley from their trusty rifles.

Had Lincoln lived and had he been able to principle the Democratic ticket. They vote it have stayed the hand of Thad Stevens and from the highest principle of humanity and his irreconcilables in Congress, which is civilization—the preservation of the white doubtful, the South, after the war, would race. The Republican party is bitterly have been as the South before the war, with fought in the South, not because it is the a divided political sentiment and with two party of the money power, not because it is parties. In a political sense, the South was the policy party of the Union, but because worse treated by the North than Belgium it is the party of black Reconstruction. has been treated by Germany. Its political We suspect that a broad-minded and intelligent institutions, together with its industrial institutions, were destroyed. But the crowning men in the South to agree with him on the indignity, that which wiped out all political abstract principle, that it would be better lines and solidified the white people was for the Southern States to have two strong "the placing of black heels on white necks." parties. Southern Democrats often agree The race, which was but yesterday a servant among themselves on this principle, but each man wants the other fellow to break away race, the race which was still childish and to another party. He thinks it would be which was ready to lend its aid to corrupt to have two parties to keep each other men, were by the powers of a Republican well to have two parties to keep each other administration set up as the rulers of the in check, but he wants somebody else to land. No white race ever did or ever will leave the Democratic party and go into stand such an indignity. Republican party.

Nor did the South stand it, even though defeated in war. The black incubus was thrown off, and in the desperate wrenching effort of throwing it off the political sentiment was crystalized which has made the South Democratic for more than forty years.

Had the South escaped the horrors of Reconstruction, had the North treated the South with half the magnanimity with which Great Britain treated the Boers, there would this day be two strong parties in the States of the South, instead of one. The old line

Whigs, before the war, were as irreconcilable to the Democrats as the Republicans ever were. Here in Alabama, a Democratic State, even before the war, the Democratic leaders had to walk a chalk line, for the Whigs on two occasions, by colation movements elected two Governors and the State repeatedly sent several Whig Congressmen to Washington. The Southern Whigs did not want to coalesce with the Democrats after the war; they were forced to it by the tyrannical and fatuous policy of Reconstruction. It was a respectable old party—the Whigs—a bit aristocratic, with a good deal of brains in it. I was a fine upstanding party—the party of a coach and four, a broad-cloth coat, with

in our Silent City of the Dead bear mute testimony of the folly of such a course, and if it is to be repeated here, who can measure the sorrow and woe that will follow?

"Those who remember the bitter days of the reconstruction period know what it means, and the younger generation, unless something is done to 'nip it in the bud,' will have to learn THEIR lesson in the bitter school of experience, as we did, which will mean the spilling of blood and the sacrifice of many of the best white men we have.

"In days gone by Yazoo was jointed to as the one county with sufficient courage and manhood to eliminate the Negro from politics. It was Yazoo, headed by the late Maj. Wash Gibbs, who wrested the State from the domination of the Negro and carpetbaggers, by shouldering their muskets, and standing at the polls in Jackson, with the solemn pledge that the first Negro that offered to vote be met by a volley from their trusty rifles.

"The same action was taken in Yazoo, and last Tuesday was the first time since that period, in the knowledge of this writer, that the Negroes have offered to vote.

"Are there no Wash Gibbses or Bill Cummins or other old 'White-line Democrats' left in Yazoo to protect the ballots from the menace of Negro domination?

"Now that the Negroes feel that they can walk up to the ballot box and vote without protest, the next thing we hear of will be these same darkies, with what dupes they can gather about them, offering to participate in the primary elections.

"The question is: 'What are you going to do about it?'

"WHITE-LINE DEMOCRAT." This bitter diatribe from "White-Line Democrats" will not avail, however, for the Negro will continue to exercise his right to the franchise, no will a revival of the "shot gun policy" prevent him. The "White-Line Democrat" cannot stop the progress of the Negro, so he may as well realize it an fall in line and broaden out.

TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

## Electoral College.

Shreveport Journal:

The Southern states will not indorse the principle of the abolition of the electoral college, because it would entail federal supervision of elections, and they object to that on account of the negroes. The small Eastern states and the Western states with small population will not accept it, because it would rob them of half the power they now wield in presidential elections. The only states that would vote for the change are the big states, whose population would enable them, in close contests to swing elections. Half the states are against it, and that settles the matter.

## OLD BOURBON WANTS SHOT GUN POLICY

The fact that the Old Bourbon Democracy in the south retains its rampant prejudice and bitterness against the Negro is clearly shown by a letter which we reproduce from the Yazoo City (Miss.) Semi-Weekly Sentinel. The letter, signed "White-Line Democrat," calls upon the "White-Line Democrats" to shoulder their old muskets and take a stand at the polls to prevent the Negroes from casting their ballots.

The letter is as follows:

## THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.

"Editor Sentinel: In looking over the election table for Yazoo county in the last issue of your paper, I see that there were 13 votes cast for Hughes at the Court House box. Upon inquiry from some of the election officers I learn that a number of these were Negroes, and this raises the question in my mind: 'Are we to have a return of the Negro to politics in Yazoo county?'

"The answer rests with the white citizens of Yazoo.

"We older citizens remember all too vividly the terrible bloody sacrifice of the best manhood of Yazoo county due to the Negro in politics. Many graves



Political - 1916

Suffrage

## PERMANENT GERMAN PROBLEM LIKE THE NEGRO PROBLEM

Professor Dodd Fears That With Germany Defeated the German Element  
Here Will Be Sore in Feeling and Isolated Socially

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—The German-American problem as it touches our national life and interests has not, in my opinion, been fairly stated or discussed since the beginning of this world war. From the point of view of history and of natural social evolution, most of our editors of newspapers and other periodicals have contented themselves with straight partisan treatments. To me it is as natural for the well-to-do German, whether born in Germany or in the United States of German parentage, to side with Germany in the present crisis as it was for the well-to-do Southerner in the Northwest to side with the South in 1860.

What I fear from the present discussion of the problem is that when the war is over we shall have a permanent German problem no unlike the negro problem. With Germany defeated, our German element will be sore in feeling and isolated socially. Our best men are making this certain by their speech and conduct. To me our interest requires us to become a nation as soon as possible; but every great mass of men who vote *en bloc*, especially if they speak a foreign tongue, defers that day. The one justification of disfranchisement of the blacks in the South, if there is any justification, would be that, as the ex-slaves regain their privilege of voting, they would or night, if carefully treated, divide and become simply American voters.

As things now stand, we are soon to have a solid German vote, a solid labor vote, a solid capitalist influence, all added to the solid South or set up against it. I am not sure that this is not inevitable as things stand in the world; but why make things worse by ignorant discussion?

Possibly I ought to say that I am not in any sense a "pro-German" trying to influence opinion. My feelings and my judgment as well are with the Allies. But I think a newspaper which gives the news and comments on the news is so important in this country that an understanding of the bearings of the problem is essential to good public service. Hence my reference to the matter.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., April 3, 1916.

NONPAREIL

COUNCIL BLUFFS, IOWA

MAY 15 1916

The Colored Man In Politics.

No wonder the colored man sometimes wonders whether or not he is gaining any ground in the way of political recognition. Last week, for the first time in many presidential campaigns, the republicans of Arkansas refused to send a negro to the national convention as delegate at large. In 1884 John R. Lynch, of Mississippi, a negro, was temporary chairman of the national convention at Chicago which nominated James G. Blaine for president and John A. Logan for vice president.—Sioux City Journal

DISPATCH  
COLUMBUS, O.

WHIP IS CRACKED  
OVER COLORED  
STATE EMPLOYEES

Slaughter Tyler and Unite on  
Willis Is Word Passed Out  
by Wilbur King.

ORDERS FROM GOVERNOR  
Colored Race Probably Won't  
Take Kindly to Latest Move  
Against Their Candidate.

"Slaughter Tyler and unite on Willis" was the order given colored appointees of the present state administration at a meeting held Tuesday night at the office of Wilbur E. King, colored, head of the state loan bureau, to plan for the defeat of Ralph E. Tyler of Columbus, as colored candidate for

delegate-at-large to the Republican national convention, and to boost the weakening candidacy of Governor Willis as one of the four delegates-at-large to represent Ohio at that convention.

The attendance was not large because the governor has not favored the colored race with many appointments, but practically all of that race who are on the state's payroll were on hand, under orders, to hear what was expected of them. They were called in from various parts of the state and told in plain and forcible language that "things are looking very serious for the governor" and that there must be immediate action upon their part to stop the trend of the colored vote from Willis to Tyler.

GOVERNOR'S MOUTHPIECE.

Mr. King was in charge of the meeting and acted as the official mouthpiece of the governor in the giving of orders. He notified those present that they must join the Franklin club, an organization of colored men which he founded and is directing in the interest of Governor Willis and against the interest of Tyler, and next Thursday was fixed at the time for them to show up at this club and receive further orders and instructions as to the best methods to employ to defeat Tyler for national delegate.

John C. Logan, former colored employe of Probate Judge Black's office, who was defeated as a Republican candidate for representative two years ago and whose advocacy of "single-shooting" on himself at that time caused the defeat of the other Republican candidates for representative, by preventing them from getting many votes of colored people, was present at the meeting in Mr. King's office. It is understood he was wanted to explain how the "single-shooting," ordered by the administration to help the governor in his candidacy for delegate-at-large, can be most effectively carried on.

INDIGNATION CAUSED.

There was considerable indignation in local colored circles Wednesday when it became known that the governor was compelling his few colored appointees to fight a man of their own race—Mr. Tyler—a man whom a former president honored by appointing him auditor of the United States navy, and whose ability and integrity make him an outstanding figure of the col-

ored race. They declared that they would resent this fight against Mr. Tyler not only at the April primary election, when the delegates to the national convention will be chosen, but also at the fall election when the governor will seek re-election.

The administration decided to line-up the colored appointees against the Columbus representative of their race, who is seeking to go to the national convention as one of the delegates from this state, after getting reports from all over the state which indicated that colored people generally are supporting Mr. Tyler. This has filled the governor and his friends with no little uneasiness. They fear that he will lose out in his candidacy for delegate. Realizing that such a defeat would hurt him materially for re-election, they are resorting to every political expedient possible to prevent his defeat for delegate.

TYLER'S FRIENDS ACTIVE.

To offset the new attack of the governor, Tyler's friends are preparing to send out a call to every colored voter in the state to rebuke the state administration for its efforts to deprive the colored race of a representative at the Chicago Republican convention. They will point out that not for nearly 50 years has a colored man been chosen as one of the "Big Four" from the Buckeye state to such a national body, and they think that it is high time that their race was getting some recognition of this kind. So it looks that Mr. King, as director and manager of the movement to take the colored vote away from Tyler and to deliver it to Willis, will not have an easy time.

EVENING SUN

Baltimore, Md.

Now The Afro-Americans  
Become Interrogative.

Affected by the prevalence of this What - would - you - do - Mr. - Hughes? fashion, some of the leaders of the dark, brunette wing of the Grand Old Party have addressed a series of questions to the 100 Per Cent. Candidate. Among the interrogators are that pigmented patriot, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, and his fairer-complexioned brother, Oswald Garrison Villard.

They want to know, you know, whether if Mr. Hughes should be elected he would "use the power of his office" "against all forms of race segregation"; to secure to negroes a proportional share in the benefits of appropriations; to give them equal opportunities for public office; to reapportion the seats in Congress according to voting population; "to re-

peal all statutory recognition of race"; to abolish everything like a Jim Crow car, and so on.

Now, it seems that Mr. Hughes is no more inclined to answer the questions of the dusky but faithful followers of his party than he is to become "vocal" and definite when interrogated by his opponents. Wherefore *The Crisis*, a sort of highbrow negro periodical in New York, prints the following sorrowful threat:

We are sorry that Mr. Charles Evans Hughes has not found opportunity to answer the courteous and pertinent letter sent him nearly a month ago.

We want to say a last word to the leaders of the Republican party. If anyone thinks that the Republicans have 500,000 negro votes in their pockets, they have some more thinking to do.

No intelligent negro can vote for Woodrow Wilson, but he can vote for Allan L. Benson or he can stay home on election day, unless Mr. Hughes satisfies him by some statement more specific than the Nashville speech and more recent than the speech of ten years ago.

Good gracious! If the colored brethren take to voting the Socialist ticket, what chance will the poor Republicans have?

There was once a Candidate hairy  
Went out for a talk with O'L'ary.  
They came back from the talk  
With the Candidate—saying not a  
word about it to anybody  
(though his subsequent actions have seemed significant),  
And a smile on the face of O'L'ary.

COLORED VOTERS  
TO STAND ALONE

Republican Association Decides Not to Accept Further Assistance from Dalrymple.

The Essex County Colored Republican Association voted last night to accept no more financial assistance from the Republican County Committee or Alfred N. Dalrymple, its chairman. Those present pledged themselves to furnish the financial support necessary to keep open present headquar-



ters at 237 Halsey street.

N. B. Hudson, secretary of the association, was applauded for a speech, in the course of which he said: "A little while ago we invited some men high up in public affairs in county and city to come to a meeting, but they did not come—said something was the matter with the invitation."

"I wonder if they wanted us to all dress up in uniforms and get a brass band and escort them down here. There was something the matter with that invitation, though. I'll tell you what was the matter. It didn't come from an independent organization. We accepted favors from them and they didn't have to come."

"There's 6,000 of us voters here in this county, and while we are naturally Republicans we're not necessarily Republicans. We've got the scum out of our organizations already. Men who couldn't get ten votes in ten days don't claim to be leaders any more, but we've got to go further. When we pay our own way and are not under any favors, those people high up will come here when we invite them, and maybe they will ask us to invite them. Six thousand votes compel respect and attention. Let's keep that in our minds."

A committee consisting of N. B. Hudson, R. D. Dedman, A. C. Clark, Rev. Joseph Summers and Walter Darnton was appointed to confer with the Committee of One Hundred in response to a request from the latter committee.

By-laws and constitution will be presented for adoption at a meeting to be held on Tuesday, January 25, and a delegation will be appointed to see the members of the Assembly and ask them to vote for a bill creating a board of censors of all theatrical plays and moving picture shows.

#### NEGRO AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOT PARALLEL.

To the Editor of The Capital.

I attended the recent meeting of suffrage women held in Representative hall, and I listened with marked interest to speeches that were made by distinguished ladies from the east and to some remarks that were made by one of our townspeople. I noticed that they placed much stress on the fact that suffrage had been given by the national government to him they all called the "negro" (a term having no legitimate origin and therefore should not be used), and had not been given to women. It is my opinion that the fact so referred to, does not serve as a correct hypothesis upon which to lay the claim for woman suffrage. It must be remembered that the time never was that man did not have the right to vote. The same cannot be said of woman. And while the colored man has always had the right, in common with all men, the privilege to exercise the right was withheld from him, thereby making the adoption of section 1 of the thirteenth, and the same section of the fifteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States necessary in order that our government might be in practice what it was, and is, in theory.

Now, if woman had always had the right to vote as in theory the colored man had, and then had the government seen fit to extend the exercise of that

right to the colored man and not to woman, the cause for complaint would be very just. But such is not the fact. In extending suffrage to the colored man, no distinction was made with regard to sex, the only purpose being to clothe him with all of the rights that were possessed by other men. Rights, political. The question of male and female suffrage was not considered.

And then again, the manner in which the reference was made to the colored man having the right, and not woman, seemed to indicate that the government had extended suffrage to those who were inferior to women. It must be remembered that in extending suffrage by the national government that the matter of superiors and inferiors is not considered. The right to vote under our national constitution is not predicated upon refinement, education, dignity, wealth or distinction. Politically speaking, neither man nor woman is the superior of, or inferior to, the other. Politically speaking, woman is no more the superior of one man than of another, no matter what the complexion of the man may be. In polite society, woman's superiority is, and of right ought to be, universally recognized and accepted. But when she enters the political arena she has no political rights that anyone is bound to respect more than those of man. The argument, that the amendment giving woman the right of suffrage should be adopted for the reason that by a similar amendment suffrage was extended to the colored man, seems to infer that the colored man, and the colored man only, has been accorded the privilege to the exclusion of woman. Such argument is fallacious and tends to badger, and to taunt. It creates in the minds of the friends of female suffrage, especially the women, a prejudice against the colored man, and him only, as enjoying a privilege that a woman cannot have.

If woman has the right to vote, the fair argument would be to say that in the formation of our government, the right of suffrage should have been extended to all, without regard to sex. If woman has the right of suffrage today, she has always had. But to say that she should have the privilege to vote because the colored man votes, the declaration is void of both logic and reason. The women should not seek to climb up into the wagon of female suffrage by tramping on the colored man, but rather by laying claim to it as the right of every citizen.

Topeka, Kan. JAMES H. GUY.

#### South Carolina Election Laws. IV.

Would the negroes vote? Of course they would vote if they were encouraged by white men to register and go to the polls.

One hears it frequently said, "Oh, the negro is out of it; he doesn't wish to go into politics; we shall never again have the negro to deal with in South Carolina elections."

No conclusion could be more shallow; there is no popular thought more charged with danger.

Between 1868 and 1876 the negroes voted under the wing and prod of white men but they were quick and eager learners. After 1876 they continued to vote whenever, in a county, there was a "split" and some white man or white men ran as indepen-

dents. When in the State two factions of white men went to the general election with their quarrel negroes voted—on both sides. In the old "black district" they voted persistently so long as they could.

For many years, until a time comparatively recent, white Democratic conventions and primaries were not held in the smaller cities and villages to nominate candidates for mayor and aldermen. One remembers a village having 250 or 300 white voters and about 40 or 50 negroes who had registration certificates. Usually there were two white candidates for mayor in election years and the negroes often were the balance of power. Both sides log-rolled with them. A negro leader would be given a small roll of bills and a keg of beer together with a few gallons of whiskey. For a week preceding the election the white candidates secretly or publicly cultivated the negro voters and that one that was most persevering and spent the largest sum upon them was, as a rule, successful in obtaining their support. That town was typical of 20 in South Carolina.

Memories are short. It was scarcely more than a dozen years ago that the white primary was adopted in the most of the South Carolina towns to put an end to the filthy and disgraceful coddling of the negro voters.

To be sure, not all the negroes are depraved. Not all are corrupt or easily corrupted. There are negroes, many of them, and their numbers are increasing, who have self-respect and who would like to be looked upon, in political affairs, as good and worthy citizens. The negro is imitative. He is very much that which the white man makes of him. Aided and encouraged by good white citizens, the negroes disposed to vote for the best interests of their country would rapidly multiply, but there is no denying that with the great majority of them the depraved and unscrupulous white politician, skilful in the corrupt use of money and whiskey, would be the more potent force. For confirmation of this opinion, the experience of Indianapolis and many another Northern city would be ample.

In view of the fact that, soon or late, there MAY be a division of the white people of South Carolina, the plain and unescapable mandate of common sense is that the suffrage and election laws be surrounded with every possible safeguard calculated to confine the voting in general elections to the most intelligent and informed class of negroes. It was the advice and wish of Abraham Lincoln to give the suffrage only to the most worthy and intelligent negroes and in that as in many other things Lincoln was

wise, just and far-seeing. Whatever mechanical devices will tend to make corruption of voters difficult and to insure the honesty of elections should be adopted in South Carolina and expense in so momentous a matter should not be a consideration. The white people, moreover, should not chafe under laws that make registration and voting inconvenient. If the claim of the whites to govern rests on a claim to superior intelligence, surely they should not grudgingly exercise that intelligence or lazily shrink from it.

The experience of North Carolina should not be forgotten. For a long time the Democrats ruled without let or hindrance. Then came the Populist movement, fusion with the Republicans, riots in Wilmington, dirty and nauseating government generally. A great battle for the redemption of the State, under the leadership of Charles B. Aycock, was necessary. The white people then adopted suffrage restrictions.

If our suffrage and election laws are not a sufficient restriction, should we not devise others now—and not wade through two, four or six years of political filth and then devise them?

We believe that we have shown that 40,000, 50,000 or more negroes MIGHT qualify to vote under the existing laws.

#### DUE THE COLORED RACE.

Editor Ohio State Journal:

In an editorial published some days since you made the statement that "personally" you intended to support and vote for Ralph W. Tyler for delegate-at-large to the Chicago convention. So do I; and so do a lot of other Republicans in Ohio who have the real welfare of the party at heart. What's more, our most sagacious party managers, who are giving this matter serious consideration, will do the same thing, no matter whose "goat" it may get.

The colored voters of Ohio, who number some 60,000 or more, are asking that a distinguished representative of their race, as clean and capable a man as will wear a delegate badge at Chicago next June, shall be made one of the "Big Four." Now, if our party pathfinders will get down out of the clouds of abstract speculation and all-absorbing self-contemplation, and put themselves in touch with existing conditions, they will discover that the colored voters are only asking for something to which they are richly entitled and which the party cannot well afford to deny them. The colored vote of Ohio is solidly Republican. It always has been solidly Republican. No other 60,000 voters in the party are so entirely and unflinchingly dependable. If loyal service to the party is entitled to any recognition, if those who have rendered such service and are expected to continue rendering it have a right to

any voice in the councils of the party, the colored Republicans should have one of the "Big Four" delegates. We can't really expect the black boys are always going to be satisfied to get down on all fours and carry the party out of the arid belt and into the sun-kissed valleys of political plenty without being permitted to enjoy any of the sunshine and substance.

There's another thing that emphasizes this demand for recognition at the present time, and my attention has been called to it by one of the grand old men of the Republican party in this state, in one of the finest tributes I've ever heard paid to the colored race. "Just now," said he, "the colored people of the United States occupy a unique position in our melting pot of nations." While the patriotism of thousands of our citizens is open to suspicion, nobody questions the loyalty of the colored man. He knows no other country, and he loves no other country. No old world kinship or cherished tradition casts its shadow between him and the Stars and Stripes. No ancestral finger beckons him away from his allegiance to the United States. Among all the flags of nations none but the Star Spangled Banner means anything to him. Others of us may, and some do, love two flags. He loves but one, and asks only that, as it floats to the breeze, it shall bear to him the same message that it bears to other true Americans, and that it shall protect him as it does them."

When a Republican of my style of architecture hears that kind of eloquent tribute paid to a class of citizens who constitute a large part of the force we must mobilize for effective action in the coming campaign, he can't help thinking that the time is peculiarly opportune for showing our appreciation, not only of their loyalty to the Republican party but of their loyalty to the country.

#### SQUARE DEAL REPUBLICAN.

Columbus, March 24.

Negroes in Alabama who charge the Democrats with their disfranchisement had perhaps better be informed that in some cases the most bitter opposition to their registration comes from white Republicans in their own section and neighborhood. This is a strange situation, but it is nevertheless true. Negroes who think independently are picked out and marked for slaughter simply because it is thought that they would not be easily led. The Negro's character, ability, or property holdings count for nothing. He is an unruly Negro and therefore should not be registered. Negroes in other States may have their problems, but we do not believe that they have any such problems as this. The Negroes of Alabama have got to fight the white Republicans, as well as the Democrats if they ever hope to enjoy again their full political rights.

#### GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

#### Negro Republicans Meet Tonight.

Members of the Twenty-sixth Ward Negro Republican Club will hold a meeting tonight at 2628 North Newstead avenue.

where the organization has headquarters. Candidates for city offices will speak. J. W. McIntyre is president of the club and G. R. Allen is secretary.



Political - 1916  
Suffrage

Nov. 11, 1916, La. Item

# 'Negro Issue' Results in Bloodshed Between Partisans in Avoyelles

A shooting affray, which may have fatal results, occurred in Bunkie, La., this morning as the result of the discussion of the assertions made several days ago that certain negroes attended the recent campaign meeting of John M. Parker's supporters in Lanier's theater.

Lee Lanier, editor of the Bunkie Record, shot W. F. Jackson, an Independent Democrat, in the groin. The shooting followed an altercation between Lanier and M. R. Weiss, another Independent.

The statement that the negroes attended the Parker meeting originated among Pleasant supporters and has been widely discussed by speakers.

Six Independent Democrats issued a signed statement on the subject and sent a copy of it to The Item, Messrs. Weiss and Jackson were among the number. They discussed a report by Lanier himself, or what purported to be a report signed by him, in The Daily States of last Wednesday.

This report, purporting to be signed by Lanier, remarked that "73 negroes crowded into the gallery of the Park theater in feverish eagerness to hear John M. Parker."

The statement, signed by Messrs. Weiss, Jackson and others, said that "the 73 negroes referred to by Lanier are regular attendants at Lanier's Park theater, drawn there by his advertisement of Charley Chaplin every Monday night, Monday night being the night this rousing meeting was held in Lanier's Park theater. The matter needs no correction here, where the people know Lanier and his consummate desire to please the bosses."

The Item correspondent at Bunkie sends the following account:

"Lanier had apparently just finished reading the statement concerning his report, when he saw Mr. M. R. Weiss on the street. It is alleged that Lanier walked up to Weiss and, indicating the statement, asked Weiss if he signed it. Weiss said that he did. Then Lanier wanted to know who sent the article to The Item. Weiss replied that he did. Lanier then is alleged to have told Weiss, 'You know that's a lie,' and to have struck Weiss. Weiss went to his father's store and Lanier went into the Citizens' bank and was talking to Mr. Mathews, the cashier, when several of Weiss' friends went in the bank. Hot words were exchanged between

Lanier and Weiss. Then it is alleged W. F. Jackson, a clerk employed by J. M. Weiss and company pulled a revolver.

Lanier and Jackson fired about the same time, it is alleged. Jackson missed and Lanier's bullet struck Jackson in the groin, seriously wounding him. Lanier was arrested and sent to Marksville. All others who had anything to do with the affair were arrested.

There is no feeling between the Parker and Pleasant supporters here. The trouble is considered purely personal. No more trouble is anticipated."

EVENING POST

New York City

One thing is certain in this election: Woodrow Wilson will get almost no negro votes. Four years ago a vigorous effort was made, with considerable success, to induce the negro voters to divide their votes between the two candidates to a considerable degree to elect President.

But the result was a failure. The negroes have not been taken office than the segregation policy was begun in Washington, and every now and then manifestations of it are visible. Not the slightest assistance has been given by the President to the colored people. But Mr. Wilson's managers have had sufficient sense of shame to make no open efforts to win the colored voter this year, and the President has had the decency to refrain from making more promises of this kind. Now, curiously enough, Mr. Hughes has not taken advantage of this situation. It is one issue—about the only one—he has failed to use, though

he could have scored heavily on Mr. Wilson had he done so. More than that, he has refused to answer letters from groups of prominent colored men and white friends of the race asking his position. His only reference to the problem was in an unsatisfactory speech at Nashville. Once when Governor he said to a delegation that he did not care a rap for the negro vote, and he has lived up to that in this campaign.

**PAY POLL TAXES BY SATURDAY, MAY 6TH**  
Only Twenty Days Left In Which To Qualify For November Election

Only twenty days more remain in which to qualify for voting in the November election by payment of the poll taxes. The requires that in order to be qualified one's poll taxes must be paid six months prior an election, and May 6th is the last day in which to take advantage of the law. Presidential and congressional candidates will be voted for in November.

EVENING SUN

Baltimore, Md.

Curious Political Advice Given By "A Certain Bulletin."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN:  
Sir—The religious question has got into our local politics. A certain "bulletin" instructs the voter in the Second Congressional district, for instance, to vote as follows: For Wilson (Democrat) for President; for France (Republican) for Senator, and for Green (Prohibitionist) for Representative. What a potpourri, hodge-podge, hocus-pocus, salmagundi mess that would be! Imagine a Democrat, with all he may think of his party and its symbols, voting first for his choice for President and scratching Lewis and Talbot for a Republican and a Prohibitionist! Or imagine a Republican, with all his protective theories, voting for a Democrat for President and then throwing in his own man for Senator and a Prohibitionist for Representative! What a fine administration we'd have then, if this rule were adopted in other districts and throughout the country! Whose administration would it be, and what kind? Study the "bulletin" carefully, for a more hilarious conglomeration you couldn't get up. And what has Hughes done, and is Wilson altogether blameless (from their viewpoint). These people are "hoist with their own petard." A political boom-crang is this latest move. What pin-heads they must be! This "bulletin" makes the writer at once an ex-member of this "Voters' League."

Baltimore, Nov. 3. INDIGNANT.

A Colored Man Tells Why He Will Vote For Wilson And Is In Favor

Of Prohibition.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING SUN:  
Sir—It has been since the emancipation of the negro an unbroken rule that the negro has voted for the Republican candidate. I myself have always voted for the Republican candidate until 1912. That year the country almost as a whole had preference primaries to get the sentiment of the people as to whom they desired for their standard bearer. That year the Republican party said Roosevelt. The men of "special privilege" said Taft. Roosevelt said the people should be heard. The men of "special privilege" said by their action that they should not. So they knocked Roosevelt out. Roosevelt, a lifelong Republican, said that the people's desires should be respected and, therefore, left the Republican party and organized the Progressive party and stumped the country, saying that these leaders of "special privilege" were thieves, thugs, rogues and what not. Now he is stumping, saying Wilson is not worthy of leadership. I guess in 1920 he may find himself wrong again about Wilson, as he did about the Republican party, so I decided long ago to vote for Wilson for President. He has made an excellent leader, good enough for me, and I am sure, taking previous records, that none who have preceded him has done better. There has not been greater work done since Lincoln's time. One thing I might mention is averting the railroad strike, which is the greatest thing done since the emancipation of slaves.

No man has had such great problems to confront him, so many and so rapidly, as Mr. Wilson. He has lain down at midnight and next morning a new problem was before him. I think it a very wrong time to change leaders at this crucial period of our history. His management has not thrown us into war. This we know. Up to this time no aeroplanes are dropping bombs upon our cities and people, while those nations which have entered into the conflict are suffering just such things. Their families lie down at night with their children to sleep and ere they wake the enemy drops a bomb on their home and destroys the home and family. Before you vote, my friends, stop and think and ask yourself the question, Will Mr. Hughes with Mr. Roosevelt throw us into war and thereby destroy our present peace? Since we don't know, we had better not seek to find it out at this time. I know that we can fight, but what is the use of losing your son, your husband, your brother, your uncle, your cousin, when it is unnecessary? If there was a necessity for it, it would be all right; but there is none.

The country is prosperous. It's at peace. Why not let well enough alone and vote for Mr. Wilson?

If any people should vote for prohibition, it should be the negro. By the sale of liquor he has less money and property. What benefit do you get from it my brother? You don't sell the stuff well, maybe three or four out of the 100,000 negroes in this great city will. Why do you want saloons? At Knoxville, Tenn., where the saloon was, they set up confectionery stores, restaurants, grocery stores, moving-picture parlors and theatres. This can be done here and give more people work than the

saloon. The white people think we are whisky people. Let's show them differently on Tuesday by voting for prohibition.

S. H. SMITH.  
Baltimore, Nov. 5.

## THE NEGRO ISSUE—A Banker's Viewpoint.

To the Editor of The Item:

Apropos of the negro question that nomenclically has been injected into the present political campaign by the Democratic candidate, and furthered and fostered by his lackeys and lieutenants, it might be in order to refer to the record of the present administration at Washington.

A notable Georgian, in a public address recently pointed out President Wilson's predilection for negro office holders.

Of the negro, Lincoln Johnson, he said, "They gave him recorder of deeds in Washington City, where his duties make him not only the boss of the white men and white women, working under him, but whose duties brought him in contact with white people, who transact most of the business in that office. My recollection is that the salary is the nice little sum of eight thousand dollars a year."

In the same speech it was stated that Robert Terrell, a negro, was by reappointment of Mr. Wilson, judge of the city court of the capital of the proudest nation on earth.

So the aspirant for state executive and his partisans who apeing his ebullitions, cannot consistently curse Roosevelt for his negro record.

The fact is that the injection of this subject into the campaign, was unwarranted and unworthy of a weighty mind.

The negro will never be accorded political honor, or social recognition, in the South, by any party, present or future.

In jabbing and judging a man for his attitude toward the negro the conditions prevailing in the North should be considered. One crossing the Ohio river may expect, at any time, to have a negro or negress uninvited, sit on the same seat in the train, or at the same table in a restaurant, or to occupy the same free pew in church. We, of the South, will not tolerate such equality, but in judging a Northern man (say Mr. Roosevelt) we must be charitable enough to consider his rearing and environment.

Mr. Parker is as free from believing in or practicing negro equality as is his opponent, and to harp on that issue indicates poverty of material and paucity of cause for debate. It betokens dire extremity and a case of nerves.

Fright and fear have evidently taken hold of the Pleasant leaders. For lack of legitimate grounds for criticism they have seized at a shadow. Unable to meet his arguments and awed by his splendid personality, effort is made

New Orleans, La.



to arouse prejudice and to excite passion. Confused and confounded at the Parker licks and logic, they imitate a certain fish that inks the water to elude its pursuers.

Parker points to progress and protection, Pleasant to poverty and prejudice.

Parker assures an economical and efficient administration, Pleasant savors of blunders and bosses (we will not say boodles). Parker inspires confidence, Pleasant fills with fear. Parker is progressive, Pleasant retrogressive.

Louisiana deserves the best. Let's take it.

I am,

12. 20. 1916

Oakland, Cal.

I know from long experience the alienable feeling in the South against extending the negro vote."

At this point the turmoil grew and the audience turned on the "mere man," who roved to be John Aubrey Jones, one-time candidate for Congress and well known in all political circles. A colored man, who had been listening quietly, rose from the middle of the house and made his way out. A larger negro woman rose and poured forth an invective at "John Jones, Southerner"—words that were lost in the clamor of people rising to leave and the stamping of feet and umbrellas on all sides. A white-haired old man stood up and called that he had meant to vote for Hughes, but now he would vote for Wilson because they had "insulted a Virginia gentleman."

"If you believe in nation-wide woman suffrage, then you believe in the federal amendment, because its the only possible way of getting nation-wide suffrage," retorted Miss Gail Laughlin, attorney to John Jones in a tone that said, "sit down." A tumult of applause broke loose for her.

#### CALL ON BAND.

The band players, who had been waiting for the end at the doors, were hastily stirred into action and music rolled out, competing with John Jones, but he kept on until Mrs. Makrille came forward again.

"Five women spoke here tonight, and there was peace. A man speaks and in five minutes he broke up the meeting."

The Southerner shrugged his shoulders and surrendered.

Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Mrs. William Platt Kent, wife of Congressman Kent; Miss Gail Laughlin, Miss Maude Younger, head of the Woman's party lobby at Washington, and Mrs. Ida Finney Makrille were the speakers of the evening. Mrs. Field was one of the two who represented the Women Voters' Congress on a mission to President Wilson. Miss Laughlin has been a worker in the suffrage campaigns of several states before this.

"We are opposed to the Democratic party for its hostility to our voting," explained Miss Gail Laughlin in a fiery speech. "On account of the provisions of the constitutions of various states it is absolutely impossible to bring about a nation-wide suffrage except through a federal amendment. But President Wilson opposes this. Listen to Wilson. 'I have a passion for human liberty.' He

was a college president, he knows the meaning of words. Evidently women are not human."

"Good work," shouted an auditor—not the Southerner.

"Wilson," she continued, "reminds me of the mother in that old rhyme,

"Mother, may I go out to swim,  
Yes, my darling daughter,  
Hang your clothes on a hickory limb,  
But don't go near the water."

#### IS OPPOSED TO WOMEN.

"Wilson says, 'I'm for women suffrage but I'm opposed to you're getting it.' This cry of 'He kept us out of war'—if one man can keep us out of war regardless of the feeling of the nation, we are no longer a democracy, we are back to the old autocracy. Who kept Switzerland out of war?

"Women, don't play the Esau, and sell your birthright for a mess of pottage."

Mrs. Makrille announced that there was nothing outrageous in using the ballot to gain a candidate who would back suffrage. "We are simply learning to use men's methods," she said. "Until four years ago when we used the vote as an argument, the word suffrage had not come into big political issues. Today it is dominant."

Last came Miss Younger before the ro of women on the platform. She reviewed the efforts to get the suffrage issue before the House at Washington.

"You know," she said of President Wilson, "we've given that man every chance."

But there was none for John Jones Southerner.

### INTIMIDATION CHARGE FALSE, SAY DEMOCRATS

In the mandamus proceedings to be brought it will be charged by the Republican State Committee that the charges against the challenged voters were not sustained, that they had not been convicted of crime as charged, that they had a right to vote and their votes should be counted.

Interested Democrats, watching the revision of the vote, announced this afternoon that instead of there being 900 challenged ballots, which Republicans charge were fraudulently laid aside, the exact figures showed there were but a trifle more than 300 such ballots.

Excise Commissioner Horace Rumsey, one of the checkers, gave a reporter for The Star his figures, which showed the number of challenged ballots, in all wards but the Twenty-eighth, was 306.

Simultaneously announcement was made by Thomas J. Leonard, chairman of the Democratic City Committee, that an investigation was being pushed to supply the Circuit Attorney's office with evidence that a number of negro voters, despite the challenges, made false affidavits of their right to vote and were al-

lowed to cast their ballots.

Rumsey's figures show that the Seventeenth Ward, in which Frank M. Slater, Republican, and Lawler Daley, Democrats, are committeemen, and which has the largest negro population of any ward, had fifty-seven challenges. By wards the

challenges, which were for all causes, were as follows:

First, 2; Second, none; Third, none; Fourth, 17; Fifth, 6; Seventh, 11; Eighth, 2; Ninth, 4; Tenth, 3; Eleventh, 8; Twelfth, 9; Thirteenth, 14; Fifteenth, 20; Sixteenth, 19; Seventeenth, 27; Eighteenth, 4; Nineteenth, 22; Twentieth, 6; Twenty-first, 4; Twenty-second, 17; Twenty-third, 7; Twenty-fourth, 12; Twenty-fifth, 19; Twenty-sixth, 11; Twenty-seventh, 5.

"The Circuit Attorney's office already has received information of how a number of voters, many of whom were negroes, made false affidavits and voted," said Leonard.

"The purpose of our investigation and our challenges was to prevent hundreds of votes from being cast fraudulently. Many of those arrested admitted having served sentences and yet the court permitted them to go. We merely wanted to have the challenged voter identified in court."

"Charges of wholesale challenges and intimidations are false. I hope the public won't be misled by the hue and cry set up by the newspaper which indorsed Fredericks and Kuhs and kept the voters in ignorance of the facts."

John Cashman, representing the Democratic City Committee as attorney, today said he did not fear any court action.

"In the first place I do not believe any court will go so far as to order the commissioners to appear," said Cashman, "but if they are ordered to appear and an investigation is made, I am sure it will be shown that those who were challenged had no right to vote. When a man is convicted of crime he cannot vote unless granted pardon by the Governor. These men were not pardoned, according to the investigations of a committee. Every case was thoroughly investigated before any challenges were made. The challengers simply did their duty under the law."

"The courts have no authority to order any ballots opened, whether they are in the ballot boxes or sealed in envelopes, unless a contest is begun by some candidate for office. Under the circumstances I see no way in which the courts can order a count, as no contest has been ordered."

#### RECORD

Philadelphia, Pa.

### NEGROES PRAISE WILSON

#### Hannibal Democratic League to Be Active in Campaign.

Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Va., president of the Hannibal National Negro Democratic League was in the city yesterday on his way to New York, where he goes to confer with National Chairman McCormick. In speaking of the delegation of negroes from his League who called on President Wilson last week assuring him of their support in the coming campaign, Mr. Jackson said:

"Our delegation was cordially received at the White House by the President. The support of the Hannibal League was pledged the President and he was urged to give out a message to the negro voters of the country. This the President promised to do. We regard President Wilson as a safe and sane leader, the best that has been in the White House since the days of Grover Cleveland. The message that President Wilson will send out will satisfy the negro voters of the country."

"With respect to the colored man we feel that President Wilson can be relied upon to do the proper thing at all times. The Republican party has failed to carry out its promises insofar as the negro is concerned and in recent years has repudiated the negro as a political factor. The splendid and patriotic record of President Wilson should be sufficient appeal to every negro to give united support to Wilson and Marshall."

The officers of the Hannibal National Negro Democratic League are: President, Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Va.; secretary, Rufus L. Perry, of Brooklyn, N. Y.; treasurer, Benjamin S. Smith, of Maryland; directors, E. W. Jones, of Chicago, and H. H. Price, of Richmond, Va.

#### Disfranchisement in Georgia

Governor Joseph M. Brown, of Georgia, charges that the election law put upon the statute books of that State by his predecessor, Senator Hoke Smith, and by which the latter rode into power, occupying first the gubernatorial chair and then the senatorial toga, operates to disfranchise 100,000 white men in Georgia, tho it was intended to keep blacks from voting. In his message to the Legislature, therefore, he asks that it be amended, particularly the feature requiring the voter to register six months before an election. Of the 110,000 negroes paying poll tax in Georgia only 19,000 are registered voters, and yet there are over a million blacks in Georgia. Concurrent with this appeal of a Democratic Governor, the white Republicans of North Georgia are preparing to test the legality and constitutionality of the whole law.

#### EVENING WORLD

New York City

### REPROVES G. O. P. FOR COWARDICE

#### Failure to Uphold Negroes' Rights Defeated Hughes, Says Former Senator.

CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 27.—In an open letter in the Evening Monitor to Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, former Senator William E. Chandler of this State, one of the Republican counsel in the Hayes-Tilden Electoral Commission contest, asserts that Charles Evans Hughes would have won the election for the Presidency but for the failure of the Republican Party since 1908 to put a negro suffrage plank in its national platform. "The colored man," declares Mr. Chandler, "is black and is forgotten." In conclusion he says:

"Now that the election has defeated Hughes with our incomplete and unwise platform, I am glad it has been done by so petty a majority that all the world can see the destructive result of our Republican cowardice."

#### TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

#### A WRONG TO BE CORRECTED.

Chicago, Nov. 14.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—I wish to express my most hearty commendation of your editorial on "Southern Representation." I have often wondered that more is not said concerning this matter. I did not see or hear it referred to in the recent campaign except when I spoke of it myself, which was frequently.

It would be of interest to figure out what Wilson's electoral vote would be if the suppressed Negro vote of the south were not counted in the representation. It would probably appear that in an indirect way Wilson was elected by these nonvoters.

The same objection holds in the congressional representation. It requires but a small fraction of the vote of the rest of the country to make with the "solid south" a majority, and then its representatives are a majority of that majority and hence in a sense rule the nation.

It would be bad enough to have to contend against a large section still voting in national matters on an issue half a century old if its voters had only their normal representation; but when the whites continually vote their Negroes solidly against us it seems an intolerable anomaly.

GEORGE D. BROOMELL.



Political - 1916  
Suffrage

## Penrose Will Revive Lodge "Force" Bill

Washington Special to The New York Times.

On the eve of what promised to be a Congressional session devoid of sensational happenings, Senator Penrose of Pennsylvania has let it be known that he will press a measure that is sure to furnish the foundation of a bitter partisan contest that may overshadow all other legislative doings of the three months remaining of the present Congress. Mr. Penrose said today that he intended to introduce a bill providing for Federal supervision of national elections. Those who remember the contest of twenty-six years ago over the so-called Force bill realize that there may be lively times ahead in the legislative arena.

Senator Penrose came to Washington Saturday night and conferred with some of his Republican associates over making an issue of the conduct of elections in Southern States. The proposed action of the Pennsylvania Senator will offset the understood purpose of the Democratic leaders to undertake a Congressional investigation of the expenditures made by the Republicans in the late campaign. There is little prospect that the Penrose measure will make any headway toward enactment, but it will serve as a text for Republican orators in Congress to set up the claim that through the suppression of Republican votes in the solid South the Democrats were able to bring about the reelection of Woodrow Wilson.

### Soft Pedal on Sectionalism.

It is too early yet to make any prediction as to what support Mr. Penrose will receive from his Republican associates in the Senate. In recent years there has been a disposition to put the soft pedal on efforts to raise questions that have a sectional tinge, particularly where the South was affected, and in the recent Presidential campaign Charles E. Hughes was taken to task by President Wilson and other prominent Democrats on the charge of having raised the cry of sectionalism in the contention that the national administration in Washington was in control of Southern politicians who used their prestige and power to give the South the advantage of legislative enactments.

"I have not fully decided just what form my bill will take," said Senator Penrose to night. "I may offer it as an amendment to Senator Owen's Corrupt Practices Act or introduce it as a separate bill and follow the same line that Senator Lodge did in 1890. I think that it is about time that the laws of the United States should be enforced and that the negroes of the South should be given their constitutional prerogatives. The people of the United States, except those who have watched the elections in the South, do not know how flagrantly the election laws are violated, how negroes are cheated of their franchise and the natural opposition vote, the Republican vote, in the Southern States, is never reflected.

### Electoral College as Issue.

"This condition must stop. It may be

necessary to abolish the Electoral College in order to get at the evil, for then the Solid South would only be a historical myth in electing a President. Now it is almost impossible to overcome the solid 145 electoral votes representing the South, made up largely of the votes of white men. Unless the South sees fit to allow the negro to vote, I would favor Federal supervision, as was proposed by Senator Lodge while a member of the House in 1890. That bill was passed by the House, but was lost in the Senate in 1891. If Congress objects to Federal supervision, then I mean to work for the elimination of the Electoral College, and the election of the President of the United States by a popular vote.

"As I said, I have not fully made up my mind just which is the best way to proceed. But I have conferred with several of my colleagues and with leading men of the country, and I find that there is a desire everywhere for a square deal for the Republicans of the South, and if this square deal cannot be obtained without Federal supervision, let us have Federal supervision or the popular election of President.

"The 145 Electoral votes of the South do not represent as many voters as those in two or three of our Northern States. It is an outrage how the rest of the country is overbalanced by the South. For instance, South Carolina casts about 45,000 votes, about as many as three of the largest wards in Philadelphia. And for those 45,000 votes South Carolina gets nine votes in the Electoral College."

Senator Penrose concluded by saying that the argument for Federal supervision or some change in the election system of the South was overpowering.

### Force Bill Fight of 1890.

When the Federal Supervision Bill was before Congress in 1890, it caused the greatest filibuster ever witnessed in Congress. At the instigation of President Harrison, Mr. Lodge, then a member of the House, offered the bill, which passed the House, where there was a strong Republican majority. The House passed the bill July 2, 1890. It did not reach the Senate until the short session of the Fifth-first Congress, and was finally defeated there after a prolonged filibuster by a combination between the Democratic and Free Silver Republican Senators. The late Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland, who led the fight against the bill, finally compelled the Republicans to abandon the measure, and secured the passage in the Senate of the Free Silver Bill, which was the price paid by the Democrats to the Free Silver Republicans for their opposition to the "force" measure.

The bill was commonly termed by its opponents "the force bill." They insisted that the measure gave the Federal administration the right to employ Federal troops at the polls and thus force the election of ad-

ministration candidates.

Senator Penrose tomorrow will confer with Senator Lodge and seek his aid in the proposed legislation.

## CHRONICLE TELEGRAM

Pittsburgh, Pa.

## NEALE ENDING TOUR OF STATES FOR THE G. O. P.

Prominent Pittsburgh Negro  
Has Taken Up Registration of  
Colored Vote in Border States

## FINISHING IN MARYLAND

George A. Neale, of Pittsburgh, one of the most prominent Negroes in Pennsylvania, has about completed a tour of many states in the interest of the Republican ticket. Starting in Ohio and Indiana and visiting other border states, Neale is now winding up his work in Maryland and from there will return to Pittsburgh. The principal work being done by Neale and other prominent Negroes in those states is to build up interest in Negro registration and the success of the Republican ticket.

Neale lives in the Fifth ward and is said to have a good organization in Pittsburgh. He is on leave of absence and expects to devote three weeks to work in so-called doubtful states. His present headquarters are 1111 U street, Washington, D. C.

In writing about his work Neale has this to say:

### Neale Tells of His Trip.

In September, 1915, at the call of J. Finley Wilson, of Maryland, representative colored men from 10 states, all of which were above the Mason and Dixon line, met in Washington and formed an organization of negro political, beneficial and quasi-secret associations having for its object the arousing among colored men of a higher patriotism and loyalty for our country and our flag, to assist in the election to public of-

ice of such men as would safeguard the best interests of the people, to nullify the efforts of self-constituted race leaders whose appeals to racial prejudices were causing the negro to be misunderstood and treated with constantly increasing disrespect. The organization met with ready acceptance throughout the several states, and at Chicago during the Republican national convention, in June of this year, it was decided that every effort be put forth to bring about the election of Hughes and Fairbanks and all the candidates for Congress and Senate of the United States, the work to be entirely voluntary, along lines initiated by the organization itself, and the entire expense to be borne by the organization. Working to this end, efforts were immediately centralized in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Ohio, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York.

The trip to Cincinnati, Indianapolis and through Kentucky was the rounding up of the sentiment that had been crystallizing for more than a year. In Indiana there is the most perfect organization imaginable. A card index has been made of all the Negro voters; all, that is, 100 per cent of them, will or have been qualified as voters. This, together with the very efficient organization of the other groups, enables the unqualified prediction that Hughes and Fairbanks, as well as New and Watson, for United States Senators, will carry Indiana with pronounced majorities. Among the Negro voters of Indiana the very name of Tom Taggart has been a household word. His helpfulness to the colored people of his state has stamped him as a genuine friend, and it has been hard to make our voters see the necessity of supporting his opponents.

In Missouri the colored voters have registered almost to a man. In St. Louis the Republican registration has been increased by more than 12,000. Ninety per cent of this increase has been from the colored voters.

### Makes Tour of Kentucky.

I entered into Kentucky with some trepidation. Prior reports had given the impression that the voters were unresponsive and I knew that a lack of tactfulness would bring irreparable harm. All the preparatory work had been carried on without publicity. There was no appeal to prejudice, no waving of "the bloody shirt." The moral courage to place this country above self, to instill a genuine pride in his Americanism required careful and painstaking endeavor. All the steps necessary to the qualifying of the Negro voter were quietly carried out and on Tuesday and Wednesday, October 3rd and 4th., all the voters who could participate in the election of November 7 were registered. So quietly and efficiently had the work been carried on that without the least friction or trouble ninety per cent of all the qualified Negro voters of Louisville and Lexington had registered before noon of the first day and the balance before the booths closed (nine o'clock). The result was that the Republican registration of Louisville was increased by more than five thousand and of Lexington by more than three thousand. Even the Republican Executive Committee of Kentucky, was surprised not knowing how the thing was done or what forces had accomplished the work. Because of the increased Republican registration the party managers are freely predicting that Hughes will carry the state.

Neale is in Baltimore today as this is the last day for registration in that city. The country districts of Maryland had their last registration day last

From **RECORD HERALD**

Address: **Chicago, Ill.**

Date

### Concerning the Negro Vote.

Chicago, Nov. 16.—To the Editor: When the **RECORD** in the editorial says "The South's 'All Right' do you mean that withholding the votes of negroes from the ballot box and yet counting those votes to swell their number of congressmen and electors is right? As a Union soldier in the civil war I rejoiced that the "waving of the bloody shirt" came to an end, but it seems to me the influence of the present national administration has done very much to arouse sectionalism, and especially as to the treatment of colored official



and employes in the departments at Washington I have heard that there is a strong element of leading people in the South connected with colleges and universities who claim that the Hoks Smiths and Vardamans do not properly represent the best southern elements on the negro question. Some of them, we are told, favor a restriction of suffrage on the basis of intelligence, but would have it apply to white and black alike. Would it be possible to agitate the whole country and bring some restriction on voters, North and South, that would bar illiterates from the ballot? If the states of the South refuse to let the black man vote, should they not in honor refuse also to get credit for the colored people of voting age?

DUNCAN C. MILNER.

ENQUIRER  
s: Cincinnati, O.

# Made By Democrats

## To Stir Race Prejudice, Is Hatfield's Charge.

## Story of Colonization of Negroes Is Denied

## By State Chairman, Who Calls It Ridiculous.

## Columbus Not Included in List of Cities Nominee Hughes Will Visit on Sec- ond Tour.

SPECIAL DISPATCH TO THE ENQUIRER.  
Columbus, Ohio, September 14.--Stiff denial is made of the Democratic charge that negro voters from Kentucky are being colonized in Ohio, the denying being the work of Chairman Charles S. Hatfield, of the Republican State Committee. The warning sent out by Chairman W. L. Finley to the Democrats, he asserts, is ridiculous and savors of the ancient tactics used to stir up race prejudice and antagonism to avert defeat.  
It is pointed out that under the state law no man is permitted to vote until he has lived in Ohio a year and in the county 30 days. There are few places in Ohio where strangers would be permitted to

vote without establishing their right to do so. In the opinion of the Chairman the warning constitutes a gratuitous insult to the negro voters.

### Columbus Not on List.

The expectancy that Charles E. Hughes would deliver a speech in Columbus during his coming trip ended to-day when the itinerary for the Ohio journey was announced. The special train will arrive in Dayton from Indianapolis at 7:20 a. m., September 25, and the candidate will spend the entire day in that city participating in the opening exercises. He will leave at midnight for Toledo, arriving at 4 a. m., and will make his first speech at an automobile plant at noon.

The remainder of his schedule follows: Leave Toledo 1:30 p. m.; arrive Port Clinton 2:15 p. m.; leave Port Clinton 2:45 p. m.; arrive Sandusky 3:10 p. m.; leave Sandusky 3:40 p. m.; arrive Elyria 4:15 p. m.; leave Elyria 4:45 p. m.; arrive Cleveland 5:45 p. m.; leave Cleveland 7 a. m., September 27; arrive Akron 8 a. m.; leave Akron 8:10 a. m.; arrive Canton 9:30 a. m.; leave Canton 9:45 a. m.; arrive Pittsburg 12:30 p. m.

### Pomerene Goes To Canton.

United States Senator Allee Pomerene, after spending the night and most of the day here, left for Canton this evening, having been spiritedly received at the State Bankers' Convention and the meeting of the Business Men's Club. He did not meet Chairman W. L. Finley to-day for the reason that that official went to Indianapolis with National Chairman Vance McCormick and former Governor Martin Glynn, of New York, to attend the notification ceremony to Vice President Thomas Marshall.

It was announced that within a few days Arthur P. Black, the Senator's secretary, would come here and open up a suite of offices from which the campaign would be directed. The capital was selected as being more convenient from a political standpoint than Canton. Senator Pomerene, however, will spend much of his time at Canton.

WISCONSIN  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.

### Colored Voters Canard.

While the New York World, falling in with the policy of Democratic campaigners, has been raising a hullabaloo about huge election fraud conspiracies in New Jersey and other states into which there has been of late an immigration of colored people from the South, the same paper published in its Sunday issue under an Atlanta date an elaborate article from a staff correspondent reviewing the important migration in its true light as a labor movement.

Since the first of last April one hundred and eighteen thousand negroes have gone from the South to West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan and Connecticut to accept work. They went to take places vacated by

thousands of unskilled foreign laborers who returned to Europe after the outbreak of the great war. The exodus is so great that it is said to threaten the very existence of some of the industries of the Southern states.

After mentioning numerous incitements to the migration, the World correspondent says:

The dominant reason for the migration is more money. The alluring tales of the labor agent have made the Southern negro long for the North. He is in a state of unrest. Great excitement prevails in the entire cotton belt. Crops are short and many negroes will be idle until spring unless they leave the cotton plantations. The boll weevil and floods destroyed thousands of acres of cotton on the Mississippi this year and left hundreds of negro families penniless. That is why the call for labor met such a ready response in some regions.

The correspondent goes on to say it is estimated that 95 per cent. of the negroes who have left the South in this movement are men. The demand is for laborers for freight and section-hand work on railroads, miners for coal and iron mines and unskilled workmen for general outside work at industrial plants throughout the Middle West and North. Most of the black men are now doing the heavy work done by Italians, Montenegrins, Roumanians, Greeks and other foreigners before the European war broke out, thousands of the Europeans having returned to their respective countries to bear their part in the conflict. Last spring, when the business of the railroads and the mines began to prosper as they had not done before in years, the demand for unskilled labor increased rapidly. The freight congestion in and about New York caused a pressing demand for truck hands. In former years the railroads had called in Europe and Asia for extra supplies. Labor agents and steamship companies co-operated to fill orders for thousands of men for rough work. This year, when they could not get people from the war zone, they turned to the South.

This then, according to the World's own staff correspondent, is the true explanation of a matter to which political writers sadly at a loss for legitimate material have given much space and many sensational headlines. There wasn't any attempt at colonizing northern states with negroes to help defeat Wilson and elect Hughes. The assertion was a wild absurdity, and the men who made it probably were well aware of the fact at the outset, but thought there were voters it might deceive.

Union

# SUFFRAGE POWER IN SOUTH SHOWN

## Supremacy of White Vote Depends on Enfranchisement of Women, It Is Said.

UNION BUREAU, 35 Wyatt Bldg.,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., AUG. 11.

The maintenance of the supremacy of the white vote in the South is absolutely dependent on the enfranchisement of the women there, is the assertion of Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, daughter of Congressman E. J. Hill of Connecticut, research chairman of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

She offered statistics to prove her contention that in Mississippi and South Carolina the problem of white supremacy would not be changed in any way by equal suffrage and that in North Carolina, Virginia and the other Southern States equal suffrage would add largely to the white vote.

Mrs. Weed's interview was intended as an answer to the statement President Wilson is reported to have made to a group of Democratic women who called on him recently at the White House, to the effect that it was not the question of States' rights but the Negro problem which kept him from declaring for federal woman suffrage.

"Instead of complicating the race problem, equal suffrage would simplify it," said Mrs. Weed, who claims her figures are based on the figures of the last census. "The opposition of the South to the woman suffrage amendment, therefore, is a bugaboo which has no existence in fact.

"Let some of the members of Congress who have been dragging in the Negro problem every time woman suffrage is mentioned put their elbows on their desks and give a few minutes' study to the population tables of the last census and the per cent. of increase among whites and blacks, and they will see they have been having nightmares over a black nothing.

"In Mississippi and South Carolina the problem would not be changed anyway by equal suffrage. In all the other Southern States it would add largely to the white vote.

"In North Carolina, for instance, the white voting supremacy would be increased from 358,000 to 430,000; in Oklahoma from 339,000 to 620,000. In other States the votes of the white women would bring big gains, for in all the States, except Mississippi and South Carolina the white women far outnumber the Negro women, and in a number of the States the entire Negro population, men, women and children combined.

"All told, the white women of the South outnumber the Negro women by more than 6,000,000, and the total Negro population by more than 2,000,000.

"It is idle, therefore, to argue that

the Negro problem is a reason for opposing the federal amendment. The only answer needed is to show the census figures. They dispel all useless fear."

G. H. M.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage

### ENQUIRER

Cincinnati.

#### STATISTICS ON FEMALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER.

A news item in The Enquirer stated that the men of Kentucky feared for white supremacy if negro women were enfranchised.

The United States census bulletin for 1910 gives the number of white women over 21 years of age in Kentucky as 506,299 and the number of negro women as 73,413. These figures show that the number of white women exceeds the number of negro women by 432,886.

The total number of both white men and women in Kentucky is 1,033,960, while of negro men and women there are only 149,107. Kentucky is one of the group of East South Central States in which the per cent of negroes over 21 to the entire adult population is 30.6, the per cent of white adults being 63.8. The number of white women in Kentucky exceeds the number of both negro men and women by 357,192. The total number of white women in the United States is 22,059,236, or 89.8 per cent, while the total number of negro women is 2,427,742, or 9.9 per cent.

In only two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, do the number of negro women exceed the number of white women; in these states negro men exceed white men.

There are 6,000,000 more white women south of Mason and Dixon's line than there are negro women, and there are 2,000,000 more white women than negro men and women combined. The Federal amendment would not take from the states the right to make restrictions concerning property and educational qualifications.

Viola Kaufman,  
417 G street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the West

Quincy, Ky

## SAYS NEGRO VOTERS ARE NOW SATISFIED

CHAIRMAN FRANKS BACK FROM HARMONIOUS SESSION OF STATE COMMITTEE

Hon. E. T. Franks, returned from Louisville last night after attending meeting of the Republican state central committee, held to settle the local contests in Louisville. On account of the cards "being stacked", as expressed by Mr. Franks, the meeting was called off and will be held Tuesday night, April 11, at the Seelbach hotel.

In regard to the Louisville muddle Mr. Franks said: "The committee did not think it was fair to allow the interested parties in the Louisville controversy to sit in judgment on their own contest by holding proxies of members of the state central committee, and for this reason the matter was deferred until there could be a full meeting of the committee present. The meeting was harmonious and the best of feeling prevailed.

"The colored delegation from Lexington then appeared before the committee, and went away apparently satisfied, realizing that it was beyond the power of the state central committee to undo what the state convention did in electing one colored delegate out of eight delegates to the national convention to be held in Chicago on June 7."

TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

#### The Negro and the Campaign.

Burnside, La., March 25, 1916.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

I note your report of the Parker meeting in Covington, which says:

"Both Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Labarre hit the negro question hard, the latter asserting that he had been informed that he was perhaps the only man in the United States who positively refused to hire a negro to work in his timber camps; that he refused to have a negro in the village in which his home was located. He was sure that if he believed Mr. Parker's election meant bringing back the negro into politics he would be the last man in the state to support him."

I would like to ask Mr. Labarre what size timber camps he has been able to operate without negro labor? I would also be pleased to know the 'village' that he lives in that can do without negro labor.

While none of us believe the negro should divide honors in election time with the white electors, who of us can boycott the negro in a business way? What about our field hands, cooks, washerwomen and particularly our chauffeurs? The largest number of the automobiles seen in Louisiana (when you can afford to hire a "hand") are guided by negroes.

No, we don't want the negro to "butt in" to prevent the white people from running our state government, but the

idea of doing away with him as a business asset is a new proposition.

I wish to show that Mr. Labarre is intemperate on the question—more so than I. Let us keep the negro out of politics, and I believe that all will be for the best.

I know that Mr. Parker is as honest as I am about it, but if elected governor on the Progressive-Republican ticket, will he be able to stem the tide? hope so.

HENRY C. BRAUD.

TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

#### Negro Issue Exploded.

Lafourche Leader:

That the "ring" and "bosses" are in direful straits is best evidenced by the fact that they are so hard pushed by the bombshells that have been thrown into their camp by John M. Parker, that they had to send to Washington, and bring from their labors in the national capital, Hon. James Aswell, Senator Joseph E. Ransdell, and Hon. John T. Watkins to help bolster up their cause, by making speeches on every subject except that in which voters of Louisiana are interested, and that is tax reform, the abolishment of sinecures, and rendering of good and efficient service for good pay (instead of a mediocre performance of duties for exorbitant fees), all of which the "ring" and "bosses," under Colonel "Bob" Ewing, have signally failed to do. To further divert the minds of the voters from the points at issue, they have dragged from the grave, where it has long lain buried, the grisly skeletons of negro domination, and Colonel "Bob" Ewing and his two papers, the Hon. J. Y. Sanders, Colonel Ruffin G. Pleasant and Hon. A. V. Coco, have played loud and discordant airs by the rattling of mouldy bones dragged from the depths of oblivion.

## "Nigger Issue" Is Ridiculed in State Press

Samples of Opinions

"Issue Is Dead!"

A S A CHAMPION of the untried Democracy whose fealty to party cannot be questioned, the Caucasian deprecates, it says in its last number, "this appeal to prejudice based on the negro issue, which has been dead these many

years. The revival of the dead and the defunct is a reflection of discredit of the intelligence of the state. It cannot appeal to men of sense. From our view of the present political situation, the Democracy of Louisiana is not in danger, but if it is, as is apprehended by the shouters of negro domination, it were better to appeal to the patriotism and the honor and good sense of Louisianians than to attempt a display of the 'negro in the woodpile.' Better let the negro alone. White men will dominate to the crack of doom. We have long since advocated and urged that the negro be left alone."

## NEGROES TO URGE POLL TAX PAYMENT

"Christian Men's Movement" Will Be Launched This Afternoon.

To stimulate the interest of the negro in politics, especially to encourage the payment of poll taxes by negroes, is one of the objects of the "Christian Men's Movement," to be launched among Little Rock negroes this afternoon at the Bethel A. M. E. church, Ninth street and Broadway, by I. T. Gillam.

The subject of today's meeting will be "The Political Status of the Negro in Pulaski County and the State." Other objects of the movement, according to Gillam, are social, religious and moral uplift of the negro race, and one meeting each month will be devoted to each of these subjects.

The meetings will be held every Sunday afternoon at the Bethel church. The motto of the movement is "Live as You Talk."

AUG 18 1916  
URGE COLORED VOTERS TO SUPPORT SENATOR DUPONT

Special to THE EVENING JOURNAL  
SMYRNA, Del., Aug. 18.—One thousand colored voters from lower New Castle county and Kent county attended a big Republican rally in Colored Odd Fellows Hall, Smyrna last night. Charles H. Colbourne, of Wilmington, was one of the speakers. He urged the voters to support candidates for delegates at the primaries tomorrow who are favorable to the renomination of Senator Henry A. duPont and not to assist in wrecking the party.

Some interest has been aroused here by the announcement that the polling place usually located in Smyrna for the primary election has been removed to Clayton for the primary tomorrow, and the one at Kenton has been removed to Cheswold.

#### THE IMMIGRANT AND THE NEGRO.

To the Editor of The World:

It should be refreshing to those American citizens who have lived under Republican misrule forty of the past fifty years to hear Mr. Elihu Root confess his fears for the safety of the Republic lest we fail to assimilate and Americanize the foreigners who are now in this country and those yet to come.

Mr. Root apparently never had any such fears for the safety of American institutions so long as these same foreigners constituted the bulwark of the Republican Party and were the willing scavengers of "captains of industry" for whom Mr. Root has always stood sponsor. But now that they are really becoming Americanized and are demanding the rights of American citizens, Mr. Root sounds a note of alarm.

It was Mr. Root's Republican Party that opened up the flood-gates of foreign immigration during the Civil War and that has kept them open ever since. Had it not been for the benevolent attitude of the Republican Party toward the newly acquired and much desired immigrant at that time, the map of the United States would have been different from what it is today. It is known of all men that there was an immigration of time in the past and would have been forgotten some very important American history or that they are lacking in common gratitude.

It will also be remembered that it was Mr. Root who, while a member of Roosevelt's Cabinet, selected an auspicious and timely occasion to declare that negro suffrage in the South was a failure. Mr. Root and his Republican Party were very solicitous about the negro so long as he could be traded and trafficked with in National Conventions and so long as he offered the only solution to the problem of how to break the solid Democratic South.



But the South having disfranchised the negro in preparation for his full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of American citizenship, and having educated him and democratized him and reduced his power and influence for evil in Republican National Conventions to the minimum, Mr. Root and his party evidenced a sudden change of heart and grew cold and indifferent toward the negro.

With no Roosevelt to champion his cause, with no Root to defend his defenseless heritage, the negro was deserted and left to work out his own destiny among his white friends in the South.

Was there ever a more flagrant exhibition of ingratitude than Mr. Root and the Republican Party have shown toward the immigrant and the negro?

RICHARD N. TARKINGTON.  
New York, Jan. 21.  
EVENING GLOBE

New York City

### Negro Political Union.

To the Editor of The Globe—I am a constant reader of your paper and regard your editorials as educational. Your articles in behalf of the Negroes have given them encouragement and made friends for them.

The great presidential campaign is on. The candidates of the two big parties have been able to see there has not been anything said in the platform of either party concerning the welfare of the Negro. I do not expect any special favors, but what about his disfranchisement in the south, the "Jim Crow" laws, and segregation? What about the mob laws and the lynchings? Am I to think that 1,500,000 Negro votes are to be ignored by either of the candidates of the two big parties? Are we to believe that the Republican party, which gave to the Negro the right to vote, expects him to vote for its candidate without any solicitation on his part? While I would like to see the Negro properly welded in the two big parties, it is plain that he is being squeezed out of both of them. I see little else for him to do than to follow the example of other race groups and unite in this republic and organize the Negro vote and use it effectively in behalf of himself and the country in general.

The German vote, the Irish vote, the Italian vote, the Jewish vote, the Scandinavian vote, the woman suffrage vote, and all other units that are drawn together for political purposes have been considered and are being sought by the leaders and the candidates of the two great parties. Poor Negro! Who seeks him? Where does he come in? Must he still go like a lamb to the slaughter?

Though the Negro is a loyal, faithful, intelligent, forgiving, and industrious fellow, he is forced out of the big parties, labeled, pushed aside, and an object for charity, a recipient of gratuities—in fact, a political, industrial, and social mendicant or hanger-on.

The Negro has been cajoled, threatened, and abused long enough. He has never played the unit part that others have played. I am, therefore, urging him to use this present opportunity that God hath given him to demonstrate in no uncertain way the power that comes through Negro political organization.

Let the hyphenated word American-Negro beget into him race consciousness. It will give him the power that he is so anxious to have.

A national Negro political union should be called for the purpose of organizing the national political vote of the American Negro. I am willing, though poor, to give \$100 toward this plan if just 1,000 men will do the same, \$50 if 5,000 men will give \$50, \$10 if 20,000 men will give \$10 each. With this kind of an organization and funds we would defeat or elect either of the present candidates.

REV. RICHARD MANUEL BOLDEN.  
New York, Aug. 11.

## STOUGH ASKS NEGROES TO SUPPORT CAMPAIGN

Evangelist Breaks Cold Reception by Warm Appeal—Audience Responds

ATLANTIC CITY, Feb. 9.—Congregations of 15 shore churches fighting Mayor Riddle in the campaign to clean up the city have made good their threat to go after the colored vote, the balance of power in every local election for 20 years and the boasted reliance of factions supporting the Mayor.

Evangelist Henry W. Stough carried the Mayor's first line of trenches by storm last night, when, with six big policemen as a bodyguard, he went to the Second Baptist Church, a negro institution, and asked representatives of half a dozen congregations filling the edifice to overflowing to stand for clean politics.

They received him coldly, because politicians had spread a story that Stough charged negroes with responsibility for a very large part of the vice in the town. But as the evangelist, facing them boldly and punctuating his points with clenched fists, told his story, they warmed to him and finally accepted his cause.

"We are going to have here a great league to enforce the laws and clean up this town," he shouted, "and all we need is the support of the honest, law-abiding colored people. There is hope even that the Mayor of this town may be converted. I believe if you pray for him you will get him. He can jeer and laugh us to scorn and call preachers hypocrites, but some day God is going to break his heart and make him a Christian."

There was a muffled chorus of protest when Stough said he had been told certain politicians boasted they owned the negro vote. "I don't know whether this is true or not," he exclaimed, "but I do know you are a disgrace to your race if you are subservient to a lot of venal, vicious men." The Rev. Mr. Douglas, the pastor, in welcoming Stough, had declared the majority of colored people were trying to live right and that they were misunderstood.

Then Stough told them that if they realize their duty as citizens they will vote for officials pledged to wipe out

drap joints and vice districts, and help to better conditions generally. Displacing some of the biggest hotels, he warned them, was due to their failure to clean up.

Three thousand trail-hitters are observing today as a "day of gladness." Tonight they will take offerings of food and clothing to the tabernacle for the poor of the city.

EVERY EVENING

Wilmington, Del.

OCT 2 - 1916

More Crime in Election Years.

The Milford Chronicle, a Republican paper, in its current issue editorially calls attention to a grave and growing evil—the increase of crime and violence during the years of a general election. And it gives strong intimation of what it believes to be the potent incitement to this situation.

"As each succeeding general election comes around," says the Chronicle, there appears to be an increase in the cases of crime among the criminal classes of the Negro and white races in Delaware. These crimes take the form of shooting at Negro gatherings, where the Negroes are involved, and at gambling and drinking joints where the white criminals are concerned. We have often wondered if this is not the result of the political workers' efforts to get the lower classes to line up for their various leaders. The importuning, the cajoling and the coddling of that class creates the impression that their political importance is such that the leaders will screen them from punishment, and it applies to both and all parties alike."

It is true that this criticism applies to both political parties, but not "alike," as the Chronicle says. The larger part of it applies to the Republican party, or at least to the Republican Organization, which up to this year has been in undisputed control of the Republican party, and still controls its working agencies. All the Negro voters are Republicans, and most of them, especially those of the vicious element, train with the Organization. They are coddled and corrupted, and if not encouraged, protected as far as possible in their wrong-doing. This is a plain statement of fact, not a partisan argument.

Is it at all surprising, therefore, that the Organization is especially desirous of having one of its agents and good friends in the office of attorney-general?

## EXCUSES LAZARO OF "NIGGER PERIL" But Pelts Him on Other Counts.

The Editor of The Item:

My attention has been called to a letter by Congressman Lazaro to The Item, in which he denies mentioning "the negro question" in a letter of his published in The Lake Charles American-Press prior thereto.

Not wishing to do our congressman an injustice I have looked up his letter published in The American-Press and am glad to state that I was mistaken in so charging him in my letter to The Item with raising the negro question.

In my letter to The Item I mentioned several different parties who had raised the negro question in their speeches made before the public and erroneously included our congressman in the list. As to that part of his letter in which he denied having made a speech in Louisiana, will say that I considered his letter a speech, in which he seemed so sorry that some of his friends had gone off after J. M. Parker, and then tried to connect Roosevelt and Parker as friends and that Roosevelt was then working to capture the Republican nomination for president, etc.

How any reasonable man could so connect the ex-president, who resides in New York with the election of J. M. Parker, a citizen of Louisiana, I am unable to understand. Roosevelt is taking no part in our campaign here, nor can he vote here, neither can Parker cut any figure in the elections of New York. Then why try to connect the two with the Louisiana campaign. Roosevelt whether his personal feelings are for Parker or not, cuts no figure in our campaign or the election of Mr. Parker. Mr. J. M. Parker can very safely be supported by any and all of the anti-Roosevelt followers as this is a state election and not a national election and it is only for the purpose of trying to prejudice the voters of this state against Mr. Parker when they mention the name of Roosevelt in connection with Parker's race, as they well know there is no connection in the affair.

The writer is of the opinion that it has been very unfortunate on the part of the "Pink Ticket" branch of the democratic party of this state to have dragged Roosevelt and the negro question into the campaign, as the appointment of negroes to office seems to have been far more in number by the Democratic party than by Mr. Roosevelt, or the Republican party, and it has certainly hurt the Pleasant branch of the party by lugging these matters into the campaign.

I am very respectfully,  
GEORGE F. POOLE.

NEWS

Indianapolis, Ind.

### Call for Negro Convention.

DENVER, Colo., March 31.—A call for a national convention of representatives of the negro race to be held in Denver, August 2, has been issued here, by J. N. Walker, president of the Colorado African Colonization Society. "Citizenship," says the call, is the chief question to be considered with a view to "laying our grievances before the American people and all the world." The call intimates and leaders declare, the convention also will consider a plan to colonize American negroes in Liberia. It adds that representatives from twenty-six states have promised to attend.

GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

## Hughes Club to Hear Him in Theater—Negroes to Be Auditors Later.

John E. Swanger, candidate for the Republican nomination for governor, will make two speeches in St. Louis tonight the first in the Washington Theater, 496 Delmar avenue, at 8 o'clock.

T. W. Van, chairman of the Conference Committee of the Business Men's League will preside. The meeting will be under the auspices of the Hughes-Swanger Club.

The second meeting will be in Pythian Hall, 3137 Pine street, and will be under the auspices of the Missouri League of Negro Republican Clubs.

Tomorrow night Swanger will speak in the Lindell Theater, Grand and Hebert streets, and at 7224 Michigan avenue. The first meeting will be presided over by Albert C. Schmidt and the second by Dr. Max C. Starkloff.

Both meetings tomorrow night will be under the auspices of the Hughes-Swanger Club. Tomorrow, also, Swanger will speak at the luncheon of the Rotary Club at noon, in the Planters' Hotel.

Jesse W. Barret, secretary of the Hughes-Swanger Club, spoke optimistically yesterday of Swanger's chances in St. Louis. He said the fact that Swanger is scheduled to get a big majority in the state has thrown a wet blanket over the Lamm movement in St. Louis. In November, Barret said, Swanger will poll every Republican vote.

The Negroes of Oklahoma are rejoicing because at the recent election a big majority vote was polled against a literary test for the suffrage which would have been disastrous to their political hopes. The struggle has been fierce and long in that state. The Negroes assaulted the strong works of the opposition at every opportunity. Here is an excellent example of taking what belongs to you. The Negro voters with right on their side continued to rally until they took what belonged to them. The ballot box is the best arbiter in republics. Defeat comes at times, but hope is at large in the world, and never more to be battered down by wrong.



Political-1916  
Suffrage

**TIMES DISPATCH**  
Richmond, Va.

#### Enfranchisement of Negro Women.

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch:  
Sir,—A news item states that the men of Virginia fear for white supremacy if the negro women of Virginia are enfranchised. The United States Census Bulletin of 1910 gives the number of white women over twenty-one years of age in Virginia as 353,516 and the number of negro women as 164,844. These figures show that the number of white women exceeds the number of negro women by 188,672. The total number of white men and women in Virginia is 717,175, while the total number of negro men and women is 324,437. The number of white women exceeds the number of both negro men and women by 29,079. The total number of white women in the United States is 22,059,236, or 89.8 per cent, while the number of negro women is 2,427,742. In order to qualify as a voter, every male citizen must have paid his State poll taxes for three years next preceding that in which he offers to register (unless he has just attained his majority); must be able to read and write, and so on. All this will be true of women. The proposed Federal amendment enfranchising women does not take away from any State the right to make restrictions concerning property and educational qualifications; nothing except that disfranchisement shall not be on account of sex. There are 6,000,000 more white women south of Mason and Dixon's line than there are negro women.

VIOLA KAUFMAN.

Washington, D. C., August 12.

**EVENING POST**

New York City

The Solid South is not so solid as to miss the intellectual feast afforded by the political advertisement. The first half of a page of Republican argument in North Carolina newspapers starts off with a copy of a letter signed by the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and declaring: "The Republicans are making a desperate effort under the leadership of Marion Butler, to get back into power. . . . If the future can be judged by the past they will celebrate this advent to power by a restoration of Negro Suffrage, and as a matter of course Negro Rule will follow, for the eastern counties, and an administration of incompetence and extravagance. . . . As partial reward for his services would he [Butler] expect to collect the repudiated bonds held by his Collecting Syndicate against North Carolina?" The Republican managers reply that the status neither of the "so-called carpet-bag bonds" nor of the negro can be charged "except by con-

sent of a majority of our people so expressing themselves by amending the State Constitution," and then they proceed to show that State politics is alike in all sections of the country by assailing the "inefficient, wasteful, profligate, suicidal administration of State finances for over sixteen years." A suicide that can continue for a decade and a half need not, perhaps, prove fatal.

**Wilmington, Del.**

AUG 9 1916

German Support of Hughes.

Mr. Hughes' support by the German press of the country continues to be manifested by comments on his speech of acceptance of the Republican nomination for governor. That deliverance is warmly and unitedly applauded.

The New Yorker Herold said the speech "met the expectation of every real American." To the Westliche Post of St. Louis it appealed as a "document of truly statesmanlike force and comprehensiveness." It convinced the Cincinnati Volksfest that "Mr. Hughes has a good argument when he says the Lusitania catastrophe should have been avoided by Wilson's immediately and definitely coming out against England's illegal actions, which forced Germany to take the law into its own hands." It made the Illinois Staats Zeitung look to Mr. Hughes as the man to "win back every iota of lost rights." The New Yorker Staats Zeitung declares the speech to be a "forceful enunciation of American principles."

Are all the German language papers of this country staunchly Republican, or as papers representing German readers and German principles do they regard Mr. Hughes as a candidate for President who appeals especially to citizens of German nativity and extraction, and who promises to serve the interests of the German Empire in the event of his election?

Certainly it seems strange that one class of voters—aside from the Negro voters—should find reason to be united in support of one candidate for President of the United States.

**TIMES**

Brooklyn, N. Y.

OCT 1 0 1916

#### COLORED CAMPAIGN BEGINS.

The campaign among the colored voters of the Twenty-third Assembly District, will be in full swing to-morrow night when the Colored Business Men's Hughes Alliance will meet at 1824 Dean street. This organization is making every effort possible to get out the full colored vote in the interest of the Republican candidates. The district is the largest colored territory in the county. The officers of the alliance follow: Charles A. Johnson, president; Howard M. Scott, vice president; Walter W. Williams, secretary; John T. Birch, treasurer; J. Sylvester Handley, Chairman executive committee.

**EVENING GLOBE**

New York City

#### Negro Disfranchisement.

To the Editor of The Globe—"A Reader" in your issue of Nov. 1 bluntly says your statement that the Negroes are practically denied suffrage in the southern states is untrue.

It is surprising that any intelligent reader should, at this late day, deny your statement. The wholesale disfranchisement of the Negro vote in the southern states is a matter of public record. It appears in the court reports of those states. It is found in the reports of the Supreme Court of the United States. Indeed, it is not much to the credit of our highest court that, for forty years—that is, beginning with the well known Cruikshank case decided in 1875, down to 1915—the Supreme Court of the United States on very technical grounds either dodged the straight issue or refused to give the Negro in the south the protection and the rights guaranteed to him by the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the federal constitution.

Beginning with Mississippi in 1890, the southern states have passed statutes or adopted constitutional provisions framed with the deliberate intent to get around the federal constitution, by excluding from the franchise as many of the Negro race as possible without excluding the whites, or by getting the same result by giving officers of registration and election wide discretionary powers to accomplish that end. For proof, consult the constitutions of Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia, and Oklahoma.

The total vote cast at the elections in the southern states plainly shows that the Negro is disfranchised. The representation of the southern and northern states in the lower house of congress is based by law on fairly equal population. Now, just compare the votes cast for congressmen, taking the First districts in three southern and three northern states.

In the First Alabama District at the election in 1914 the total vote for representative in congress was 4,681; in the First District of Georgia the vote was 5,600; in the First District of South Carolina the vote was 3,053.

In the First New York District at the election in 1914 the total vote for representative in congress was 37,279; in the

First District of New Jersey the vote was 41,295; in the First District of Indiana, the vote was 44,004.

The disfranchisement of the Negro in the south is a rotten condition, not a theory. Of course, the Democratic politicians, who profit by this condition, will not change the present situation which suits them, but why are the Republican leaders asleep? Either the Negro should be allowed to vote in the southern states, or else the representation of those states in congress should be cut down.

New York, Nov. 2

LOUIS JAMES.

**Hartford, Conn.**

OCT 4 1916

#### OWEN WANTS INQUIRY INTO CAMPAIGN FUNDS.

Oklahoma Senator Prepares Joint Resolution to Investigate All Political Parties.

**IMMUNITY FOR WITNESSES.**

Washington, Decemehr 4.—Senator Owen, democrat, of Oklahoma, who will lead the fight for a new corrupt tpractices act, will introduce a joint resolution to-morrow for an inquiry into expenditures of all political parties in the last national campaign. The resolution will provide for an "immunity bath" for those summoned to testify and heavy penalties for false testimony.

Senator Penrose, republican, announced that he would, to-morrow, as an amendment to the Owen bill, offer a bill for federal supervision of national elections. Such a measure, commonly known as the Force bill, was killed twenty-six years ago after the most sensational filibuster in congressional history. The purpose is to make an issue of the conduct of selections in southern states where republicans contend that through the suppression of negro votes democrats have an advantage.

**News**

**Wilmington, Del.**

NOV 6 1916

#### NEGROES REJECT HENRY A. DU PONT

In Rousing Rally 350 Colored Voters of Burton-Bradford Club Protest Against His Election.

Despite the large number of Negroes that marched in the Republican parade Saturday night, 350 Negroes from various parts of the city assembled at 306 East Taylor street yesterday to register their protest against the re-election of Senator Henry A. duPont. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Burton-Bradford Independent Republican Colored Club of this city. This organization is a branch of the Burton and Bradford Club which has its headquarters at 607 Market street, and, although only formed a short time, already has a membership in excess of 300.

The meeting was most enthusiastic. During the course of the speechmaking hats, coats and handkerchiefs were thrown in the air and all of those present in some way signified their approval of the movement to prevent the re-election of Senator duPont.

Richard Garrett, who is well known among the Negroes of this city, and who is said to be influential with them, is the president of the club. Included in the organization are many Negroes whom the machine Republicans considered their workers. Mr. Garrett and J. C. Calhoun, the vice-president of the club, were the speakers.

Mr. Garrett spoke of the attitude of the Republican party towards the Negroes in general, saying that the organization thought that they (the Negroes) were only so many votes that could be bought. He also referred to the many promises of positions that had been made to men, educated men, of their race and broken by them; and last but not least, entered a hearty protest against the re-election of Senator duPont. Every statement was heartily indorsed by the audience and cries of "we want Bradford" and "we won't vote for duPont," and similar exclamations were frequent.

John C. Calhoun spoke along the same lines. He emphasized the necessity of the Negro staying together in this crisis and voting against the man who represented the machine and who was practically at the head of its organization.

The reports of the way the machine is spending money in their efforts to control the Negro vote in this city was freely discussed by the speaker as well as the attempts that are being made to discredit them in various ways. Asking why the machine had done nothing for the Negroes who had been loyal to the party for many years, and why it was that no matter how hard they worked they never received anything but promises from the organization, the speaker concluded by saying that the re-election of Senator duPont meant the continuation of these conditions and that it was only by taking advantage of the Progressive party and voting for Edward G. Bradford, Jr., and Hiram



R. Burton that they would ever succeed in bettering their position politically.

White men present at the meeting said that it was the most vigorous protest against any candidate they had ever heard and it was seldom their pleasure or their duty to listen to such enthusiastic praise of a candidate as that given to Mr. Bradford.

The same club will hold another meeting tonight at the hall of the Burton-Bradford Club. It is expected that the meeting will be hugely attended.

## RECORD

Philadelphia, Pa.

SEP 12 1916

## NEGRO DEMOCRATS TO MEET

League Officers Here to Arrange for Convention at Buffalo.

James A. Ross, of New York, vice president and traveling representative of the National Negro Democratic League, was in the city yesterday on his way to Harrisburg to complete arrangements for a convention of negro Democrats to be held in Buffalo, N. Y., September 20. Mr. Ross, who says the call has been issued, declared that it will be one of the most important gatherings of negroes ever held in this country.

"There has been a woeful neglect of the negro by all political parties," he said, "and it is for that reason we propose to take up every vital matter pertaining to the political welfare of the negro in future. It is believed that an effort will be made to have the Democratic party leaders come out and make some atonement for the present crisis in which the negro is placed."

"There are those of my race in every section of the country who have faith in the present Administration and feel that the party leaders are disposed to do the right and proper thing by us in return for the support given in the last campaign that elected our present Executive at Washington."

The officers of the league are: President, Bishop Alexander Walters, of New York; vice president, James A. Ross, New York; secretary, Charles L. Barnes, Pennsylvania; treasurer, James T. Lloyd, Missouri.

## BRASCHER HANDLING WATSON'S CAMPAIGN

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—In the great senatorial contest in Indiana, which has only been complicated by the recent statewide primary, one of the race men brought prominently to the front is Nahum Daniel Brascher of Cleveland, Ohio. Brascher had charge of the colored voters of the State in the interest of James E. Watson, one of the candidates. *The New York Age*

From present indications, the three candidates will carry their contest to the floor of the State convention, which meets in Indianapolis, April 5. *8/16/16*

Brascher was born in Indiana, at Richmond, and reared at Connersville, sixteen miles from Watson's home. In 1903 he established the *Cleveland Journal*, which he edited for eight years. He

is married and lives with his family at 2211 East 43d street, Cleveland, where he maintains an office.

## NEGRO WANTS LIGHT—Inquires Which Party He Should Vote For.

To The Post.

Since it is a fact that goes without comment that we are upon the eve of one of the bitterest campaigns of the twentieth century, in which the two old line parties, viz., democrats and republicans, are contending for the right to administer the national government for the next four years to come and are appealing to the public both for sentiment and support therefor. They are also inviting an investigation into each other's administrative record, as an evidence of merit which they contend should entitle them to reelection to office.

Now the point that the writer wishes information upon is this: Which of the two parties should the negro voter of this country line up with in the giving of his political support thereto? And to which of the two parties does he owe most in the enjoyment of his rights and privileges of American citizenship of this country?

Again, which of the two parties, do you think, will the most unstintingly extend to him the necessary protection in the enjoyment of these rights, untrammelled—regardless of color, or previous condition of servitude? Then again, where in the face of true race pride and polished American manhood and gentlemanly and fatherly regard for the future greatness of his posterity, considered from every point of the compass should he stand so as to make history demonstrative of both his intelligence and unswerving patriotic devotion to the flag of his country? History clear-cut and clean that shows soundness of judgment and indisputably honest integrity of purpose—a stand that his posterity would never have cause to feel ashamed of; a stand that in future years, when our posterity would recapitulate the history of the country, they would find that we had lined up with a party in the support of measures and means that meant in doctrine and practice equal rights to American citizens and special privileges to none? A party that saw that the rights of men extended deeper than the cuticle of one's skin? But saw beyond this, a quality of manhood that demanded the respect, also the protection of the government because of being a citizen of this American government? A party that believes that might does not always make right? A party that believes in the exercise of the right of franchise of every citizen of the country and protection of life and property while in pursuit of peace and happiness? Tell us which of these two parties possesses in a preponderant degree the above elements and liberality of views, and we are ready to line up and vote with them. Yours for a good, and a better government.

J. R. Carnes.

## TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

## A DEFENSE OF DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Chicago, Nov. 14.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—Fifty years ago, when the south was prostrate and the federal government was absolutely under control of the Republican party machine,

concerned only with its own welfare and the perpetuation of its own power, this Republican machine proceeded to reorganize the south with regard solely for its own interests. Negro suffrage was thrust upon a reluctant people at the point of the bayonet—not because it was a good thing for the Negro, and not because it was a good thing for the white people of the south, but because under the direction of carpet baggers from the north it would elect Republicans to strengthen the party machine at Washington. Then the south did not whimper, but bravely accepted this fate at the hands of the victors.

The condition was not of the south's making, nor to the south's liking, but it was the will of the victor and it must be borne. Thus the Negroes were made citizens and so counted in the voting population in the south, by the northern Republicans, and for the interest of these Republicans. Their national status was firmly fixed by amendments to the constitution—dictated by Republican states.

How, then, can a great organ of this same party, merely because the party's scheme has worked out badly from the party's standpoint, send forth such a plaintive wail as appeared today in the editorial columns of THE TRIBUNE? Can this party now complain that the southern voters do not flock to its standard? Can this party now justly criticize the south for present conditions, which are the outcome, the logical and inevitable outcome, of its own scheming fifty years ago?

If the south has more voting power today in proportion to its white population than the northern Republican approves, and if that power is steadily used against the Republican party, whose fault is it? Let the party which is responsible for present conditions now swallow the fruits of its own false policy without whimpering.

H. J. KNAPP.

World-HERALD  
Omaha, Neb.

## Colored Candidate Slighted.

Omaha, Oct. 21.—To the Editor of the World-Herald: The republican county committee of Douglas have gone and done it—published a neat pamphlet with the photos of all the candidates from Charles E. Hughes down the list, with the exception of Will N. Johnson, republican nominee for public defender of Douglas county. Mr. Johnson is a colored republican of high standing, but it seems is not good enough to have his photo displayed alongside of his white colleagues. What are the 3,000 colored republicans of Douglas county going to do to avenge this slight and insult to their race. I for one am going to vote the straight democratic ticket. There is very great indignation in colored republican ranks over this treatment of their representative on the republican ticket, and unless those responsible for the make-up of this pamphlet forthwith resign from party leadership there will be something doing on election day.

A COLORED REPUBLICAN.

# Charles H. Colburn Issues Address to Colored Voters

Headquarters Delaware State Campaign Committee.

Wilmington, Del., Nov. 6, 1916.

To the Colored Voters of Delaware:

Men of Delaware, the campaign in which we have been hustling to place the Republican party back in power is now coming to a close. The situation looks very rosy to me. We have had the issues clearly defined within the last three weeks. So ably and succinctly have our speakers explained the situation, both nationally and locally, that nothing I could say at this time would be of much benefit. As for myself I am certainly proud that I have been able to cast my mite with you in this crisis. I feel that we are going to win.

I hereby take this opportunity personally to thank every man who has taken the stump in this State for the specific purpose of enlightening our people, and especially to Attorney Lewis, of Boston; Mr. Trotter and Attorney Clark, and our own noble son, Jefferson S. Coage, who will cast his vote with us tomorrow in the peerless old Second ward, after working with me in the State for the past month.

Men, to your judgment I now make this appeal, and I hope you will consider and act wisely. Please tomorrow go to the polls in your respective districts early, get in line and remain there till you have cast your ballot. Mark the eagle and fold the ballot in the same way as it was folded when handed to you.

See to it that your hands are clean for if they the not you may so soil your ballot that your vote will be thrown out. Do your own voting. The polls will be properly protected and no voter will get in any trouble unless he is especially looking for it.

The whole country now has its gaze fixed upon our commonwealth, and we are especially anxious that Delaware, the oldest State in the Union, set a good example. Especially is the colored voter being observed at this election, since his ballot will decide the issue here.

We know what we are to get here in Delaware if we don't get a Republican ticket elected. The Democratic party has already mapped out their program in respect to us. As one of their men said to me the other day, "If we can get in next Tuesday we will have no trouble in keeping the reigns of government for twenty-five years in Delaware." Men, remember that there are two and one-half millions of our race below the Mason and Dixon Line now without a vote next Tuesday. All this, brought about by Democratic rule, is sanctioned by the whole Wilson administration. By this in-

fernal scheme of disfranchisement, President Wilson comes up to the Mason and Dixon Line next Tuesday morning before the polls are opened, with 151 electoral votes in the electoral college.

Mr. Hughes must beat this handicap by resting his case with the northern States, among which we are conspicuously numbered. Let us then contribute our strength to the 266 necessary to elect Mr. Hughes, and return Senator H. A. duPont to help make the majority that is required in the Senate, and Mr. Miller back to the House of Representatives.

Charles H. Colburn.

## EVENING TRANSCRIPT

Boston, Mass.

## WHEN NEGRO SUFFRAGE WAS VOTED

[From the New York Sun]

President Wilson's position on woman suffrage, as explained by Mr. Tumulty, is that while he voted for woman suffrage in New Jersey, he believes that each State should settle the question for itself, and that no State should have woman suffrage forced upon it by the vote of three-fourths of all the States in ratification of an amendment of the Federal Constitution.

This is an intelligible position.

If President Wilson's theory of the State's supreme right to determine the character of its electorate had prevailed in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy, the right of colored citizens of the United States to vote would not then have been extended to New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, California and Oregon.

Those six States had failed to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment when Hamilton Fish, as Secretary of State, certified that ratification by twenty-nine other States made the amendment valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the Constitution of the United States.

The ratification by the twenty-nine States established negro suffrage in the other six States of the Union.

What difference in moral or legal or constitutional principle does President Wilson discern between a Federal amendment providing that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude and a Federal amendment providing that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex?



Political - 1916

Suffrage

### "Minority Government."

Discussing whether or not the exhibition of poll tax receipts shall be required before voting in primary elections The News and Courier of Charleston betrays evidence of a curious misapprehension that in general elections the possession of a registration certificate and a poll tax receipt are the sole requirements for voting. Managers of elections are, in fact, commanded to require of every elector offering to vote proof of the payment of all taxes, including poll tax, assessed against him and collectible during the previous year. A few weeks ago our contemporary gave plainer evidence of being under this impression.

As for the "minority government" which the Houston Post says threatens Texas on account of a poll tax requirement for voting, of course we have and have had minority government in this State for a long time. We can't very well afford any other kind. To be sure, a great majority of the white men vote in our primaries but government by two electorates has its inconveniences and dangers. In Texas the negroes are less than 25 per cent. of the population and the white majority is rapidly increasing in that immense domain.

Whether we should have a poll tax or property qualification for the suffrage either in general elections or primaries is an open question but there is no chance that South Carolina will be able to escape minority government at any early time. Rigid limitations of the suffrage are necessary in South Carolina.

Coming Bureau in the World

EXPRESS  
Rochester, N. Y.

### The Negro Vote.

The Negro national educational congress lately in session at Washington appealed to the patriotic men and women of their race to give united support to Hughes and Fairbanks.

Their reasons for this action are various and strongly set forth. They feel that as a race they have not received, and cannot expect, from President Wilson and a party dominated by the South that fair consideration to which they are entitled. Not only have the offices of minister of Liberia and Haiti, long conceded to them, been taken away; but segregation in the departments and discrimination against them have been the rule, and they feel that they do not enjoy under the present administration that approach to an equal chance in the race of life under the flag of a common country that they did under republican Presidents or even under President Cleveland.

It is the belief of the delegates to the congress and of well-informed colored men throughout the country that Mr. Wilson will lose this fall the negro vote cast for him in 1912, and that in states where negroes are permitted to exercise civic rights the colored vote will be practically a unit for the republican nominees.

### Disfranchisement in the South.

To the Editor of The Globe—Referring to Mr. Louis James's letter on "Negro Disfranchisement" in The Globe of the 8th:

*New York Globe*  
I admit that the laws in the southern states have the effect of disfranchising a very large majority of the Negroes and that they were so designed. But they do not violate the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution, and the Supreme Court has so held, because they apply to all races alike. At the present time, except in possibly a few places, Negroes who have sufficient education to vote, while the illiterate whites can not and do not vote.

A review of the history of southern politics for the twenty-five years immediately following the civil war will convince any unbiased mind that these laws were justified. Before they were enacted the ignorant Negroes were voted just as the politician who paid their poll tax wished to vote them. In cases where there were not enough of them to elect a Republican to office they were voted as Democrats in Democratic primaries.

However, every one is entitled to his own view as to whether or not these laws are right and justifiable, but it is unfair to the people of a large, patriotic section of our country for you to tell our readers that the "undemocratic" Democratic south denies the right of suffrage to the colored race as such in violation of the constitution of the United States.

The figures which Mr. James gives showing a comparison of the voting population of certain congressional districts in northern and southern states are very impressive and, if they meant anything, would show that a bad state of affairs existed. The districts in the south which he has selected are overwhelmingly Democratic, there seldom being a Republican candidate, and it stands to reason that with one candidate

**WHITES PARDONED**

## BY PRESIDENT Oklahoma Election Officials Had Prevented Race from Voting Under Grandfather Clause.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 21.—Frank Guinn and J. J. Beal, both whites, two Oklahoma farmers, who as election officials, were convicted in the Federal courts of intimidating race voters and preventing them from voting under the grandfather clause of the Oklahoma constitution, were pardoned Monday by President Wilson. Just after the Supreme Court held that the grandfather clause was unconstitutional, President Wilson granted these two men a respite which would have expired on Feb. 6. The pardons Monday were said to be based on the assumption that state officials evidently held the grandfather clause valid and the two election officials in enforcing it acted in good faith. It is only another case where southern people have been favored by this administration.

### HERALD

New York City

### A REPLY FROM THE SOUTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

I beg space in your columns to reply to a person who signs himself "Edward F. Irish" to an article published in your paper of November 26, in which he says that "white slavery in the South elected Wilson." What a broad minded, liberal souled human being this man must be! I venture the assertion that this "Irishman" has the South pencilled off on his United States map as a separate and distinct section of the world, in which the Mason and Dixon line is a wall of such immense proportions that the Southern people are shut off from the light of civilization (which, of course, is the section in which he lives and in which the remainder of the States are that favored Hughes).

We in the South have experienced republican administrations and have drunk of its bitter cup to such an extent until the people in these glorious States have thrown up their hands and cried "Enough!" The South is a liberal minded people; the men vote as their conscience directs, and usually cannot be bought. In reply to Mr. Irish's assertion that the negro is prohibited from voting, I will say that no such condition exists. If he is capable of reading the constitution he is allowed to vote.

Looking at the States of the Union whose electoral votes went for Hughes would cause the average intelligent gentleman to suspect that the republican party is the "sectional party."

I. L. LEVINSON.

Coats, N. C., Nov. 30, 1916.

### Electoral Changes

To the Editor of The Tribune.

Sir: About fifty years ago the negro in the South received the ballot when he was utterly unfitted to use it. The natural result has been to make the country south of the Mason and Dixon line solidly Democratic, a condition which is detrimental to that section and a handicap to the development of the rest of the country. Down South they will vote for the devil himself if nominated or the Democratic ticket; they pay no income taxes, send men of slight ability to Congress and pass laws by which the more intelligent and able men bear the burden of supporting the government.

About a year ago I saw a statement that in six states in this country the most ignorant foreigner may stay six months, declare his intention of becoming an American citizen and vote at the next election, and in twelve other states only a year's residence is required. I am strongly of the opinion that these ignorant people should not make the laws of this country and neither should their mothers, wives, daughters, sisters, cousins or aunts exercise this privilege.

With a desire to elevate the electorate, I propose something like the following as an amendment to the Constitution:

Qualifications of electors at Congressional and Presidential elections to be stipulated.

Native born Americans to be able to read and write.

Naturalized citizens to be able to read, write and speak the English language and to have been in this country at least five years.

Every elector to be registered at least two weeks before election and fill out and sign blanks in his own writing. The blanks to be furnished by the government.

I believe that if this is done, or something on the above lines, we would have a more intelligent electorate, do away with ignorant voters and possibly get rid of the abomination of abominations—woman suffrage.

Every Evening

### Do Not Like the Publicity.

Some down-State Republican papers seem to be under the impression that Every Evening is "boosting" Frank H. Davis of Dover "for the supreme commandery of the colored voters of the State." They are wrong, entirely wrong. Every Evening is not "boosting" Mr. Davis or any other Delaware Republican for this high political honor and strong partisan influence.

What worries these partisan organs is that Every Evening, in its news columns has printed the news of Mr. Davis' work in behalf of Negro voters for their more appropriate recognition by the party in the distribution of its favors. Mr. Davis has made the fight for the Negroes and

secured for them substantial gains.

These party organs and a lot of party leaders do not relish this situation. They prefer the Negroes as docile followers and voters, asking nothing for themselves and giving everything to the party. In their own columns they would never give publicity to what Davis has done and is doing for the Negroes, and the commanding leadership among them he has thereby assumed. They would much rather have this kind of news kept quiet.

But Every Evening is a newspaper, and always aims to print legitimate news of all kinds.

### HERALD

New York City

### THE NEGRO VOTE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE HERALD:—

Many reasons have been given conjectural of the cause of the re-election of Woodrow Wilson. In addition to some that have been assigned and in consonance with others, we venture the assertion that when the Southern wing of the republican party joined the democratic party in depriving the negro of the South of his political rights, and the republican party repeatedly in national convention indorsed the action of its white Southern constituency, thus taking the political life of the negro in the South and sorely offending his brother in other parts of the country, the republican party cut off one of its strong arms and relinquished one of its most valuable assets.

While the majority of negroes who vote under the election restrictions believe in the principles for which the republican party has always stood, and feel grateful to the party for the benefits bestowed in giving them franchise and citizenship rights, both of which had been denied in the constitution as adopted in the Convention of 1787, ignored at the polls and in the councils of the party, they are casting decisive ballots in favor of democratic State and county officers, Representatives and Presidential electors.

JAMES GARFIELD WALKER.  
Greensboro, N. C., Nov. 14, 1916

POST

Harford, Conn.

### KANSAS CITY'S NEGRO REGISTRATION DOUBLES

KANSAS CITY, Oct. 28.—Negro registration in Kansas City this year has increased approximately 100 per cent. over that of last year, according to a county official tonight. More than 8,000 negroes are registered, 4,000 more than were on the books last year.

The County Tax Assessor said he had found 900 negroes registered who were not listed on the tax books. He said the investigation would be continued.



Chicago, Ill.

DEC 14 1916

**Exploiting the Colored Race.**

In the notable series of articles which Junius B. Wood is writing for The Daily News on Chicago's large and rapidly growing colored population attention is called to the political exploitation of colored voters, which exploitation is detrimental to the colored people themselves and to the community as a whole.

Mr. Wood puts the case thus: "Politically the negro race is being exploited in Chicago by designing men. A few colored men receive political preferment and jobs are plentiful of all classes and kinds in return for assistance in this exploitation. Thus some individuals get a chance to make money through methods by which the race as a whole is held back and discredited. Into districts where homes of colored families predominate come through political favor the disorderly saloons, the all night cabarets, the shady hotels and sporting houses, gambling clubs and other influences of destruction. The colored boy or girl who is taught in the public schools by day sees at night the lights of the neighboring vicious resort. This is a menace to Chicago, according to sociological students. In the last few months it has been so noticeable that it might seem a definite administration policy."

Colored politicians are the agents of this exploitation. In return for jobs and political favors of various kinds, colored leaders of the unscrupulous sort work hand in hand with white partisan politicians who seek to advance their own selfish interests. Colored voters are asked to support colored political leaders and candidates for elective and appointive offices with whom those leaders affiliate. It is perhaps only natural that a persecuted people should be influenced by such appeals, at least until they become aware of the betrayal of their vital interests by unworthy leaders of their own race.

The remedy for this grievous state of things is, of course, more intelligent political action. Colored leaders who see and combat the power of the men of the race who are despoiling their own people should receive earnest assistance from other groups in the community. The colored voters, like every other special group, must learn to resist the pleas of

the politicians who ask for support on grounds other than the advancement of the general welfare. The public at large must do its part by preventing the award of offices to men who are in politics merely for what they can make out of it and who betray the best interests of their own following in order to accomplish their selfish ends.

TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

**THE NEGROES AND WILSON.**

Chicago, Oct. 3.—[Editor of The Tribune.]—It seems to me that it might be of interest to a very large number of your readers to know the attitude of the majority of Negroes toward President Wilson, and a few of the reasons why a very large percentage of them have no inclination to aid in his re-election to office. I don't think the Afro-American people have ever been so disappointed in a president since they were given the franchise.

President Wilson said that if elected he would "give to the colored people justice and not grudging justice." They supported him enthusiastically. But what did he do when he had got into office? He started the pernicious evil of segregation of the Negro employees from the white in the departments in Washington.

Then he removed from office every Negro both in this country and in foreign lands, and filled their places with hungry office seeking southern Democrats.

He thus closed the door of political hope against 10,000,000 of a race, which pays taxes on millions of dollars' worth of property and which has fought for the preservation of this country and its civilization from the time of its inception in 1776 up to the very present moment.

Under the circumstances I cannot see how any Negro can vote for the re-election of Woodrow Wilson. It is true that the Republicans have been almost criminally negligent in their duty toward us. But the controlling number still has conscience. So much so that there will always be men like Mann of Illinois or Foraker of Ohio who will stand up boldly and oppose any and all fundamentally wrong anti Negro legislation that might come.

Most Democratic presidents and congress are controlled by southern sentiment, which always has been against the manhood rights of the Negro.

SAMUEL BARRETT,  
4240 South Wabash avenue.

**NEGROES SHOULD PAY  
POLL TAX, SAYS SAMS**

**State Losing \$100,000 a Year,  
According to Porter at  
State Treasury.**

There's a man in Georgia who wants more stringent rules for the collection of taxes. He wants the members of his race to contribute more liberally to the support of the state's government.

Charles H. Sams, colored, porter at the state treasury, believes that the state should force the colored residents to pay their poll taxes. It would mean an additional revenue of \$100,000 per year, he says, and the negroes would be better citizens.

His letter to The Constitution fol-

lows:

"Editor Constitution: Why is the state of Georgia having to borrow money is a question that confronts the people of Georgia today. I will answer that question by saying it is her own fault. Why? Because she doesn't collect the taxes that belong to her. There are at least 100,000 men in the state who do not pay one cent poll tax, that ought to pay \$1 a year. This has reference to the negro. They are sending it to other states for whisky and making out of themselves bad citizens, when they could pay their taxes and make good citizens.

Well, they say there is no penalty for non-payment of poll tax. The penalty is enough when it will take anything they have for poll taxes. They make the negro in the county pay a road tax. The negro in the city a street tax. If that is lawful, why not make it lawful and compulsory to pay his poll tax.

The state is asking for better citizens. The negro is asking for more schools in the city and country. It is in the power of the state to make him pay for what he is asking.

The great question of the world today is preparedness. If the negro of this state will not prepare himself to make a good citizen, then make him one by making a law that will compel him to be. He will make a better servant when he knows that he has some of the state's responsibilities to bear.

CHARLES H. SAMS,  
Porter, State Treasury.

Atlanta, Ga., February 17, 1916.

NEW ORLEANS, PICAYUNE

JAN 29 1916

**"The Grandfather Clause."**

New Orleans, Jan. 26, 1916.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

In your editorial of the 21st, regarding the grandfather clause, in my opinion, you have misinterpreted the decision of the Federal Supreme Court inasmuch as the Reconstruction era, would the Oklahoma and Maryland cases, be gladly blot it from their record. But no cause there is nothing in these decisions reasonable man, knowing that party's which interferes with any name on the past, will deny that the Republican party registration rolls, whether it got there will use the negro as a tool.

The effect of the decisions declaring the Constitution of Oklahoma and the law of Maryland null and void, because violative of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States was simply to require the registration of everyone possessing the qualifications above described and no negro could be excluded because he was unable to comply with the provisions thereof which are similar to those of the Constitution of Louisiana.

In other words, every man in Louisiana who was a qualified voter on May 12, 1898, the day the constitution of 1898 went into effect, and all others native born or naturalized and who have reached the age of twenty-one years since that date, are qualified voters and entitled to register and vote.

The Oklahoma case was a criminal prosecution under a federal statute prohibiting the deprivation of the right to vote by reason of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Election officers refusing to allow certain negroes to register and vote were convicted, and by the way, were recently pardoned by the President. The Maryland case was a civil action for damages under another federal statute by negroes who were not allowed to register and vote for the same reason that they were refused in Oklahoma.

W. O. HART.

**TIMES-PICAYUNE**

New Orleans, La.

**The "Negro Issue" Again.**

Jackson, La., March 29, 1916.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune: I have seen no statement from Mr. Parker that he has renounced the Progressive party or principles. My understanding is that he began the campaign as a Progressive. Now, independent Democrats claim he is an independent Democrat. By what rule, political or otherwise, has he changed in the midst of the campaign? When a man votes for a Progressive, he indorses that principle.

Mr. Parker's supporters say no negro question is involved in this campaign. You cannot separate the negro from the Republican party. I remember the birth of the Republican party, which was founded on social equality. Their first act as a party was to break the law by stealing our negroes and taking them North to lionize and create sympathy for the negro and hate for the Southern people.

Then, Reconstruction! Can Southern men recall the horrors of that regime and vote for a representative of the party that caused it? I do not believe they will if they consider the step seriously. That there is any danger of negro domination in the South has no

ing the grandfather clause, in my opinion, you have misinterpreted the decision of the Federal Supreme Court inasmuch as the Reconstruction era, would the Oklahoma and Maryland cases, be gladly blot it from their record. But no cause there is nothing in these decisions reasonable man, knowing that party's which interferes with any name on the past, will deny that the Republican party registration rolls, whether it got there will use the negro as a tool.

The Progressive party which Mr. Parker represents is the dismembered tail of the Republican party. Mr. Roosevelt, wise qualified by age, nativity or naturalization, and residence. Mr. Parker's patron saint, politically, insulted all who believe we should preserve the purity of the Anglo-Saxon race by inviting a negro to dine at the nation's mansion.

Democrats, stand by your guns. There will be other battles to fight. Take this from an old Confederate who has passed under the rod and through the mill.

A DEMOCRAT.

**EVENING TELEGRAM**

New York City

**LEAVES WOMEN'S  
MEETING BECAUSE  
NEGROES ATTEND**

Declaring that she was a grandniece of Robert E. Lee, the Confederate General, and therefore she could not "sit with negroes," Mrs. Leon M. Polachek quit a meeting of the Women's City Committee

of the Hughes Alliance at the Astor Hotel when she saw a number of negro women in the room.

"I like negroes and believe they should have the vote, but I can't stand to sit with negroes in a committee meeting," said Mrs. Polachek. "They should have their own organization."

The officials of the committee could not bar the negro women whom they invited to the meeting, and Mrs. Polachek would not participate with them, so the meeting had to get along without Mrs. Polachek.

Dr. Katharine B. Davis was one of the speakers at the meeting, and said that she believed Mr. Hughes was the most experienced in governmental affairs and would be the best man for the White House.

"I believe we shall get better labor laws under Mr. Hughes," she said. "Much as I believe in the eight-hour law, I don't believe the democrats would have done as they did if there had not been an election coming. I didn't like the way it was done. No group of men should go to Washington and hold the club over Congress. There may be trouble before long, and it will set a bad precedent. It will need a strong man in the chair."

The women felt they were really in politics when Phillip J. McCook told them in political style:—

"We are for Charles E. Hughes first, last and all the time. Possibly Mr. Wilson will say more things you will agree with, but our candidate will do them. As against the man who never met an issue I am for the one who never dodged one."

AMERICAN

Baltimore, Md.

**THE CITY**

**COLORED MEN ACTIVE.**

The colored politicians of Baltimore county are preparing to organize the colored voters into a body, to be known as the Colored Alliance, in the interest of Hughes, Dr. France and William H. Lawrence. The body will be known as the Colored Republican Alliance. The details will be worked out in the near future when the leading colored men from all parts of the county will be called into conference. The organization will appoint their own executives to work among the colored voters. Those who are taking an active part in perfecting the alliance are Dennis Simms, James Gawthney, Oden Williams, Arthur N. Rogers, Nimrod Thompson and W. W. Scott, of Baltimore county, assisted by the following well-known colored members of the Baltimore city bar: William C. McCard, George W. F. McMechen, U. Grant Tyler and Roy S. Bond, who will act as advisory committee.



LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

## REPUBLICANS AID NEGRO CANDIDATES

Nomination Credentials of  
Presented by Acting Chairman  
A. C. Remmel

Whether the Republican party intended its action at the Arkansas conventions to place it permanently on record as a "lily white" party, as committee members seemed to believe at the time, it is not known, but recent developments would indicate that they are again in the "black and tan" column.

Several negroes have announced in Pulaski county townships for justice of the peace and constable on the Republican ticket, and John F. Evans, secretary of the county board of election commissioners, yesterday said that the nomination certificates of two of them, Mose Grath, candidate for justice, and Allen Hatter, candidate for constable, both of Badgett township, had been presented to the board of election commissioners by A. C. Remmel. Mr. Remmel is acting chairman of the Republican State Central Committee.

### Barred From Meetings.

At the last county Republican convention no negroes were permitted to take part in the proceedings. Similar treatment was accorded them at Hope, when the Republican convention of Hempstead county met. Later, in each of these counties, the negroes held independent meetings and elected delegates who were sent to the state convention.

The state convention refused their credentials, and for the first time in the history of the party in Arkansas, no negro delegates at large to the national convention were elected.

Grath and Hatter, the negro candidates, are opposing Harry Keatts and Earl Frazier, Democrats, and well-known planters of Badgett township, who are running for re-election as justice and constable, respectively.

The First Established and Most Complete  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the South

SS

Raleigh, N. C.

### THE NEGRO REPUBLICANS.

Cast out as absolutely not wanted by the white Republicans the Negro Republicans of North Carolina are again this year starting up a revolt against the powers that control the party to which they give their allegiance, and are demanding that they be given a showing.

Well, what the Republican party has done to the Negro Republicans was only to be expected. It was the vote of the Negro which the Republicans were after and when the Negro vote became negligible the Republicans cast him off, and have since that time been parading themselves as a party of the "respectable" kind, when all the world knows that if the Negro should become useful again with his vote the White Republicans would go chasing after him.

The Negro has a right to feel aggrieved at the Republican party, for he was a good pack horse for that party to ride on to get into office and having served his day he feels that he ought to be remembered. But to the Republicans of the South the Negro is a squeezed lemon, and therefore he is cast into the trash heap as being of no more good.

The Negro Republican meeting which was held here this week arranged to send delegates to Chicago to ask for representation, but we do not think that they are very hopeful. The Democrats of the South have shown that they are the best friends of the Negro, for it is because of legislation which they have made that the Negro is going forward in material affairs. Politics has been his curse and his undoing, and he has lived to see the day when the party which the ballots of his race upheld in its hours of need has turned its back on the Negro. And the Negro, knowing the reason for this, has a right to feel outraged and to call for a change in his behalf.

TIMES

New York City

### Negro Votes in Kentucky.

R. W. COVINGTON writes of negro votes in Kentucky: "We have no educational or property qualification test nor have we the 'grandfather clause.' Manhood suffrage exists, and the negro can vote and does vote as freely as the white man." On Nov. 19, in answer to a question about negro disfranchisement, we included Kentucky among the States in which the negro had been practically disfranchised, the authority for the statement being the following sentence from "The Encyclopedia of American Government": "From 1890 to 1904 six States—Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia—altered their Constitutions so as to set the greater part of the negro vote permanently out of commission."

### ORGENION,

Portland, Oregon

## FAULTY VOTE DENIED

Action on Negro Suffrage Is  
Considered Real Views.

"ALSO RANS" EXPLAIN

Civic League Speakers Believe That  
Federal Amendment Would Be  
Repealed if Submitted Now  
to Voters of All States.

Even though the 'negro suffrage amendment voted on in the recent Oregon election was a mere formality, some of those who attended the luncheon of the Civic League at the Multnomah Hotel yesterday insisted that the casting of a large number of votes against the amendment did not indicate ignorance on the part of the voters.

This was brought out when Professor W. F. Ogburn, of Reed College, said that the large negative vote polled on this amendment was clearly an ignorant vote.

"I take exception to that," said A. R. Gephart.

A ripple of merriment ran around the room, and someone asked the question if he realized that the amendment was put on the ballot merely to clear a dead-letter provision from the state constitution and that even if it had failed to carry it would not affect negro suffrage, which is provided for by Federal Constitutional amendment.

### Vote Considered Real Views.

"The negative vote in this case is merely an expression of conviction, and represents the sentiment of the voter on the matter," said Mr. Gephart. "Even though it could have no effect on negro suffrage, it offered about the only way in which the average citizen could reg-

ister his opinion on the subject.

"Since the negro has been enfranchised, I think the majority of the people in the United States have realized the blunder that was made, but it is a subject that is taboo in public discussion, so many of them took this method that was offered of recording their sentiments."

C. C. Chapman expressed the same opinion as Mr. Gephart and asserted that it is probable if the negro suffrage amendment in the Federal Constitution were to be voted upon by all the people, he believed that it might very probably be repealed.

### Wilson Victory Believed Personal.

Marshal N. Dana and Isaac Swett, both of whom had been candidates in the election, gave talks on the results from the viewpoint of those who "also ran."

"I have been offered all kinds of explanations for my failure to be elected County Clerk," said Mr. Dana, "but the real reason, as I see it, is simply that I got 30,000 votes and my opponent got 40,000."

Professor Ogburn gave a general summing up of his opinions on the recent campaign, and said that Wilson's victory was a victory rather for him personally than for the Democratic party.

The following nominating committee to select candidates for offices in the league, to be elected at the annual meeting, December 19, was appointed: R. W. Montague, B. Lee Paget, Grace De Graff, Leona Larrabee and Florence Reed.

### TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

## DEMOCRATS TO SUPPORT NEGRO FOR ALDERMAN

Move Aimed at De Priest in the  
Second Ward as Council  
Contests Begin.

Aldermanic politics took the center of the stage yesterday in connection with a lively session of the city council. Many lightning rods were put upon the west side with two especially spectacular scraps in prospect in the Second and Thirty-third wards.

In the Second ward Democrats are going to try a new scheme to divide up the Negro vote. They are going to back a Negro as their candidate, the first time in Chicago Democrats have come

out as champions of a Negro for political office.

David Knighten is the man selected to be pitted against Ald. Oscar De Priest, Ferdinand Barnett, and William Anderson, the three Negroes who will fight it out on the Republican side.

### Buck a Storm Center.

In the Thirty-third ward it is a life and death battle to retire Ald. Robert M. Buck from the council. The Republicans are going to back former Ald. Irwin R. Hazen, whom Buck defeated in a hot three cornered race two years ago.

Fred Lundin, Mayor Thompson's political manager, resides in the ward, and since the spring of 1915 he has been able to defeat Buck's ambitions to become boss of the ward. He put over Michaelson last spring in the smashing battle in which Buck backed Webb.

### Hot Clashes on West Side.

Over on the west and southwest side numerous hot clashes are in prospect.

In the Tenth ward Ald. Frank Klaus, Democrat, will try again. Two candidates will enter the primary field against him—former Ald. Frank Vavricek and Joseph Cermak.

In the Eleventh ward C. Petkoske, who failed of reelection last spring, is ready to try it out with Ald. Ed Cullerton for the nomination. Cullerton has been in the council more than thirty years and his friends say he will not have to bother much this time.

Ald. Otto Kerner, Democrat, is a candidate for reelection in the Twelfth. Former Ald. Rudolph Mulac, backed by the city hall, was defeated last spring by Joseph I. Novak, Tony Cermak's entry. Mulac is ready to go after Kerner next spring. Former Ald. William Schulz, who will be out of his state job when Gov. Dunne retires, is being groomed for the three cornered fight.

Three Democrats and two Republicans are already in the running in the Thirteenth ward. Democrats are backing former Ald. Thomas Ahearn, former Ald. Frank McDonald and John Morris. The Republican aspirants are Ald. John R. Anderson, seeking reelection, and former Ald. Frank Ray, who was beaten last spring.

For Ald. Lawley's place in the Fourteenth ward four aspirants are in the arena. Patrick A. Nash, with the Sullivan backing, and Christ McGurn, with the Harrison backing, are going to go to it rather savagely. William Galling, a former Progressive, and former Ald. Charles H. Lucas seek the Republican nomination.

Henry Utpatel will run for reelection as a Republican in the Fifteenth ward. Isaac Doff will seek the Democratic nomination. Socialists will name Christian C. Madsen, the Socialist member of the legislature who failed for reelection. The Fifteenth ward has become one of the strongholds of Socialism and Madsen, they think, has a chance.

Stanley Kunz and Albert Rostenkowski are going to try for the nomination in the Sixteenth against Ald. Vincent Zwiefka. All are Democrats.



## PLAIN DEALER

Cleveland, Ohio.

### Women of Maryland.

Editor Plain Dealer—Sir: In your Letter Box column of the 11th I notice a protest by a Mr. Proeger regarding the colored women of Maryland on the suffrage question, stating that there are 50,000 colored women in Maryland who are illiterate. As a native of that state, I say that Mr. Proeger's statement is not true. Yes, there are some, but there are other races and nationalities in Maryland as well that are illiterate; but you will find it that way all through the south. Mr. Proeger goes on to say he thinks with the majority of the people in Maryland. I think that in place of this country sending a missionary to China or some other country, they could be used to a great advantage down in Maryland in teaching Mr. Proeger and his majority how to treat a race of people that has done what the colored race has for the south. I am speaking of thousands of other colored women of the south as well.

D. WILLIAMS.

Cleveland.

### A Woman's Observations.

Editor Plain Dealer—Sir: Turbulent women are ten thousand times worse than turbulent men. They do not hesitate to dig, scratch, rend and howl. Personal dignity to them is, merely, a figure-of-speech, while gentleness and dignity in others is something they delight in mutilating and dragging in the mud, if they can.

Equality of the sexes has always been, for mentality is sexless. Man or woman of the highest mentality is always dignified, gentle and considerate of the rights of others. It may not be that all the women who wish to go to the polls to vote are overbearing in disposition; but some if not most of them are, and, instead of unraveling the tangle of politics, their fingers in the skein would but snarl the tangle more and more. When women are the equal of dignified men, mentally, their opinions can be and are recorded in the laws of nations.

Termagants and brawlers are usurpers of the rights of others. Unfortunately speech comes readily from them by word of mouth; but it means nothing for the good of the people or the good of the nation. Keep fighty, scratchy women away from the polls. Don't give them the franchise!

O DENIAS (a woman who knows.  
Cleveland.

### "SOCKLESS JERRY" SIMPSON'S STATE WANTS REFORM.

Hon. Charles Scott, a former member of Congress from Kansas, now is engaged in the publication of The Iola Register, a Republican paper. We mention this fact because it is timely. Mr. Scott has made an

important discovery. We make it a point to give publicity to all important new discoveries.

The Hon. Scott's discovery, as related in The Register, is as follows:

And yet the truth will remain that he (Wilson), was not fairly elected and that if a fair election could have been held he would not have been chosen. No man can be held to be fairly elected if in order to give him a majority in the Electoral College it is necessary to count for him the 132 votes of the eleven Southern States that constitute the Solid South. The only reason Mr. Wilson had any chance whatever in the late contest was due to the fact that a handicap of 132 electoral votes was laid upon his opponent before even the race was started. When Mr. Hughes was nominated no man could have named a single State he would carry with absolute, pre-ordained certainty. When Mr. Wilson was nominated every American knew he would have the votes of eleven States. That fact was known as certainly before the election as it was afterwards. The result in these States did not depend in any degree whatever upon the personality of the candidates or the principles they advocated or the policies they had followed. If Mr. Hughes, advocating exactly the things he did during the late campaign, had been on the Democratic ticket he would have carried these States; just as Mr. Wilson, advocating precisely the things he did, would have lost these States if he had been the nominee of the Republican party.

So long as that condition exists no Democratic candidate for the Presidency has a right to claim a victory, no matter how unquestioned his legal right to election may be. There never will be a fair election in America until the Solid South votes its sentiments and not its traditions, its passions and its emotions.

The conditions that prevail in the South have existed so long, the virtual nullification of the Constitutional Amendment which declares that if any State abridges suffrage for any racial reason its representation in the National Congress shall be correspondingly abridged, has been quietly acquiesced in for so many years, that little encouragement would be given now to a proposal to enforce the fundamental law and compel the South either to permit the negroes to vote or cut down its representation in the electoral college.

The Register favors the abolition of the Electoral College, set up as it was (we learn) because of the "jealousy of the small States" for the larger, and it thinks the time is coming when direct elections will be on hand to make Republican victory surer. The Hon. Scott, while his inspiration is yet warm in his soul, goes on to say:

When that time comes, if it ever does come, the South will find itself confronted by the alternative of granting suffrage to all its citizens—not negroes

only, but women also—or of being reduced to a very inconsiderable factor in determining the result of a Presidential election. For example:

Alabama, with a population of 700,000 in excess of that of Kansas, cast about 125,000 votes, while Kansas cast nearly 700,000 votes. According to unofficial returns, the four Southern States of South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana and Mississippi, cast all told 314,500 votes, hardly more than half the number of votes cast in Kansas. If the President were elected by popular vote and these four States continued to cast the vote they do now, they would have but half the weight of Kansas in determining the result, whereas under the present system they weigh three and one-half times as much as Kansas does—because they cast thirty-five votes in the Electoral College as against Kansas's ten votes.

And similar comparisons could be made with all the other Southern States. Under the present system one Southerner—and a man at that whose judgment is foreclosed and whose vote may be predetermined—exercises as much influence in the election of a President as does three or four voters in Kansas. It is a preposterous situation, when we come to think of it, an intolerable wrong against government by the people, which ought not to be perpetuated.

And the only practical way this paper sees to correct it, or even partially to correct it, is through an amendment to the Constitution that will provide for the election of the President and Vice-President by popular vote.

The thing we like about Editor Scott's discovery is that it is so utterly frank. He is as frank as Nicholas Murray Butler, who recently said something ought to be done to have the negro's constitutional right to vote for President insured.

However, Editor Scott is the first representative American we have yet heard speak who questions the right of American free-men to vote as they please for President or for any other officer. Speaking of "Intolerable wrong against government by the people," what's the matter with the Scott dictum?

South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Florida cast thirty-five votes against Kansas' ten, when everybody knew in advance how the thirty-five votes would be cast. This situation makes Editor Scott indignant.

But he overlooks the circumstance, which we mention with due caution and humility, that Pennsylvania has thirty-eight electoral votes which Boies Penrose, or anyone else of his type, can cast for the Republican ticket at a snap of the finger. The last time Pennsylvania voted for a Democratic President was in 1856. Ever since then it has been known for years in advance of each election how Pennsylvania would vote in the Presidential election. To all intents and

purposes Illinois, with twenty-nine electoral votes, is "solidly" Republican. In 1892 Illinois voted for Cleveland. That was the first time it had gone Democratic since 1860, when Stephen A. Douglass was one of the Democratic candidates. In 1912 Mr. Wilson, receiving a normal Democratic vote only, got the Illinois electoral vote. Taft and Roosevelt's combined vote, however, was far and away greater than Wilson's. So, it requires no great imagination to see Illinois as substantially a "solid," pre-ordained Republican State. Vermont is solid, and Kansas practices solidarity, although in 1888 its vote was split, in 1896 it went Democratic, as in 1912 on account of the Republican split, and in 1916 it got on the side of Gideon's hosts in a straight-out stand-up and hit fight—and maybe that is the splinter in the craw of Brother Scott. Most of its life Kansas has been hopelessly Republican, locally and nationally.

But what's the use of arguing the question raised by the Kansas editor? It is sufficient to put the American people on notice, especially the people of the Southern States, concerning the motive behind this miserable and vicious scheme to tear down the election system. As a rule these porpagandists know little of the fine theories of our government and care less. They respect no restraint of force, they cherish no ideal of State and the glory of local self-government. They believe with all their hearts that Federal action should force the acquiescence of any State on any whim which tickles the fancy of Federal authority. They believe in forcing the States to accept whatever they happen to believe in for the moment, regardless of the whims of the States.

The time is at hand, (we would repeat a warning ventured a few days since), when the people of this country have got to stand face to face with the question of radical overthrow of the suffrage status and the election system, as well as the right of the State unit to call its soul its own in any matter which superficial reformers would foist upon the country by the fiat of numerical force.

Are we prepared to let Kansas fix the measure of our Democracy? Are we prepared to hand the golden reins to Boies Penrose's Pennsylvania crusaders? Are we ready to lay down the rod and follow a strange and doubtful shepherd? And if making ourselves over into sheep, shall we go a step farther and proclaim that we do not longer even claim to own the fields on which we graze or the waters from which we drink?

Shall we be our own masters, or shall we deliberately choose another?



Political - 1916  
Suffrage

From **TIMES-PICAYUNE**  
Address: **New Orleans, La.**

Date \_\_\_\_\_  
**THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM.**

The movement, started immediately after the election, to submit the choice of President to the popular vote has, as we expected, fallen flat. Some of the papers that favored this plan sought to get the views of members of Congress on it, but they got no consolation, for the congressmen saw the objections to the plan, already pointed out by The Times-Picayune, that it could not work as long as the electoral franchise is different in the several states; as long as the women vote in certain states and do not in others; and as long as the South would not consent to admit all the illiterate negroes to the suffrage, in order to preserve its influence in the electoral college.

"All persons," says the New York Post, reviewing the subject, "Northerners or Southerners, realize that on the very threshold of the matter as a practical problem there stands the anomalous condition of the suffrage in the South. We are far from wishing it to be understood that that condition must be suffered in perpetuity; only that the tremendously difficult problem it presents must be faced before the plan of election by direct popular vote can be considered as a practical proposition. Every Southern man quoted is dead against the idea; every Northern man of importance is against it unless accompanied by a radical change as to suffrage in the South. That there are highly weighty objections independent of all this we have heretofore pointed out; but this difficulty stands in the first line, and until it is squarely grappled with there is not a particle of use in going on with the business at all."

The proposition for the popular election of president may therefore be considered as dead; and if there are any other plans to be proposed this is the time to present them. It has been suggested that the president be named by electors representing congressional or electoral districts. Thus Louisiana would elect two presidential electors at large to represent the two senators; and eight district electors for the eight congressional representatives to which the state is entitled. This plan, however, is found equally unsatisfactory, because of the possibilities of the gerrymander, now so

prevalent. A state is often so gerrymandered that the minority party can choose a majority of the representatives. Could there be any greater inequality, for instance, than the gerrymandered districts in St. Louis, one of which (the Tenth Missouri district) has a population of 416,349, whereas a neighboring district has 149,390; or the 158,401 inhabitants in the Seventh Texas district and the 367,696 in the Sixteenth? With such inequalities and the possibilities of the gerrymander this plan of electing the president by districts is out of the question.

The New York Post suggests a third plan for the abolition of the objectionable electoral system—that the people vote directly for president and vice-president, the states still retaining their present electoral votes for President as at present. In other words the voters of Louisiana will vote directly and without any intermediate electors, ten votes for president and vice-president. This does not interfere with their strength and political representation and influence of its slate, but it does away with some of the complications of the electoral college. There would then be no chance of splitting up the vote of a state; there would be no more of the absurdity of scratching some of the electors or of their being disqualified or dying before the election—there are electors in doubt in Washington and other states, and there have been few elections where the electoral vote of some of the states is not divided and confused. Moreover, as the Post points out, it would then be possible for the voters to pass on the vice-president independently of the president—as the founders of the republic intended, instead of the two men getting exactly the same number of votes. There is now no way by which the voters can express their feeling that this or that candidate for the vice-presidency is an undeserving or unfit man.

In view of the complication that has arisen this year and at previous elections over the electoral college, it might be well for Congress to take the matter up and suggest a change. It is admitted that the present system is faulty and ought to be modified; but so far the plans suggested would make the situation even worse than it is today. Perhaps some one can propose an improvement.

**EVO. SUN**

**Baltimore Md.**

## Courting The Negro Woman Vote.

Now it is really perfectly impolite the way the Western lower classes are greeting the ladies of the Gold-Embroidered Petticoat Special.

In order to reach the handsomely decorated motorcars which awaited them at the Chicago railway station they had to pass banners carried by Wilson working women bearing such insulting inscriptions as "Go back to Wall Street!" and "We want Wilson and the eight-hour day." And then when their motorcars started they were followed on foot by their tormentors bearing a banner on which was inscribed "We walk."

A similar lack of reverence was shown at the public addresses of the Hughes ladies. So flagrant was this that the Hon. Mrs. Nelson O'Shaughnessy was driven to remark "You are all ignorant," and to drive away in her motorcar amid cheers for Wilson.

One meeting, however, seemed to be a success. Mrs. Reta Child Dorr, we are told, spoke before the strong organization of negro women voters, and "will make a specialty of winning the negro vote as the train goes westward and southward."

But this is the first intimation we have had that the negro vote needed winning.

**TIMES-PICAYUNE**

**ss: New Orleans, La.**

### "The Negro Issue."

New Orleans, March 31, 1916.

To the Editor of The Times-Picayune:

I was much gratified to read your interesting editorial on "The Negro Issue" in The Times-Picayune of March 20. Your conservative and judicious warnings, published repeatedly, in addition to the strong denunciations by some of the other influential newspapers throughout the state upon this fallacious issue, during the present political campaign, prompted me to write this letter, though with much reluctance, in order that I might attempt to explain the real attitude of the negro, relative to this important question.

The leaders of the race have not expressed themselves upon this matter, because it is not the purpose of the negro to agitate political discussions or any other matter between the white race, even though he is used as a tool for the

construction or destruction of some method, politically or otherwise, for supremacy.

I feel it is not the prime purpose of those engaged in this bitter campaigning to harm the negro in his present peacefulness with his white neighbor or "kindle anew the flame of race prejudice." Nevertheless it does harm him and he welcomes the stand your paper has taken in this matter.

The negro is no longer a factor in the politics of this state. I feel assured, however, that the race would welcome a campaign with real issues. The negroes are not indifferent to the welfare and prosperity of the states wherein they live and are industrially engaged.

The negroes of Louisiana are more concerned about the elevation of their children along moral and intellectual lines. We in the city would be proud to have one high school here for the training of teachers. In addition, all the race asks for is peace, protection in the rural districts, opportunity and simple justice.

**EDWARD GAUDET.**

**EVENING GLOBE**

**New York City**

## Wilson and the Negroes.

To the Editor of The Globe—In reference to the letter by A. H. Strickland, in which he says that President Wilson has been opposed to the Negroes, I beg to point out that, on the contrary, he has done a good deal for them.

Woodrow Wilson, as governor of the state of New Jersey, retained in office every Negro appointee made by his predecessors, both Republican and Democratic, and in addition paid out to Negroes over \$100,000. He initiated the bill creating the first state commission to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the act of emancipation, appointed the commission, and gave equal representation in its membership to Negro men and women. The appropriations to Negro institutions were largely increased under Governor Wilson's administration. The civil rights of the Negro were in no way jeopardized in the state of New Jersey by act or word while Woodrow Wilson was in control.

Whatever grievance the Negro may have against the Democrats, imaginary or real, he certainly has no just cause to complain in the matter of appropriations voted by the Democrats for his special use. The record shows that during the administration of President Wilson there has been appropriated directly for the maintenance and support of Negro institutions receiving aid from the federal government \$1,600,000 more than was ever voted by any Republican administration. Chief among these appropriations are those voted for colored public schools in the capital city. The Paul Laurence Dunbar High School, costing a million dollars, and giving to the race the finest and most complete school of its kind to be found anywhere in the world, is one of the best achievements of the Wilson Democratic administration.

A comparison of the appropriations for Howard University during the five years prior to and the five years under Democratic rule shows that institution has received larger appropriations under Democrats than at any time during its history.

The appropriations to the Freedman's Hospital, Washington, D. C., show marked increase under the Democratic administration. **PETER MOONEY.**  
New York, Nov. 20.

# NEGRO VOTE HEAVY IN SOME SECTIONS

**185 Blacks Registered in the  
First Ward Out of a Total  
of 675 Voters — Recallers  
Hold Meetings.**

*Constitution*  
*1-1-16*

### MEET AT ATLANTA.

Announcement was made last night that the recall leaders will hold a big meeting at the Atlanta theater Monday night, beginning at 8 o'clock. An effort was made to secure the Auditorium, but this request was denied by Councilman Knight, of the Auditorium committee, who took the position that the building should not be used for political purposes.

The official registration in two of the ten city wards has been ascertained by a count kept at the anti-recall headquarters.

In the first ward the total is 675, and of these 185 are negroes.

In the tenth ward the total is 1,050. The number of negroes has not been ascertained.

Taking the registration in the first ward as a basis for a general average it is estimated that the total all over the city will be about 13,000. In the first ward the registration for the city primary was 544, including both whites and negroes. The increase in the registration for the recall election is 131, which is about 25 per cent. The total all over the city for the primary was 10,601. Add to this 25 per cent and the total will be a little over 13,000. This is believed to be a fair estimate, as the increase has been about the same in all of the wards.

City Attorney Mayson states that there is no law requiring any special kind of a ballot to be used in a city election. In the recall election, he says, any kind of a ballot can be voted, provided it is worded according to the form laid down in the city charter amendment regarding such an election. A ballot can be of any size or color.

From the recall headquarters comes the statement that 4,000 names have been found on the registration list that are not on the city tax digest. What use will be made of this information has not yet been given out.

The recallers state that they held a "fine" meeting in the tenth ward Thursday night.

Last night they held meetings in every ward in the city, the local ward men making talks on the issue.

### POLITICS NOT RELIGION.

*Politics*  
*12-9-16*  
Politics is not religion, yet there are a great many persons who are more zealous about it than they are



about their religion. This is particularly true of many of our people, the negroes, who, regardless of the many years between slavery days and the present time, or regardless of what presents at this time, still stick to the "bridge" that carried them over. They at no time taking inventory of the "bridge" to ascertain whether it is the same old bridge or whether it needs repairs or reinforcement. Perhaps we ought to say that politics should not be to us as we think of religion, and yet it is possible to be that to some people, and as it should be some people, mind you.

Among a people where there are different views on economic questions and others that do not strike at the basic principles of government, and which concern the material welfare of the common country, it is not difficult to think of such people thinking of the respective parties to which they belong as one thinks of religious faiths. But it will be remembered that they do not differ fundamentally. All of the great first principles are admitted, in agreement with the Declaration of Independence. The ground work of parties being the same, there is but small chance for serious friction. So if we find men declaring for this and that party because their fathers were of those parties it is not at all an unreasonable thing because of the common foundation.

If it is discovered with certainty that low protection or tariff for revenue only brings industrial disaster to the country it will be changed at the earliest opportunity. It is the same way with other measures enacted for the common good as men view it. Here is no concern with the vitals of

man, and he already is enfranchised. The same qualifications imposed on white and colored men will be imposed on white and colored women, and the issue can safely be left to take care of itself.

"Colored women are industrious, moral and intelligent to a far greater degree than colored men. Many of them, too many of them, are supporting lazy, worthless husbands. Only a few days ago a colored man, a big, strong fellow, came to my door asking for alms 'because, lady,' he plaintively said, 'my wife done left me.' This story made the audience of three hundred residents of Cheyenne roar with laughter.

Journal  
Providence, R. I.

### Whites as Well as Blacks Disfranchised in South

To the Editor of the Sunday Journal:

In an open letter to Senator Lodge former Senator William E. Chandler of New Hampshire expresses the opinion that the defeat of Mr. Hughes is due to the fact that the national platforms of the Republican party have, since 1906, omitted reference to "negro suffrage."

On the general proposition of failure of the Republican party to take up the question of constitutional rights and political justice as involves all the disfranchised people of the South, as involves the indifference of the Republican party to this issue and its effect on the whole people of the entire country, I assent to the belief that the Republican not only owes but, possibly, merits, its defeat.

This issue arising from the South, is not, however, one of merely "negro suffrage," for, as is becoming generally known, the present or existing so-called disfranchisement laws were enacted to not only eliminate the negro as a voter, but, also, to eliminate the rural or hill country whites. This has become the result of these acts.

Through cumulative poll tax clauses, voluntary payment of poll tax, various registration devices and requirements, all of this administered by partisan political manipulators, minority rule is unrestrained in its despotism until no more than about one-third of the whites vote in the far Southern States.

The machine Democratic minority ruled for a long time, by stuffing the ballot boxes in the black counties. This was exposed by contests in Congress and, in 1897, over 40 Democrats were unseated. The method or system of holding back the returns in the black belt to give the machine democracy whatever vote was needed was thoroughly ventilated. It was then that the present system was thought of and put in motion.

The Constitution of the United States explicitly requires reduction in representation, in event of the denial of the right to vote or abridgement of the suffrage, and yet there is no reduction in representation in the face of wholesale disfranchisement of whites and blacks. A sort of mental atmosphere has been created in the North by Democratic propaganda that "those conditions in the South

have to be resorted to that white supremacy may prevail." This, of course, is not the case. It is simply a condition of the masses of the people of the South ruled by a political oligarchy.

Press reports recently stated that agents of the Department of Justice were here and there throughout the country looking for election irregularity. The Attorney General, if he will investigate, will have no trouble in finding that the Southern States are in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States and that the suffrage guarantees of the Constitution are "a scrap of paper" in these States. This situation made it not a difficult task for the South to remain in the saddle.

Having been for 25 years active in public life in Alabama, being a native Southerner, born and reared in Alabama, where I served as a member of the State Legislature, it has been my opportunity to know conditions at first hand. I know that, at present, it is government by intrigue. My judgment is that the existing condition in the South is simply one of political slavery, which condition is equally as undesirable and as obnoxious as was chattel slavery. It is not only an issue which concerns the South, for the whole people of the entire nation are affected by the political jugglery through which the machine Democratic party of the South exercises its power.

JOSEPH C. MANNING.

214 West Thirty-fourth street, New York,

Nov. 29 1916.

PRESS

Philadelphia, Pa.

### Colored Police Removal.

To the Editor of "The Press."

Sir:—It is not my intention to be considered a destructive critic rather than a constructive one, but some things in our police policy have surely got to be changed and should I add my mite in helping destroy such doings, then I shall be amply rewarded. I have reference to the removal of the colored policemen from South Street.

It is a disgrace that our authorities, whom the colored folks help to pay their salaries by paying taxes, should seem to be responsible in the discrimination of race prejudice. What are some of the reasons that the colored police were transferred from South Street? Those policemen whom I unofficially interviewed do not know and are at a loss to know the real cause.

The result is that the situation is one that needs some careful deliberating and until the authorities advance some reason for their dastard actions the poor, downtrodden Hebrew must stand the torture of having started what I can foresee will terminate in a race war.

If there are any two races that are treated the most unjust they are the Jewish and colored races. Some folks can see no good in the negro, no matter how well it is demonstrated.

Who were they who stood before our foes with undaunting courage, knowing that death would surely result, when the flag of our land was questioned as to the right of its position?

Who were they who so nobly upheld their country, right or wrong, in 1898? Who were they whose valor brought nothing but praise from "America's Greatest Representative," Theodore Roosevelt? Who are they who will never raise a shout of injustice, though

the injustice is hard to be borne? My friends, they are the negroes. Black in skin, but white in heart, knowing duty and how to attend same.

Luckily our President saw enough merit in a Hebrew to cause him to be placed on the Supreme Court bench. Much has been written about these race discriminations, yet it was left to the twentieth century to produce such a disgrace as refusing colored folks the right to see that the law is upheld in the colored sections.

If these policemen are responsible for acts unbecoming officers, why were they not suspended or brought before a board of inquiry rather than be transferred to another section and their acts not held in check?

The colored people were surely justified in calling that mass meeting Friday, the 7th, but to my surprise the real causes were not given and the plan that they, 1500 strong, adopted, of refusing to deal with the Hebrew merchants who inhabit that section, was really uncalled for. Why is not an investigation made?

The plan might have been laid down by the "green-backed" politicians to cause a disunion between the blacks and those whites with whom a firm friendship surely must have existed, and if that is so, beware you "dollar-handling" folks; remember that your deeds will not go unpunished.

In the meantime it would be a wise policy for the Jewish folks of South Street, dealing under the name of "South Street Business Association," to have an understanding with the colored folks and let it be understood that the Hebrew is not responsible for the present condition of having the policemen of the colored race removed from South Street.

Who dares cause race trouble?

ABE MEYERS.

Philadelphia, July 12, 1916.

HERALD

Washington, D. C.

ELEANOR WARNER.

### Democrats and Colored Votes.

Editor of The Washington Herald: It seems that Bishop Walters' critics will never get through with talking about the great mistake he made in leading his people in support of the Democratic party in 1912. We are quite certain that if Bishop Walters made any mistake at all, it was the fault of the brains and not of the heart. He is a thorough race man, and one whose Godly and political judgment has never before been questioned. The bishop was sincere in his efforts to bring about a division along political lines among his race, which we, too, thought at the time was a good thing. By his earnest labors the good bishop, aided by such powerful and influential men of his race as the Revs. G. C. Clement, editor of the Star of Zion; J. Milton Waldron, of this city, and many others, converted thousands of colored voters to accept the Democratic faith.

They were told by the enemies of the Democratic party that that party was simply using them as a stepping stone to secure the national election, that they (the colored voters) would not be recognized at all after the day

of election if the Democrats should happen to win. Disregarding the prophecy, the bishop, determined to lead his people out of political bondage, went right on fighting among his people for the success of the party which has since discovered a scheme by which it can best help the negro race by ignoring everything which seems to be his God-given rights as an American citizen.

From what we can learn the colored brother has lost faith in the old adage, "If at once you don't succeed try, try again." For this time twelve months ago there were colored democratic clubs being organized in nearly every State in this Union for the support of the party which is now in power. But they don't seem now to be trying again! The colored voters seem to be quite willing to cherish the ambitions of their Democratic friends. They supported them loyally by their votes in the 1912 election. Now, if they can be of better service to them (the Democrats) in the coming election by supporting their enemies instead of

them, why they seem to be quite willing to do that also. Maybe our Democratic friends have discovered that they can win in the coming election independently of 500,000 or more colored votes and intend to be more economic in their promises to the colored brother by not reinviting him to the fold.

J. C. CUNNINGHAM.

FEB 2 - 1916

## SAYS LINCOLN ERRED IN GIVING NEGRO VOTE

### Colored Pastor Asserts Bestowal of Citizenship Should Have Been Gradual.

While revering Lincoln as the most farsighted man America has produced, Rev. E. L. Gilliam, of the Eleventh Avenue A. M. E. church, in an address at a young people's meeting at the Broad Street M. E. church, Sunday night, said Lincoln made one mistake in immediately giving the negro citizenship and a vote, after emancipating him.

The negro, he said, has proven himself, by this time, worthy of citizenship and he did remarkably well from the first with his added responsibilities. "The emancipation proclamation was a wise measure," he said. "It was not merely a war measure, as some people have said, but represented the conviction entertained and expressed privately by Lincoln long before he was president.

"It was right that emancipation was given at once, but the bestowal of citizenship should have been gradual.

Lincoln perhaps did not appreciate of the negro's utter lack of knowledge of the big task of citizenship."

### EVENING NEWS

Baltimore, Md.

### DON'T FEAR NEGRESS' VOTE

Mrs. Scott Says Southern Women Want Franchise Despite Negroes.

The question of the colored women's vote was precipitated with some suddenness at a suffrage meeting held recently in Denver at which Mrs. Townsend Scott of Baltimore, a delegate on the "suffrage flier" which is lining up the Western women voters to help their sisters of the East, was a speaker.

"Southern women do want the vote," Mrs. Scott assured her hearers, "and they do not fear the colored woman's vote. No one knows better than Southern women that the colored woman's vote is far less to be feared than the vote of the colored



# Political-1916 Suffrage

TIMES-PICAYUNE

New Orleans, La.

## THE POPULAR VOTE.

When, a few days after the election, some doubt existed as to the result whether the popular and electoral votes told the same story, a number of persons and newspapers who had not given the subject full consideration called for the abandonment of the present system of electing the president in favor of the popular vote. Among these was L. E. Thomas, chairman of the Democratic state central committee of Louisiana. We pointed out at the time that the plan which Mr. Thomas proposed would be injurious to the South, would not only lessen its influence, but would force to the front some very difficult and unpleasant issues; and that the popular election of president should not be adopted until a uniform qualification for voters prevails.

Thus, Chicago, which votes all its women, cast more ballots in the last election than ten of the Southern states, the electorate of which is small because they disfranchise not only their women but a large proportion of their negroes. Under such conditions, Chicago would count in political importance as against these ten states. In no surer way would the South reduce its political influence to the minimum, besides reviving the old trouble over the negro vote, and bringing about federal interference with our electorate and elections.

We have seen no support given to Mr. Thomas' hasty and ill-advised suggestion except by the Shreveport Times, which was at first inclined to think that there was something in his plan. We are glad to see that it has reconsidered its expression on this question and now realizes that the plan would be most unfortunate and disastrous to the South.

"The effect of a repeal of the electoral college provision in the constitution upon the political influence of the South," says the Times in a later article on this question, "did not occur to the Times, and we doubt if it occurred to Mr. Thomas. To disturb this arrangement would seriously impair the political strength of the South. A substitution of the popular vote in place of the electoral college

means of electing the president weaken the South's influence use its representation in the electoral college is based upon population whereas its popular vote is small in comparison with its population. Happily, the South is in a position to interpose its veto if an effort is made to amend the Constitution by abolishing the electoral college. Such an amendment must fail if the states which are classed with the "solid South" refuse to ratify it. Indeed, the South's representatives in Congress would be in a position to prevent the amendment receiving the two-thirds vote necessary to submit it to the states for ratification."

There has never, we believe, been any danger that the country would go off wildly on this issue. What we objected to was the fact that the remarks of the chairman of the Democratic state central committee in favor of the suggested change might mislead the rest of the country into the belief that the Democracy of the South favored the change. It is the very change that the most sectional republicans of the country are eager to see the most effective way of crippling the political power of the South, minimizing its influence in the choice of president. Now that the matter has been explained, we doubt whether Mr. Thomas will find any Democratic or Southern support for his proposed change of the Federal Constitution, for to get their full share in the choice of president, as compared with California and Illinois, every Southern state would have to vote all its women and all its negroes, both men and women. The father of the republic understood this and other questions better than Mr. Thomas.

Journal  
Beaumont, Tex.  
DEC 10 1915  
NOT A QUESTION OF RACE.

"Southern democrats often agree on the principle that two strong political parties would be of benefit to the South," the Advertiser of Montgomery believes, but adds, with indisputable truth, that "each man wants the other fellow to break away to another party," that each "wants somebody else to leave the democratic party and go into the republican party." The error is widespread, adds the Columbus (S. C.) State, that the south

is democratic solely on account of the presence of the negroes. That is an accentuating and fortifying fact of democratic ascendancy in the south but not the first cause. Being preponderantly an agricultural region having nothing to gain from protective tariffs, the south would have remained democratic had there been no period of reconstruction.

The north's post-bellum policy towards the south has prevented the formation and maintenance of a minority republican party up to this time—such a party as otherwise might have come into being with the rise of the textile industry. Some of the manufacturers of the south, of steel and iron in Alabama and of yarn and cloth in the Carolinas, would naturally be republicans, but local considerations bind them to the democratic organizations. Growers of sugar cane and of citrus fruits occupy a similar position, their products deriving benefit from protective duties.

The south is democratic and will so remain, regardless of the negro question. The economic policies of the republican party have borne harder, meantime, on the southern negroes than on any other class, they being agricultural laborers and small farmers. If the race question could be eliminated from politics the southern democratic majorities would be increased because the negroes would be democrats. The negro farmer and the white farmer have identical economic interests in the government and in Democratic or Southern support for legislation.

THE OPTIMIST'S VIEW.  
Simplified Guide  
Ostensibly, the suffrage laws in the South do not discriminate against the Negro. We all know the intent is to prevent as many Negroes from voting as possible, but as far as the letter of the law is concerned, the suffrage of qualified persons without regard to race is approved. It is therefore reasonable to assume that as the Negroes meet the test they will be permitted to vote. This sentiment prevails in some sections. In the recent registration in Atlanta for the vote, recall, 548 Negroes registered against 393 at the last registration. In the first ward the Negro was quite a factor, there being 1 out of a total of 675 votes in that ward. More and more the Negro will become a political factor. It will be a long time before his vote will have the relative influence that it had at one time but his vote will be considerable. There are Southern white men who believe that there can be no true democracy that discriminates with prejudice against any class of citizens.—Southwestern Christian Advocate.

The above is a very hopeful

forecast of the political activity of the Negro. Careful observers like the Southwestern Christian Advocate can see in the sentiment which "prevails in some sections," signs that portend brighter possibilities of the race becoming "more and more a political factor." It will require many years, however, to obliterate prejudices in the South that preclude the existence of a true democracy. Wise counselors of the Negro have advised the race that old political debts owed the Republican party were long since paid, and to adopt the course of distributing their votes with the view of breaking the old ties of allegiance to the Republican party. The new Negro voter has been advised by race leaders to vote for prohibition and other reform measures, but have been astonished to find the Anti-Saloon League and other reform elements spurning their votes. In Virginia, for instance, a so-called "primary election law" has removed every semblance of true democratic government in both state and municipal elections, by taking the stand that a Negro cannot be a Democrat under any circumstances and therefore cannot vote the Democratic ticket. This is discriminating with prejudice against one class of citizens. We believe, though, that true democracy will ultimately triumph and every citizen worthy of the name will enjoy the privileges of citizenship.

the World  
OBSERVER  
CHARLOTTE, N. C.  
THE NEGRO AND POLITICS.

It is probable that the colored Republicans responsible for the Raleigh meeting base their hope for return to the return of their old-time friend, Mr. Marion Butler, to political activity in the same State. It is natural that with Mr. Butler taking part in political affairs in North Carolina the negroes should see their chance to come in also. There were indications

a few weeks ago that Mr. Butler was taking the negro into account and it may be that the Raleigh meeting was called by reason of some understanding with Butler. There can be no doubt of the fact that the call has disturbed the Republicans in the State, for they see in it the disappearance of all hope that might have been entertained of profiting by Democratic dissatisfaction. The drawing of the negro issue would prove fatal to Republican prospects in this State. For other than political reasons, however, The Observer would regret seeing the negro again demoralized by political influences. Since his practical elimination from politics the negro in North Carolina has turned his attention to industrial and professional pursuits, and in the past few years he has made greater strides toward independence and happiness than in all the period since the Civil War. The negro's lapse into politics would be the very worst thing that could befall the race in this State. Those of the negroes who are wise will have little concern for what happens in the Raleigh meeting.

newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

## NEGROES IN INDIANA.

In Indiana the whites are pretty evenly divided between the Republican-Progressive and Democratic factions.

The negroes are usually a Republican asset, but Tom Taggart, Democrat, a wily politician, organized the negroes into "marching clubs" and managed to largely control them. Both sides struggle for the negro vote in Indiana, and that side gets it which has the longest purse.

In Louisiana they are having trouble. A Mr. Parker is leading the party opposed to the Democratic party, and he is fighting the Democratic primary system. If elected Governor he proposes to abolish the primary, so the negroes and Republicans will have a better showing. If Parker should succeed Louisiana would have "negro marching clubs" in future as now in Indiana, and as we had them in Georgia before the adoption of the white primary. Louisiana suffered from these "marching clubs" so late as 1896, and so did we here in Georgia.

Our white primary is vulnerable. It is a voluntary affair and can only be held together by the cohesive power of acting justly one with another. It was put to a great strain by the autocratic kaiserism of the two "steam-roller" conventions held in Georgia. Justice and right were thrown out of the window of the convention hall, a rule or ruin sat on the judgment throne. Our white primary is our safest shield. No one fears negro supremacy, but who sires negro participation in our politics. I to preserve that primary we must not ta



per with the electorate. We must esch overlordism. We must respect the rig of minorities. We must not turn any m conventions into mass meetings as in 1 and 1914.

All of remember how the convention 1906 was turned into a mass meeting. A State Democratic Executive Committ composed of the best men in the Sta elected by the Parker convention of 19 passed for the guidance of the party ( county unit system being the old rule) t following resolution:

"That each county shall be entitled to two delegates for each member that it is entitled to in the House of Representatives, but no county shall send more delegates than it is entitled to individual votes to said convention."

This had been the rule for years. Up to this time from the day James Milton Smith was inaugurated Governor, the Georgia Democrats had been in harmony, and Georgia was the "banner Democratic State."

Macon was selected as the place for holding the convention. The campaign was one of extreme bitterness. The Hoke Smith papers attacked the executive committee for its effort to preserve intact a Democratic organization, and insisted that each county send many delegates to the convention. A train load of delegates came from Fulton alone. It was a crowded convention. The Hoke Smith counties sent large numbers. The anti-Smith counties sent the regulation number of delegates. Thus the convention was turned into a mass meeting. The voices of the large numbers of Smith delegates overwhelmed the minority delegates. No anti-Smith man was allowed to say a word. Chairman Yeomans, when he called the convention to order was hissed off the stage.

And here was inaugurated in Georgia for the first time "The Steam-Roller." Such a juggernaut was the unexpected. The minority delegates were permitted no voice. Their rights were contemptuously ignored.

The county unit system, time-honored, was discarded and the advantage given to the larger cities. The counties were no longer the jewels of the State. State-empire overwhelmed them.

Our government was planned to protect minorities. The strong could take care of themselves. The national Constitution made the individual States distinct political units, just as our State Constitution made the counties distinct political units. As the States are units of representation in the Senate, so our counties are the units of representation in the Legislature. The Constitution of 1877 apportioned the representation in the Legislature. It was the work of Tooms and Charles J. Jenkins.

The Macon convention of 1906 changed all his. The county unit system was discarded and dishonored in the interests of a large city.

The wild, stormy convention of 1914, which seemed to set the pattern for the recent Republican convention, with its Johnson and Jackson factions, adjourned in so much disorder that no instructions were left for the executive committee. So that committee can carry out its own sweet will, regardless.

That it will so act as to strengthen our primary is the hope of all of us who desire a continued primary.

Time and again it has been shown in this column that we cannot depend on the provisions of what is called the "disfranchisement acts." Judge J. C. C. Black, Judge A. J. Cobb, Judge Sam Adams and Hon. A. C. King, in an open letter to the Legislature, warned that the decisions of the United States Supreme court had made those acts about useless.

## LEADER

s: Pittsburg, Pa.

## LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE

### Those Arrests

Editor Leader—Far be it from me, Mr. Editor, to criticize unjustly the words of the three intelligent persons who sent you a letter to be published, but their statement compels me or at least acts as the inspiration for my writing, though I don't want to appear as a cynic, nor do I want to appear in the role of "I know more than thou" attitude.

The letter was perfectly sublime; so sincere in its meaning that it awoke in me a feeling of awe and reverence for what they think is a clear perception of truth and facts. Surely the three lawyers weren't referring to city officials when they made such broad statements as "This outrageous proceedings—Made to feel—Wholesale arrest—Under a mere pretext and for no apparent cause or reason other than they are members of our race is a mean, unjustifiable blow against us by enemies of our race. We entirely and heartily agree with you that this proceedings smacks of lynch law. The committing magistrate conducted the hearings with no semblance of justice and with a demeanor of arrogance and high-handedness toward the persons under arrest, which surpassed some of the things we read about the committing magistrates of some of the South Atlantic or Gulf states. Help us create such a public sentiment against this infamy that will cause the despot or despots who issue these orders to hesitate and reflect upon the probability of incurring the wrath of the outraged citizens of this vicinity—of this heinous proceeding against our people. Believing such articles will go far toward crystallizing public sentiment in this community which will say to the man or men responsible for this dastardly outrage, 'beware!'"

It surprised me to read of three persons with intellectual knowledge pronounce in a public letter such threatening and uncalled for sentences.

Now, kindly tell me, was President Lincoln ever in favor of the white and black races living together on terms of social and political equality? (They do in our Hill district). Was he ever in favor of making voters of negroes, or of qualifying them to hold office? (They do or have done so in our Hill district). Now this year, 1916, finds the black race enjoying all (most all) the privileges of the white race, and because murder and robbery occurs

quite frequently in their vicinity, and the officers of the law deemed it necessary to arrest suspicious negroes, they put up a howl of a martyred race.

Do they forget the real martyrs of '66 who died fighting for their cause? I'll grant that there may have been a few innocent negroes lodged in jail over night; but that was precaution, or "safety first." In comparison we have hundreds of our soldier boys lodged down on the border. That, too, is precaution or safety first. But who suffers the most, an innocent negro parted from his dear ones for one night, or the soldier boys on the border parted from his dear ones for six months. But it is all done for the safety of our dear ones, our city and our country, and therefore all citizens of Pittsburg, without regard to race, color or creed, should uphold the law not condemn it.

Edw. J. S.

## PUBLIC LEDGER

Philadelphia, Pa.

## THE VOTE OUTSIDE

### THE SOLID SOUTH

It Puts a Different Complexion on the Claim the Country Is With the President

To the Editor of Public Ledger:

Sir—I have just gone over the tabulation in Sunday's New York Times under the heading, "Popular Vote and Pluralities," giving the results for each State. It shows that outside the solid South Mr. Wilson carried eighteen States (including New Hampshire and New Mexico, which are in doubt), with pluralities aggregating 407,851; while Mr. Hughes carried sixteen States, with pluralities aggregating 695,720, a majority for Mr. Hughes outside the solid South of 287,869 votes.

To any one objecting to the exclusion of the solid South in the computation of the popular vote I make the following answer: The electoral votes of the States constituting the solid South are apportioned, like those of the States outside it, upon the basis of population, and about half the native male population of the solid South is disfranchised.

So I submit upon the record which the South has made for itself that its willful ignorance in national elections could not be surpassed by any ignorance which the Southern negro would display if allowed to participate in them. I submit further that there is not a State outside the solid South where the same conditions exist, i.e., where the State casts a number of electoral votes made on the basis of population while depriving half the native male population of the right to vote as to the way in which these electoral votes should be cast.

Nay, more—what is the State outside the solid South whose voting population goes to the polls on presidential elections to cast its ballots without regard to the candidates and issues of that particular election, but entirely upon the basis of events which occurred half a century ago? Not Maine, nor Utah. The South alone, like the Bourbons, has learned nothing and forgotten

nothing.

The chief reason given for the disfranchisement is that but for it the negro would rule the Southern States. But every one knows that denial of the negro's right to vote in presidential elections is a national question quite distinct from denial of his right to vote in State and local elections, and the South, with its States' rights traditions, knows that quite well. So that reason fails.

The only other reason is that the negro is too ignorant to exercise judgment in voting for President. But what judgment does the white Southerner claim to exercise when it comes to national elections? Has it ever mattered to him, since the days of the rebellion, who was running for President or what the issues of the campaign happened to be? Has he not voted for Bryan and free silver, for Parker and the gold standard, for Wilson, who was too proud to fight, and for Cleveland, who was not, all for no other reason than that they were running on the Democratic ticket?

Of the 146 electoral votes cast by the South it has a just title to only half as its own to give to the Democratic nominee. As for the other half it is kept from the Republican nominee by force, in defiance of the Constitution.

These comments are inspired by the reiteration in Democratic papers that irrespective of the result of an official count in California, Mr. Wilson has already received a popular vote such as to amount to national indorsement of his Administration. Quite the contrary is the case. The facts recited above show that, on the whole, the popular vote has gone heavily against Mr. Wilson and one cannot help wondering how many of the people of Ohio, Kansas, North Dakota, New Mexico, New Hampshire and California who voted for Mr. Wilson did so after reading the Wilson Workers' Manual, issued by the Democratic National Committee and distributed by it through the country in millions of copies, and relying upon the truth of the unqualified statement found on its first page to the effect that "President Wilson compelled Germany to disavow the sinking of the Lusitania."

The matter was called to the attention of the President and of his national chairman two weeks before election by a public letter addressed to Mr. Wilson, pointing out to him that votes were being sought for him in this manner and urging upon him his duty to speak lest he should receive votes obtained by false pretenses. But he did not speak and his national chairman kept silent.

Let us be done with shams. It may be found upon an official count that Mr. Wilson has the votes necessary to assure him a majority in the electoral college. But no official count can do away with the fact already established by the election that in so far as it amounted to a national referendum on Mr. Wilson's record the answer is unmistakably against him. An understanding of this fact may help to retain for this nation that remnant of respect abroad which belief that the people as a whole are satisfied with a record which culminated in the campaign slogans "Peace and Prosperity" and "He kept us out of war" would utterly destroy.

MAURICE LEON.

New York, November 13, 1916.

## POST

Chicago, Ill.

### The "Solid South."

CHICAGO, Nov. 21.—To the Editor of THE POST. Sir: It is gratifying to note that the other sections of the country are becoming alive to the fact that while refusing the colored men of the South the right to vote, that section is unfairly voting them in the electoral college and in Congress. That is to say, the South, on account of its negro population, has apportioned to it more than forty members of Congress, and of course the same number of additional electoral votes, and, as I have already stated, and the fact is not disputed, the colored vote in that section is suppressed practically en masse.

In this connection I would call attention to section 2, article 14, of the United States Constitution, a clause which reads as follows:

"When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male members of such state, being of 21 years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the numbers of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

It is certainly about time this provision of the Constitution was put in operation. It is not insisted that the South permit the colored men to vote regardless of their qualifications, but it is notoriously unfair and dishonest that, while denying the black man the right of suffrage, the white men of the South should be permitted to vote for them. Without this vote Wilson would have been decisively defeated in the recent presidential election and the incoming House of Representatives would be strongly Republican instead of almost a tie.

A mere knowledge of the facts I have stated should certainly result in righting this outrageous wrong. In "the political game" the Democratic party should not be permitted to play with "loaded dice." The vote of one man in Mississippi or South Carolina, for example, should not be equivalent to the vote of two or three men in Minnesota and the other northern states, as is now the case. The claim of a majority of the popular vote for President Wilson is a travesty when such majority is due, as it is, to the suppression of the vote in the South that would have been cast against him. In the states where there was "a free ballot and a fair count" there was an overwhelming majority against him of both the electoral and popular vote.

FAIR PLAY.



# Political—1916

## Suffrage

### PETTY NAMED AS G. O. P. CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE HEAD

Hitchcock In Saddle In Kentucky Working Through Langley and Powers.

EYE SINGLE TO PATRONAGE

Delegates-At-Large Attending Meeting Fail to Determine Line of Action.

In order to prove that he has control of the Republican State Central Committee in Kentucky, Frank Hitchcock, former Postmaster General, through his special agents in Kentucky, Congressmen John W. Langley, of the Tenth district, and Caleb Powers, of the Eleventh district, had the committee name Ludlow F. Petty, of Shelby county, former Collector of Internal Revenue for the Louisville district, chairman of the Republican Presidential Campaign Committee in Kentucky at a meeting of the State body at The Seelbach last night. Mr. Petty will name the other members of his committee.

Hitchcock and his supporters, it is said, are for anybody who can win the Republicans nomination for President, whether it be Hughes, Roosevelt or someone else, and if they succeed in throwing their strength to a winner they will have a big say in the distribution of Federal patronage in this State.

Langley and Powers were sent to Kentucky from Washington for the express purpose of turning the Hitchcock trick, it is said, and accomplished their task most satisfactorily, only three of the thirteen members of the State body voting in the negative. These were Maurice Galvin, of Covington, who held

the proxy of E. R. Miller, of the First district; H. G. Garrett, of the Seventh district, and W. D. Cochran, committeeman from the State-at-Large. Langley and Powers held the proxies of Sam Collins, of the Tenth, and Charles Finley, of the Eleventh, respectively.

#### Election Ratified.

The recent election of the forty-four members of the Jefferson County Committee was ratified, the State central body to add fourteen men to the local committee, these men to be recommended, however, by a subcommittee of three from a list of eligibles to be submitted by any individual Republican or Republican organization in the county.

The problem growing out of the fact that the Republican National Committee has announced that only four of the eight committeemen from the State at-large will be seated in the National Convention was not touched upon.

The three committeemen who voted against the selection of a campaign chairman at this time, took the position that such action should be deferred until after the Republican party in Kentucky has made its nominations, so that the nominees could have a voice in the matter.

In casting his vote against the selection of a campaign chairman, and later against a resolution empowering him to name the other members of the Campaign Committee, Mr. Garrett said that questionable tactics were being employed, and that as long as he remained in politics he would lift his voice against such "dirty politics." The matter was sprung without a moment's notice, he said, and he predicted that the party would gain nothing by such methods.

Mr. Petty, it is said, owed his appointment as Collector of Internal Revenue for the Louisville district to Mr Hitchcock.

#### McCulloch Satisfied.

John W. McCulloch, a rich distiller of Owensboro, who, it was thought, might oppose Mr. Petty as campaign chairman, said last night that his selection was most agreeable to him. It was thought that because Petty was put into the running by Congressman Langley and Powers, known to be friendly to the ambition of A. T. Hert, of Louisville, to succeed Col. McCulloch as National Committeeman, the latter would be against him, but if he was he succeeded in concealing the fact admirably. Personally, Col. McCulloch likes Mr. Petty, the latter being in his employ, it is said, but hesitated to accept him as campaign chairman until forced to do so, because he felt that the selection at this time would go out as a Hughes-Roosevelt victory, Col. McCulloch being a staunch Fairbanks man.

Edwin P. Morrow, also a Fairbanks adherent, said, following the selection of Mr. Petty, that personally he was most acceptable to him.

R. W. Hunter, committeeman from the State-at-large, made a motion which carried that an election of committeemen be held in Christian county, where there is a controversy over the organization somewhat similar to that in Louisville. The chairman of the

State Committee is to designate the time for the election. The committeemen then elected will name a chairman and a secretary.

#### "Half Negro" Problem.

Those delegates at large who attended the meeting last night failed to get together on what they would do about dividing themselves into delegates and alternates, and swelling the "half a nigger" into a whole vote. The sentiment seemed to be that it would be advisable to wait until all are gathered together at the Chicago convention, when the matter could be put up to the Credentials Committee for decision.

W. D. Cochran, of Maysville, was the only State Central Committeeman who voted against ratification of the method by which the forty-four persons composing the Jefferson County Committee were named. When the meeting of the State body was adjourned at 1:30 o'clock this morning a committeeman said the body feared to order a new election of committeemen lest the breach already in the Republican ranks in this district would widen. The situation was bad enough, the committee thought, and did not wish to afford an opportunity for renewed squabbling.

The Jefferson county matter was taken up immediately after the State body was called to order about 9 o'clock last night, and Col. Albert Scott, member of the old County Committee that adopted the call for the selection of the new committeemen, set forth the contention of those who opposed the method employed in effecting the reorganization. He said the call was drafted by five lawyers, Roscoe Conkling, Homer Batson, R. P. Dietzman, A. E. Willson and Homer McLellan, and that the real effect of it was not realized by a majority of the old committee, including himself, until the lapse of several days.

#### Call Not Published.

Under the call, Col. Scott said, the Republican voters of the forty-four districts into which the county was divided had no voice whatsoever in the selection of the County Committee. The call was not published, he said, until the day following the selection of the forty-four committeemen, the official call and the names of the committeemen appearing in the same issue of the Republican organ in Louisville.

Arthur Hopkins, chairman of the old County Committee, and secretary of the present one, said the reason the call for the selection of committeemen was not published sooner was that the credit of the county committee was not very good with the newspapers.

"We had only \$25 in the treasury when the call was first drafted," he said, "and were forced to defer publication of it until we secured more money."

#### Searcy Defends Action.

Chesley Searcy, said to have collaborated with J. M. Chilton in naming the forty-four committeemen, defended the method employed before the State body last night. He admitted that he had submitted the list of forty-four men who were declared elected committeemen by Chairman Hopkins, there not being an opposition ticket in the field, and said he accompanied the

list of names with \$600 required, under the terms of the call, to be posted with every ticket entered.

G. J. Doig, president of the Lincoln Protective Club, asked Mr. Chilton who put up the \$600 and the latter declined to answer. Mr. Doig said the question was relevant, as, had Mr. Chilton answered it, he, Doig, would have been able to show wherein the manipulation charged by him in the naming of the committeemen came in.



LUDLOW F. PETTY,  
Named chairman of the Republican  
Presidential Campaign Committee.

### NEGRO POLITICIANS USE RACE PREJUDICE

Thousands of Blacks Gather in  
Final Voting School.

### EXPECT TO ELECT TICKET

Every One of Thousands Present  
Urged to Vote for Hooper and  
Overall—Ballot-Marking Demonstration Given.

Fanning the flames of race prejudice as best they knew how, negro speakers last night told the hordes of negroes who

had been gathered in Church's Park for the last class in ballot marking that "Ethiopia's time has come."

Thousands of the negroes were packed into the building, as they have been each week for several months. It was a swaggering crowd, many of whom had come in automobiles. Scores of the machines were parked in front of the place. "Vote the straight Republican ticket," was the slogan of the speakers, who used every artifice of intimation in the appeal which was made to racialism. They boasted that 10,000 negro votes will be cast in Shelby County Tuesday and that the negro ticket will be elected.

And yet there was not much enthusiasm, for apparently a majority of the crowd knew not why they were there. They had come for instructions, feeling vaguely that somehow something was to be put over.

Bob Church handled the meeting. He told his hearers that the time of the race has come to achieve a second emancipation. He told the negroes to vote for Hughes, Overall, Hooper, Abernathy and the negro legislative ticket.

"I know that Overall and Hooper are my friends and your friends, and Abernathy is all right because he is with Hooper and Overall," he said.

Bert Roddy, a negro banker and candidate for senator, preached defeat to the Democratic and local option tickets, telling the negroes that both are for a constitutional convention, and that when this constitutional convention is held the negroes will be disfranchised.

#### Gives Ballot-Marking Demonstration

He stuck another knife under the fifth rib of the optionists by declaring that the 11 nominees of that ticket no more can bring whisky back into Memphis than can the Democrats or Republicans.

Roddy also mentioned lynching and Jim Crowism in his harangue.

During a lull in the proceedings, H. M. Bomar, another negro senatorial candidate, seized the opportunity for another demonstration in ballot marking. The negroes have caused to be printed thousands of sample ballots. He used one of these to illustrate to the ignorant negroes present what sort of marking is needed in order to vote the straight Republican ticket.

Instruction cards have been provided, with which all negroes are to be equipped when they go to the polling places Tuesday. Each is to carry his card in an inside coat pocket and when alone in the booth is to mark his ballot just as the instruction card is marked. Then he is to make a note of the number of his ballot, put his card back in his pocket and vote the ballot.

This ballot number is to be reported to Bob Church if the negroes are defeated and decide to make wholesale affidavits that they were cheated in the count.

Church counselled his hearers to accept all free rides in automobiles, take all the campaign literature and buttons without a murmur and then go into the polling places and vote the Republican ticket.

#### Republican Literature Distributed.

Literature bearing the imprint of the Republican national committee, in which the banner of racial prejudice is raised high, was distributed at the meeting in large quantities. In the pamphlets appear a denunciation of "bills introduced in Congress by Democrats for the oppression and humiliation of colored American citizens."

All through West Tennessee the negroes have raised their perfected political organizations. Every district of Shelby County has an organization and so have all districts in neighboring counties where negroes are to be found in any number.

The money for payment of poll taxes was provided and vast numbers of the negroes have been registered. In some districts of Shelby County more negroes are registered than whites. Ballot-marking schools like that held last night have been held constantly for weeks throughout all these districts and a stream of negroes will be voted next Tuesday, their leaders declare.



Church, posing in the center of the henchmen whom he had gathered about him on the platform, was photographed last night, and then a picture was taken of the crowd.

"I want to send them off," he said, leaving the inference in the minds of those who heard that he intended to report on the character of work he is doing to somebody higher up.

George Cole, formerly a janitor at the courthouse, opened the speaking programme. He told his hearers that all who voted the Democratic ticket are lost.

White men who saw the spectacle at Church's Park were sickened by the manner in which politicians were seeking to exploit the members of their race. Neither national issues nor state issues were mentioned. All of the speeches were based on race prejudice, and during the invocation even the aid of Almighty God was asked for the overthrow of the whites.

**STATES**

**PARAKER AND THE NEGROES.**  
Addis, La., March 10, 1916.  
Editor Daily States:

Dear Sir—I see that you fellows are figuring a great deal in politics at this time, and like to print in your valuable papers things that are the real facts concerning our present campaign—Mr. Parker and Mr. Pleasant, the two candidates for governor. I'm wondering now if all three of you gentlemen addressed will publish this; rather doubtful, though, for a notice some of you fellows only publish articles that do good to the man you are backing. As this is a true story, and I hope you'll print all this, I will expect to see this article in each—The Times-Picayune, New Orleans Item and New Orleans Daily States next issue, occupying a conspicuous corner of your valuable papers.

"Talking about what they are going to do if elected."

Since the floods up the country, the Frisco trains have been detouring over our lines, Eunice and Livonia, and these trains have negro crews, firemen, breakmen; my train happened to take siding on the same track, where a Frisco train was standing last Monday evening. There were about six negroes on the Frisco train and each fellow had pinned to his shirt, some to their hat, Mr. Parker's picture, in the form of a button. I found this rather peculiar (as we seldom see a negro wearing a white man's picture), and asked them where did they get Mr. Parker's picture from. They said: "Boss, Mr. Parker made his talk at Eunice the other evening and dose white mens gave us each a button, and told us to wear it and help elec Mr. Parker for our next governor, who was going to do lots for us niggers if he got elected. Us has been wearin' em every since, and we believe they told us the truth, and we's gwine to do all we can to get him in de chair, for he's going to put us right in line with you white men, so us can vote and be juss like you all. Hes a good man, and some day if he fixes us niggers so us can vote we goin' to help you'all elect him the Pres-I-Dent some dav. We believe he is as good a man as Colonel Roo-Se-Felt. We all knows that Mr. Roo-Se-Velt in our favor, but he lost

out just when he was going to do good for us. So Mr. Parker is a good friend of the Colonel, and we sure that dose men together goin' to help us a lot. Dey tell us that the Progressives of today is a new party, and that they stands by us. We sure glad of that, for we sure was long time in getting a party. Lets all pray now that Mr. Parker's lected, so we can be counted hereafter."

Gentlemen, right here, I got sick, had enough, walked from them into my caboose and told the breakmen what I had heard. They wanted to run these negroes with rocks; but I told them "no," that the man to run was Mr. Parker, for no one can be blamed but him, and some of those fellows who with him preach progressivism.

Gentlemen, whomever you hear say hat the Progressive party is a white nan's party, you can tell them for methey were final is because the white hat they are telling an untruth, and ignorant of the fact. I heard what I mentioned above with my own ears, and would have heard more, but I got sick with the stomach and had to leave. It's a fact, that the Progressive party is a black man's party, tainted with the scent that Roosevelt gave them when he locked arms with the two big niggers. Gracious, men, keep away. Lets hold our honor.

Yours truly,  
H. F. BRACHMIERS,  
Conductor.

**What It Means.**

The News and Courier does not think that there is the least likelihood of Mr. Manning being defeated in the general election tomorrow. There are interests in South Carolina which would risk much to keep Mr. Manning from being Governor again but we do not believe that a majority of the white voters of this State are a lot of perjurers. But a serious effort is evidently being made to substitute the name of Cole L. Blease for that of Governor Manning on the tickets to be voted in the general election and it is for the Democrats of South Carolina to consider now what this must lead to unless a stop is put to it at once in a way which will discourage anybody else from trying a thing of this sort in the future.

There is only one thing it can lead to if it has any sort of success and that is the break down of the Democratic primary. How soon that would come the event alone could show, but in our judgment it would not be very long at most. The primary in this State is only a sort of gentlemen's agreement after all. The laws which hedge it about are salutary laws but the integrity of the system rests upon the readiness of the white voters who take part in it to abide its results whether they like them or not. If the time has

come, or if it ever comes, when voters refuse to do this, the primary is bound to go to pieces. If the plan devised for insuring white solidarity is rejected and an appeal is made to the general election such appeal is from an election at which only white men can vote to one in which negroes are quite as free to participate. That they will do so when the conditions favor, as they then would, is history.

Do the people of South Carolina want the negro back in politics? If so, all they have to do is to smash the primary. The only reason the primary contests are so hotly contested is that until now the primary nomination has been accepted as final. The only reason they were final is because the white men of the State have stuck together. Change this and see how long it will be before there will be forty or fifty thousand negroes registered in South Carolina. The negro vote might easily prove big enough in 1918 to name the United States Senator—supposing the white voters to have split.

It is the primary plan that is under attack. The allegation is that the white Democrats of South Carolina are incompetent to nominate a Governor. They are unworthy of trust. It is maintained. Is that so? Will any considerable number of white Democrats say by their votes tomorrow that it is so? Are there white Democrats who agree with the statement made in a leading negro paper not a great while ago that political conditions in this State are worse now than they ever were when the negro was an active voter? Are there white Democrats in this State who think it is time to do away with the primary and call in the negro to help run our politics?

This is the only interpretation which could be put upon a successful bolt; and a vote to be successful would not necessarily have to land the bolting candidate in office. If it demonstrated a strength which would encourage him, or others, to bolt again, trying fresh combinations the next time, it would have succeeded in a way, for it would have established the disintegration of the primary plan. The way would once more be open for the return of the negro to political activity and power.

This is the situation. The voters of the State have been fully warned regarding it. What sort of rebuke they will administer to this move is for them to say.

**IS NEGRO SUFFRAGE A POLITICAL ISSUE?**  
Abbeville, La., April 1, 1916.  
Editor Daily States:

The discussion arising over the charge that the success of Mr. John M. Parker, Bull Moose candidate for governor of the state of Louisiana, will ultimately and automatically bring about the entrance of the negro into politics has assumed such wide range and occasioned such exaggerated and exasperated expressions, that it may be well to calmly consider just what are the views of those who regard this attempt to divide the white people of the state into two rival parties as constituting a menace to our social and political integrity.

It may not be amiss to remark at the outset that our wisest counsellors in public matters are those men who turn from the heat and tumult of passion to regard the beacon lights of past experience, than which there can be no truer guide.

There are three propositions bearing directly upon the subject which may be stated as absolutely beyond dispute or denial:

1. That under the constitution of the United States the negro is a citizen and as such entitled to vote under the same restrictions as any other citizen.
2. That out of the forty-eight states composing the Union only three or four Southern states have attempted to deprive the negro of suffrage, through the "grandfather clause," which has been declared invalid by the supreme court of the United States in a case on appeal from Oklahoma.
3. That the negro has voted and held office in Louisiana in the past, and he does vote freely and without restraint today in Texas and Georgia, as well as in all the Northern, Eastern and Western States.

Yet when these facts are cited by Democrats in proof of the argument that a division of the white people under such conditions constitute a public peril, they are forthwith assailed by Bull Moose orators and journals, denounced with a fanatical fervor which almost amounts, in certain localities, to a denial of the right of free speech.

When William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Owen Lovejoy, Gerritt Smith and the little handful of men and women began the agitation for the abolition of African slavery very few people regarded them as other than pestiferous cranks. It was not until old John Brown and his little band of fanatical followers descended upon Harper's Ferry in the dead hours of the night that the nation realized, all too late, that it faced the greatest crisis in its history.

To the thoughtful man of clear vision the problem of negro suffrage in Louisiana looms large today upon the political horizon. It is only by sticking our heads in the sand like the ostrich, or deliberately closing our eyes to the facts, that any reasonable man cannot see that the transparent fraud in the suffrage articles in our state constitution is but a flimsy veil which hides from view, and not an enduring barrier which shall ever

hold back the dusky tide it shuts out. A vote is a vote to a politician and office-seeker, and no "gentlemen's agreement" will keep the negro out of politics in Louisiana, once the white people divide into rival parties.

When designing politicians arrayed the South against the North with slavery as an issue it was white men who struck the shackles from the slave. When secession was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword, and after four years of bloody struggle, while the Southland, laid waste with fire and pillage, was prostrate before the conqueror, white men, urged on by supposed political necessity, thrust unasked into the hands of the negro, the ballot, that the radicals of the North might maintain the political advantage won by the bayonet.

Shall designing politicians today array the white people of Louisiana against each other in fratricidal strife over the spoils of office and invite all the unknown dangers of a heated political contest wherein the end sought justifies the means that accomplish it? C. J. EDWARDS.

**TIMES**  
Washington, D. C.

**WOMAN SUFFRAGE GETS INDORSEMENT**  
Negro National Educational Congress Approves Amendment.

After having endorsed the Hughes-Fairbanks candidacy Thursday, the Negro National Educational Congress closed its sessions here last night by an endorsement of woman suffrage and the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The convention empowered a committee to compile a text book of negro literature to be placed in libraries over the United States.

The resolution endorsing woman suffrage was introduced by the Rev. W. C. De Barry, and was adopted by the congress after several favoring speeches. Among the speakers at last night's session were John C. Dancy, Dr. J. R. A. Crossland, president of the congress, John H. Paynter and O. O. Nance.

The bulletin of negro facts issued by the Department of Commerce and the Census Bureau was endorsed by the congress, which expressed an appreciation of the work done by Charles E. Hall, William Jenifer, Robert A. Pelham and Director S. L. Rogers.

**GLOBE**  
Boston, Mass.

**Aim to Solidify Negro Vote**  
With the purpose of solidifying the negro vote of Middlesex County, the Middlesex Civic League met at the Enterprise Social Club, Cambridge, last night. Raymond Phillips of West Medford presided and among those present were Ex-Councillor Frank Wright of Cambridge, Dan Ware, Samuel McCoy and others.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

## HOLYOKE MACHINERY PLANT HIRES NEGROES

Thirty-five Employed at Present  
and Company Will Employ  
Others.

### BRINGING FAMILIES NORTH

The Men Have Made Good and the Company is Extending Every Possible Aid in Getting Them Settled in Massachusetts Town—Several Families Arrived Already, and Others Are On The Way

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

HOLYOKE, Mass.—Two and a half months' experience has proven that Negro mechanics can make good in the North. The opportunity for this demonstration was first told of in THE AGE of August 31, when it was stated that one of the largest machinery plants in this city would give employment to a number of colored artisans, at wages ranging from \$2 to \$4 per day, with chance for promotion to \$6 or more per day.

Information concerning this opening was laid before the National Urban League in New York and the officials of Tuskegee Institute. As a result there are now employed about 35 Negro mechanics, including machinists, foundrymen, pattern makers and laborers, in the shops of this company, and every man of the lot has more than made good. Officials of the company say that all of the men are steady and reliable, and the only criticism to be heard is concerning one man who is given to spending more time than he ought under the bright lights of Springfield.

It is interesting to note that the men have been assimilated into the city life without friction and with an entire absence of anything that bears the semblance of color prejudice. This is accounted for by the attitude of the officers of the company, the broad and liberal spirit of the townspeople and because the men coming here to work are, with hardly an exception, picked men whose character and standing at

their old homes were above reproach.  
Secure Desirable Quarters.

Another interesting fact to be noted is that there has been no effort to have the colored workmen live in colonies. Most of the single men and men whose families are not here are living in the various hotels of the city; that is, the hotels of the cheap, but desirable, class which cater to men only.

Those of the men who have already brought their families here, some seven or eight, are living in apartments in various parts of the city, within convenient distances of their work. In only one house can there be found two colored families. The apartments, of four and five rooms, are secured at a reasonable rent, and are equipped with all modern improvements, including steam heat. There is now enroute to this city a party of seven from Troy, Ala., made up of the wives and children of three families, who are coming to join their husbands and fathers. These would have already reached Holyoke, but the women were timorous about coming north by water. Transportation was provided through the office of the National Urban League, which called for the trip from Savannah to New York by the Ocean Steamship Line. But a telegram from the wife of one of the men to the office of the company here begged that they be furnished transportation by rail instead. The League was communicated with, and the change made, but of course, it caused a delay. The families will, however, reach here during the current week.

#### Company's Liberal Policy.

In this particular, the company pursues a most liberal policy. Not only was transportation furnished for the men originally to come to Holyoke, but now that they have made good, the company is advancing the necessary funds for the transportation of their families. This money the men are allowed to repay in small sums each week. In fact, until an employe is earning at least \$14 weekly, the company deducts nothing. For the regular employes of the company the minimum wage is \$13.50 per week, unskilled labor, with the possibility of advancing to \$18. But there is ample opportunity for overtime work paid for at an increased rate, and one of the men, by taking advantage of the overtime opportunity, has been making as much as \$40 per week. It is hardly advisable, as a regular thing, for a man to attempt this, because of a probable physical collapse, but it is comparatively easy for a man to earn \$20 to \$30 per week and have lots of time for himself.

Many of the men are taking advantage of the night schools, taking courses which will broaden their knowledge of shop practice, mechanics, etc. This, of course, is greatly to their advantage as it will lead to increased efficiency.

There is a great dearth of women for domestic service in this section, and

so there will be an opportunity also for those of the women who care to take advantage of it to secure positions. Women in domestic service can command good wages, perhaps even more than in the larger centers, as it is almost impossible for housewives to secure servants of any kind. As a rule, the southern raised women are good cooks and already housekeepers are asking for their help.

### Oklahoma and

2/25/16 Jim Crow!

The Oklahoma legislature has

been in session for the past few weeks and just before they closed they enacted an election law intended to disfranchise the colored voters of Oklahoma. There is a certain class of Democrats in this country as well as Oklahoma who do not respect the decisions of the courts. Now the Supreme court of the United States, the highest tribunal in the land has declared that the Grandfather Clause of Oklahoma to be unconstitutional. These same fellows who violated the laws of the United States by enacting and enforcing obnoxious laws against one particular class of people in that state are determined to get into trouble again. We have not read the text of the law as enacted but we can safely predict that the law will have no effect nor force upon the colored voter of Oklahoma, especially that class of men who care to vote and see that it is counted. It is time that that class of whites are getting their eyes open to the fact that colored men are not going to be bull-dozed or trampled upon because they are law abiding, peaceful and industrious citizens; but they are going to rise up in all their might and glory and demand the same rights at the ballot box and everything that pertains to law that is given all people the same right to enjoy free citizenship and we want that element of whites to know that they are building fire upon their heads when they attempt to disfranchise a class of people who own land and millions of dollars worth of personal property and are tax-payers and supporters of the government of the state. There is no reason why they should be disfranchised or any law

enacted to make them feel inferior to any race within the confines of that state and we know the colored people are not going to stand for these outrages any longer. They own too much property as we have already said, and have too much at stake to lay down and allow such an element to override the decision of courts and the laws of the land.

It is plain on the face of the bill offered that it was not satisfactory to a large number of white Democrats as well as Republicans and Socialists and this was demonstrated by the great confusion and caused several "knock-downs and drag-outs" over the discussion and passage of the bill. The Democrats had threatened to bring in a small-pox patient, who was a member of the legislature before they could pass the bill. When they have to resort to such measures to coerce people to vote for things they are not in favor of, then it is time that the good citizens should sit up and take notice and drive this class of people out as they are detrimental not only to themselves, but to a large majority of all citizens and we warn them that if they attempt to force a law of this kind to disfranchise the colored voters; Democratic Congressmen and United States Senators elected will forfeit their respective offices. The law is plain and no man can go to Congress or the Senate by intimidating or defrauding voters.

EVENING POST

New York City

## NEGROES WHO FAVOR WILSON'S RE-ELECTION

DELEGATION RECEIVED BY HIM  
AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

President Promises to Write a Message to the Hannibal National Democratic League of New York Giving His Views on Questions Affecting the Negro Race—Communication Presented to the President

by the Delegation at the Interview

[Special Correspondence of The Evening Post.]

WASHINGTON, August 28.—President Wilson to-day received a delegation of negroes from the Hannibal National Democratic League, who asked him to give them a message to the negro voters of the country. Mr. Wilson gave his visitors a long interview, and when they left the White House they were very much pleased, saying the President had promised to write them a communication apropos of the negro question.

"The message will satisfy the colored voters of the country," said Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Va., chairman of the delegation.

The delegation, which, besides Mr. Jackson, consisted of F. W. Jones, of Chicago; Benjamin Smith, of Hagerstown Md.; H. H. Price, of Richmond, Va., and Rufus L. Perry, of New York city, presented the following communication to the President:

The Hannibal National Democratic League, a negro political association with headquarters in the city of New York, at a meeting held on August 1 1916, in New York, elected Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Va., as its president and Rufus L. Perry, of New York, as secretary. The undersigned committee was appointed to convey to President Wilson greetings from the colored people of this country who desire his reelection and to assure him of the unanimous support of the Hannibal National Democratic League, and to petition him for a message of encouragement to the ten million negroes of this country.

The time has arrived when we as citizens no longer blindly follow appealing sentiment and misleading standards, irrespective of the common good, but, prompted by a spirit which seeks to preserve the traditional and conservative principles of Government and the administration of justice, discreetly determine and carefully choose those agents upon whom the grave and important responsibility rests as Chief Magistrate of our nation. With freedom of choice, the Hannibal League casts its fortune with the cause the President espouses and tenders him its support.

It has been universally acknowledged that this League assisted in a marked degree in the election of the President in 1912. It contributed thousands of votes, as has been admitted by our adverse critics. The League takes this occasion to congratulate the President upon the constructive legislation enacted during his Administration. There are those of our race who have from time to time attempted to criticize the President for not appointing to office colored men in recognition of the support given him in 1912 and for not recognizing certain individual leadership. We feel, however



ALBANY, N. Y.

## LETTING THE PEOPLE DO IT.

As is its habit, the New York Evening Post puts up as strong an argument as its contention admits against a constitutional amendment for the election of President by direct vote of the people. It is "unthinkable," it says, that the suppressed negro vote in the South should thus nullify that in other sections. In less degree, it adds, the varied qualifications for suffrage in different States, of which the women's vote is only the largest example, would introduce great inequalities. Further, there would be multiplied opportunities for fraud and trickery; now the attention of managers on both sides can be concentrated on a few States to prevent it, but

If the result turned on the popular vote, every one of the 100,000 election districts in the country would be capable of contributing its share to the uncertainty.

But all these considerations in their true and ultimate bearings really count for the change. It would operate directly to cure the abnormal situation in the South, where not only is the negro vote suppressed but the larger proportion of the white vote stays at home because it thinks there is no need of its coming out. The course the southerners took against the negro vote in the Seventies of the last century was made inevitable by the awful mess that was made of government there through an ignorant suffrage guided by carpet bag scoundrels. But it was none the less unfortunate and hurtful to the morals of political life where fairness and justice are essential to health. When forcible or fraudulent suppression was followed by the literacy tests and "grandfather" device to keep the darkies

from it was a second step in a curative process that needs full application of the democratic principle for its completion. More and more as the negroes are becoming able to read and write and so to meet these tests and discriminations, knowledge that their vote can count will further stimulate ambition to qualify them for the function; and in proportion as they rise, on the Booker Washington basis, to an intelligent, self respecting, property owning citizenship will their votes be sought by both parties and their lost "rights" be reclaimed.

Christian democracy in this country has been grappling with a problem such as has never been successfully

solved elsewhere in two such diverse places living peacefully side by side in equality before the law and in an aim toward amity and mutual helpfulness. However much to be regretted, however severe the strain upon our life, there was no way of avoiding this tremendous problem. Its working out has been full of tragic experience, as the nation's penalty for the sin of slavery. The end is not yet, but progress has been made such as no one 50 years ago would have dreamed to be possible. Nothing could do more to accelerate this progress, now that it can safely be done, than to extend the right and opportunity and duty of citizenship to every man so that he can see it as a concrete thing. Nothing could retard it more than to continue conditions of political hopelessness for any element of what must continue to be a part of our people.

Only in less degree the Democrats of Vermont or any other hopelessly one-sided State need this chance to make themselves an effective part of the government of their country. Nothing can contribute so much to overcoming that indifference to public duty, that lack of study or thought about it that is one of the most serious evils of the time.

Closer approach to uniformity of voting qualifications would be the natural result of a system that lodges deciding power directly with the people. All the practical inducements, all the moral forces would be in that direction.

Cheating will not be entirely eliminated, of course, nor bribery of voters. But the best guard against them is in local watchfulness, with the aid of the secret ballot, corrupt practices legislation and supervising control everywhere divided between the parties, instead of being lodged with one as Republican misrule has sought in some cases in this State. Sore experience has taught that safety is not to be found in the "concentrated" watchfulness of which the Post speaks, because the means of corruption are also "concentrated," though they will be lessened under the Democratic policy of eliminating huge prizes for greed from election results.

Perfection is not to be expected in any human system, but the most of good and least of evil is to be found in an extension of the democratic principle to do away with the electoral college device that was conceived in just the opposite idea.

REPUBLIC

St. Louis, Mo.

MAR 27 1916

## The Negro Vote.

To the Editor of The Republic.

The Ministers' Alliance of this city a few days ago published in one of our city papers words of praise for those who tried to help us win our fight against segregation. We praised all who worked hard in our behalf and proved our appreciation by deed in working against the measure in every possible legitimate way and voted against it.

The Republic was mentioned for its fair way in presenting points pro and con on the subject. The Post-Dispatch also received praise for its earnest, legal fight against segregation.

The very papers we had great confidence in threw us down cold by not even publishing one word in our favor, but these very papers were the first to announce the victory of the segregation amendment by a majority of three to one.

Not only did a Republican paper fail to "show us," but the party leaders who promised faithfully to help us did not give us the support they emphatically promised and assured would be given in overwhelming numbers.

The city employs about 350 to 400 negroes, who have been deceived. The negroes are now compelled to change their policy, even though they loved the Republican party that did much for us in the past.

From now on we will support the best man, regardless of party, for it's "the man behind the gun" that really is the determining factor.

The Democrats have not fished for our votes, but in the last few years they have done much for the unfortunate colored skins that are not black by choice.

HARRY HOWELL.

## Negroes Know Who Helped Them.

To the Editor of The Republic.

In answer to an article published this morning, wherein you state the strong efforts of the G. O. P. committee to force the negro employees to sign a petition thanking the members of the Republican City Committee for the efficient work they did in the fight against segregation, I wish to state that we, the negroes of the City of St. Louis, know just who did and who did not support us and we are not going to forget those who helped to segregate us, and we are going to stick to the white man who got out in public and showed his colors by fighting for the negro's rights, and also wish to say that we, the negroes of the City of St. Louis, are not going to let such men as Mr. William Robinson, the head janitor of the City Hall, try to blindfold us and go around trying to make the negro people of St. Louis sign petitions that are not worthy of any good, honest, thinking negro's signature.

The Republic says that Mr. Robinson is working night and day trying to get signatures in behalf of some people that claim that they supported the negro against segregation. Now, my opinion is that Mr. Robinson had better save some of that sleep and give a little more time to race pride. I do not see why Mr. Robinson would want to sell race pride for the sake of a petty janitor job. It is a wonder to me that he would not stop to think and have the same feeling that that negro had who said that he would lose his job driving a garbage wagon before he would give up his principles. Those are the kind of men that every race should be proud of.

4066 Fairfax, March 15.

J. J. MATTJOY.

12,533 CITIZENS  
QUALIFIED TO VOTE

## 548 Negroes Are Registered for Recall Election — Recallers Will Hold Meeting Monday Night.

The total number of voters registered for the recall election is 12,533. Of this number the negroes number 548.

The registration by wards is as follows:

First ward, 717.  
Second ward, 1,716.  
Third ward, 1,945.  
Fourth ward, 1,250.  
Fifth ward, 870.  
Sixth ward, 1,520.  
Seventh ward, 1,120.  
Eighth ward, 1,333.  
Ninth ward, 1,330.  
Tenth ward, 632.

### Third Ward Figures.

The number given for the third ward is not the exact official count and is approximated after a partial count. The official figures, which will not be given out until Monday, will not materially differ from those above.

The total registration for the last general city election was 11,704. That was the registration upon which the recall petitions were based.

The total registration for the last city primary was 10,601, including 393 negroes.

While the city registrar did not give out official figures as to the total number of negroes registered for the recall election, other counts made it 548. These counts of the negro registration by wards are as follows:

First ward, 188; second ward, 48; third ward, 51; fourth ward, 193; fifth ward, 21; sixth ward, 28; seventh ward, 4; eighth ward, 6; ninth ward, 6; tenth ward, 33.

### 30 Stenographers Employed.

There was no special news given out Saturday by either the recallers or the anti-recallers, but there seemed to be lots of work going on. About thirty stenographers are employed at both headquarters, the number at each being about equal. The mail is being flooded with campaign literature and every registered voter will get several communications between now and election day.

The only meeting announced, outside the small ward gatherings, is the rally by the recallers at the Atlanta theater Monday evening. The speakers have not been announced.

Everything will be ready for the election Wednesday. The city clerk has his polling places secured, the election managers have been notified, and the ballots have been printed.

Both sides will doubtless have many workers at the polls.

From

Address:

Date

DEC 20 1916

If the South disfranchises the negro he South ought to bear the consequences of his loss in representation. Every injustice which is tolerated and not set led as soon as it is discovered becomes a danger to the republic.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

From

Address

Date



# OUR COUNTRY— By OUR PRESIDENT *A History of the American People* By WOODROW WILSON

## AGAINST THE NEGRO VOTE.

Published by a special arrangement with the President through  
The McClure Newspaper Syndicate.

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Every device known to politicians, he right box.

every plan that could be hit upon that politicians had never before been driven to resort to, was made use of to reduce or nullify the Negro vote.

It was a great advantage to the men who had regained their power in the south that the whole machinery of elections, at least, was again in their hands. They had never before made such use of it.

The older traditions that surrounded the use of the ballot in the south were of the most honorable sort. But the poison of the reconstruction system had done its work—no man any longer found it hard to learn methods of mastery which were not the methods of law or honor or fair play.

The new election officers found many excuses for rejecting or ignoring the Negroes' voting papers. Voting places were often fixed at points so remote from the centres of population that only a small proportion of the Negroes could reach them during the hours for voting; or were changed without notice so that only the white voters who had been informed could find them readily.

In some cases, separate ballot boxes were used for the several offices to be filled at the elections, so lettered that the illiterate Negroes distinguished them with difficulty and so shifted in their order from time to time that the sequence in which they stood was constantly being changed, and no vote was counted which was not put into

In districts where the Negroes mustered in unusual numbers too few voting places were provided, and the voters were prevented from casting their ballots rapidly by premeditated delays of all sorts, so that the full vote of the district could not be cast. The southern legislatures hastened to adopt the device long ago originated by Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, and so divided the voting districts of the state as to segregate the Negroes within a few districts, whimsically drawn upon the map in such a way as to seek out and include the regions in which they were chiefly massed.

The "shoe-string" district contrived by the law-makers of Mississippi, which ran its devious way across the state for 300 miles with a width of but 20, became known the country over as a type of what was being done to cut the Negroes off from political power in the south.

Where such shifts and expedients failed of their desired result or could not be made use of actual fraud was practised. The less scrupulous partisans of the white party managers folded tissue ballot within their regular voting papers and overcame the Negro majority by multiple voting.

Dissuasion, too, and all the less noticeable means of intimidation, played their quiet part the while in keeping the Negroes away from the polls and the Negro vote fell off by the thousand.

There was presently nothing left of the one-time party organization of the Republicans in the south except that the federal office holders appointed by Republican presidents still essayed to

play an influential part among the Negroes, and hold them to their party allegiance.

Slowly cases tried under the various enforcement acts which had been meant to secure the Negroes against interference and intimidation in the exercise of their civil rights crept up, by appeal, to the supreme court of the United States and began one by one to be reached on its interminable docket; and in each case the court declared the powers congress had assumed in those acts clearly incompatible with the constitution.

The right of the Negroes to assemble and to bear arms, for example, which congress had sought to protect and which southern white men had repeatedly interfered with, was a right which they enjoyed, the court declared, as citizens of the states, not as citizens of the United States, and it was not competent for congress or the federal courts to punish individuals who interfered with it.

The power conferred upon congress by the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, to secure the Negroes equality of civil rights with the whites, was, it decided, a power given to be exercised in restraint of the states, not against individuals, as the act against the "conspiracies" of the Ku Klu had used it, and the states, not the federal government, must punish those who sought to destroy that equality.

The legislation which Gen. Grant had put so energetically into execution was unconstitutional and void. But it was 1882 before that sweeping conclusion was reached; the acts had been executed long ago and their consequences were complete.

Only the thought of constitutional lawyers and the course to be pursued by the federal government for the future were cleared by the belated decisions.

## How the Democratic Machine Defrauded the People of Alabama

*A Graphic Story of How Alabama Negroes Were Robbed of Their Right to Vote.*

By Hon. Joseph C. Manning, of Ala.

The Evening Tribune, Providence, R. I., Dec. 29th 1915.)

The Bourbon Democracy of Alabama, when the fraud system of holding back returns in the black belt counties was

exposed in Congress, set to work to bolster up minority government and the rule of the oligarchy through the disfranchisement subterfuge of diverting constitutional government.

The election to ratify the present Constitution of Alabama, with its disfranchisement clauses, was held Nov 11, 1901. The vote counted for its ratification was 108,613. The vote returned against its ratification was 81,734. The total number of males of voting age in Alabama—at the time—was 232,294 whites and 181,471 colored, making in all 413,765. The vote counted for the Constitution being 108,13, the voting population being 413,765, it appears that the 81,734 votes returned against the Constitution, plus 222,768 votes that failed or refused to vote upon this vital issue of government, gives the total of 304,142 votes which, to say the least, were not in sympathy with or in command of the leaders who returned the 108,613 ballots that were counted to enable a tyrannical machine to dominate the State's government.

It is quite interesting to inspect the character and the history and the composition of the 108,613 votes returned in approval of an organic law involving the fundamental rights and constitutional liberties of a free people. Let us analyze, for example, the vote for and against the ratification of the present Constitution of Alabama as returned from the six counties of Chambers, Dallas, Hale, Macon, Perry and Wilcox. The vote returned from Chambers county for the Constitution was 4604 and that against the Constitution 553. The white voting population of Chambers county at the time was 3457 and the colored 3380. Inasmuch as the vote returned for the Constitution, less the total white vote, 3457, leaves 1147 votes, the conclusion naturally follows that 1147 colored voters were recorded as having voted to disfranchise themselves. The colored vote of Chambers county prior to the adoption of the Constitution being 3380, if we deduct from this number the 1147 votes counted for the ratification of the Constitution, we find that 2223 Negro voters must have remained away from the polls to aid and abet the age was then 5028. Wilcox county, with a white voting population of 1707 and 5967 colored, voted 4652 for and 178 against the new Constitution. Through the list of the 16 black belt counties

there is the same showing of fraud. The returns from the six counties mentioned were sufficient to count in the fraud adopted organic law of the State. Out of a male voting population of 413,765, when this act went into effect, there was an announced registered vote of 181,000. The swirg of the Bourbon political axe has done its work and rule by an insolent oligarchy, government by a minority, was made secure in the hands of the Democratic political machine.

These facts show why and how the Democratic party is in the saddle in the South, for Alabama is no better or worse than the other Southern States in political exploitation of the masses of the people of the South.



Hon. Joseph C. Manning who understands Southern politics and conditions and who tells the truth about these conditions. He is eloquent and fearless and believes in full manhood rights for all citizens regardless of race or color. In this issue of the Colored Alabamian he is laying bare the methods that were used to disfranchise a race of true and loyal American citizens.



FOR CIRCULATION

Address

Date

NEGRO VOTES CAST

## IN WHITE PRIMARY

Names of 103 Colored Citizens  
Appear on Poll Sheets.

EIGHTH WARD DATA VARIES

Different Handwritings Appear  
Credited to Two Defendants.

ORIGINAL SHEETS MISSING

R. L. Reed and M. G. Schaedle,  
Clerks of Election in Second Pre-  
cinct of Eighth Ward, Apparently  
Did Not Write All Names of Sup-  
posed Voters.

The fact that 103 negroes were purported to have voted, or that the votes of as many colored citizens were placed in the ballot box as having proclaimed their choice for United States senator in a white primary held last November, was presented yesterday as evidence by the state during the trial of J. J. Griffin, judge; M. G. Schaedle and R. L. Reed, clerks of election of the Eighth Ward, Second Precinct, charged with violating the election laws.

The three defendants on trial before Judge T. W. Harsh are specifically charged with stuffing the ballot box of the precinct in which they served as officers of election to the extent of 200 votes on Nov. 20, 1915, in the senatorial primary.

The fact that more than 100 negro voters had announced their choice in the white Democratic primary, where no colored citizens were supposed to vote, was deduced by Attorney-General Z. N. Estes from the statement of D. B. Puryear, attorney, and M. R. Patterson's campaign manager at the time of the election, and who occupied the witness stand most of the day.

That the names of the negro voters appeared as white citizens and alleged balloters at the polls was declared by Mr. Puryear to have been discovered when the poll sheets as alleged to have been kept by Schaedle and Reed were compared with the registration books of the precinct.

From photographic copies of the poll sheets, introduced by the state in lieu of

the missing original, Mr. Puryear claimed a comparison was made with the registration books which showed the names of negro voters to have been copied freely and promiscuously from the registration books.

### Poll Sheets May Be Lost.

That the original poll sheets may have been lost in the general hue and cry raised following the election and the effort made to obtain indictments in the federal court, seems a possibility.

At a late hour yesterday afternoon Attorney-General Z. N. Estes failed to receive any further information regarding the poll sheets from L. B. Orms, secretary of the state Democratic committee. The sheets were promised to be on hand by express not later than Thursday morning.

To prevent any possibility of any change in the names as they appeared on the signed sheets and to offset their possible loss, Mr. Puryear and his fellow Patterson member of the primary committee in Shelby County, Ike Crabtree, had the sheets photographed.

The photographic copies of the sheets offered as evidence by Attorney-General Estes were attacked by Ralph Davis, attorney for the three defendants, in his cross-examination of Mr. Puryear. Mr. Puryear stated on examination of the records on the witness stand that there were any number of varieties of different handwritings on the poll sheets as evidenced by the photographic copies. As to whose handwriting Mr. Puryear was not prepared to state. However, he claimed and was substantiated by William Creagan, ex-justice of the peace, and the third witness of the day, that Schaedle and Reed served as clerks of election and had the poll sheets in their charge.

### Counsel Frequently Clashed.

The testimony of Mr. Puryear began with the opening of court and the swearing of the jury. The case, which promises to be a long drawn out one, was marked frequently by clashes of counsel for the state and defense Thursday morning until Judge Harsh announced that he would fine the first interrupting party. More than half a dozen exceptions to the rulings of Judge Harsh were noted by Mr. Davis.

Mr. Puryear in his testimony stated that he had visited the polls of the Eighth Ward, second precinct, on the afternoon of the election and found Justice of the Peace Griffin serving as judge of election. He said that no irregularity was noted at the time, and it was not until after the returns were in that the matter was discovered in the checking up of the various wards.

He was followed on the stand by Ike Crabtree. Mr. Crabtree's testimony was similar to that of Mr. Puryear. Mr. Crabtree was followed by Mr. Creagan, the last witness of the day.

Mr. Creagan testified that he had served as an officer of election and had remained at the polls continuously during the election, with the exception of an hour and a half, when he went home for dinner.

He could not identify the various handwritings on the poll sheets, but stated that either Schaedle or Reed had served as clerks of election during the day and had to his knowledge written the names as they appeared on the poll sheet photographs.

Mr. Creagan followed Mr. Puryear's statements in his inability to distinguish the various handwritings on the poll sheets. The photographs were then passed around to the jury for examination.

Following the nonappearance of several

ess: Providence, R. I.

AUG 13 1916

### Mr. Hughes and Woman Suffrage

To the Editor of the Sunday Journal:

The indorsement of the so-called Susan B. Anthony Federal amendment by candidate Hughes will not aid his candidacy. Right and wise as it is for the States to confer suffrage upon women, it should be sought and can only be had through State action, State by State.

Suffrage has always been a State matter, save as the 14th and 15th amendments to the Federal Constitution imposed the suffrage of the negro race and the former slaves upon all the States. Those constitutional amendments were right and necessary, but they were practically war measures (called the war amendments at the time). Their submission to the States by Congress and ratification by the requisite three-fourths of the States, were only obtained by a military reconstruction of the old slave States by acts of Congress which were extra constitutional, only possible and only justifiable because of conditions resulting from the great war.

It is to-day quite impossible to obtain the ratification by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States to a constitutional amendment interfering with the question of suffrage in the States.

The Southern States have never yet become reconciled to negro suffrage. With the gradual uplift of the race whose suffrage was forced upon the white populations of the South, those States will become reconciled. It will require at least one more generation. No one doubts this. At the present time, and for many years to come, suffrage for women will be inevitably regarded as aggravating the mischiefs of negro suffrage.

The South is very conservative on the woman suffrage question anyway, and when it is complicated with the negro suffrage question the repugnance to Federal action which shall force woman suffrage upon it becomes utterly unconquerable. There are 15 Southern States, with large negro populations, not counting West Virginia. If 13 States withhold ratification, a constitutional amendment cannot be ratified. There are 15 anti-suffrage States in the South alone.

Turning to the North, it is the height of unreason to suppose that the Legislature of any State whose electorate rejects suffrage will ratify an amendment to force woman suffrage on all the States. No less than 12 Northern States have rejected suffrage at the polls. There are others which have not voted on the question, in which it would have at the present time no chance of adoption.

It is unthinkable that any of these anti-suffrage States will ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment until suffrage shall be accepted by their own people. On the other hand, many States have adopted suffrage by popular vote, and are content. The only practicable way is to try it out in the suffrage States, and rely upon their example and influence to gradually widen the suffrage area.

A part, and only a part, of the organized suffrage women have come to regard a Federal amendment as a short

cut to success. Are they yielding to a sense of discouragement because the cause loses in so many States, and so demand to have suffrage forced upon unwilling States? That way is as wrong as it is unwise. By threatening to defeat any presidential candidate who does not pledge his support to the Federal amendment, they antagonize millions of American men and women.

Both the Republican and Democratic platforms express their approval of suffrage, but declare it a State question. Now comes Mr. Hughes, and, while avoiding any pledge in his formal acceptance speech, gives his personal opinion in favor of the Federal amendment.

As he left it out of his formal acceptance, the inference is that as President he would stand upon the Republican platform, and would not urge his party in Congress to submit the Federal amendment. He has plainly sought to win the votes of the faction of women who claim to control many electoral votes. They asked not for bread; but for a stone, and he gives it to them.

He did not vote on the question at all when it was before the people of New York, in 1915. Now he tells the women, on the side, that he would be glad to see suffrage forced on New York.

He knows it is impossible.

President Wilson went home to New Jersey to cast his vote in 1915 for suffrage. He has steadily declared it a question for the States, and he refuses to be coerced or cajoled into an attempt to drag Congress into submitting to the States a Federal amendment, which would be certain of rejection, and the very pendency of which would tend to put to sleep the agitation for suffrage in the States, State by State, which is the only right way and the only possible way.

There is, indeed, a possible compromise, which no one seems to propose, and that is a constitutional amendment prohibiting sex discrimination by any State in elections for Congress and President. That would have a slightly better chance of ratification and would be more consistent with our constitutional history. If the President should suggest this, he would be giving bread when only a stone was asked.

EDWIN C. PIERCE.

Edgewood, Aug. 6.

Nashville, Tenn. 10-27-16  
THE CHICAGO WAITERS.

No one should be more free than President Wilson in expressing his admiration for the thirty Negro waiters who took advantage of his visit to Chicago to compel a 50 per cent increase in wages for their services. The increase was secured without investigation or arbitration, just as the trainmen, with the president's help, secured a 25 per cent increase in wages. The waiters were a little coarse in demanding their raise without claiming that their hours of labor were too long, but all the more credit must be given them on that account. When your club is long enough to knock off the persimmon why not go ahead and knock it off without trying to justify your action

to the fellow on the other side of the street?

The resourceful Chicago waiters had been employed by the Press Club steward to serve the Wilson banquet. They reported for duty, and everything progressed nicely until just as the guests were about to take their places at the tables. Then the waiters quietly took off their coats and signified their intention of walking out unless the 50 per cent wage increase were promptly forthcoming. It was obvious to the management that if the dinner was to be served on time the demand would have to be granted. It was granted forthwith and the strike averted. President Wilson had kept the guest out of the loss of their dinners.

The Press Club should not be criticised as Congress has been criticised for granting a wage increase under duress. The Press Club was in an awkward dilemma. It had invited President Wilson to be the guest of honor at a dinner given by it. Its officers simply couldn't go to the president and tell him that the dinner could not be given because they had refused to grant the waiters a wage increase rather than put up with a general strike. Think for a moment how that would look after what congress, under the leadership of President Wilson, had done for the trainmen in a similar situation. No, the Press Club officials, as his pitiable hosts, simply had to do what they did in the hour of emergency.

It is safe to conclude, however, that no commission of investigation will be appointed to determine whether waiters at future Press Club dinners shall be given the 50 per cent raise granted under duress for the Wilson dinner.



Political - 1916

Suffrage  
TRIBUNE

Providence, R. I.

OCT 14 1916

# ADMINISTRATION HATCHING OUT MANY BAD EGGS, VOTERS ARE TOLD

Great Enthusiasm at Second Rally of Colored Citizens' Republican Club at Infantry Hall.

The second campaign rally of the Colored Citizens' Republican Association was held last evening in upper Infantry Hall with a mixed audience, a long list of speakers and great enthusiasm. It ended just before midnight.

President Lopez presided and presented the speakers in order, Charles N. Richardson, Republican nominee for Representative in the Fifteenth District, leading off with a forceful address on the issues of the day. He was followed by R. H. McLaughlin and Stephen D. Paddock, two young speakers sent out by the Speakers' Bureau.

Rev. W. Bishop Johnson, LL. D., of Washington, D. C., delivered the address of the evening, a semi-humorous, semi-serious effort which held the closest attention of the audience and was frequently punctuated with applause and laughter.

John C. Minkins declared that the greatest question before the American negro to-day is the protection of his rights which have been encroached upon by Democrats until there is little left wherever Democrats are in control of government, State or national. He asserted that it was more important to protect the hair on a man's head than the wool on a sheep's back, or the products of a mill, and deprecated the apparent overshadowing of human rights by what he called "pocket nerve," the most vital force in American politics to-day, unfortunately.

Col. H. Anthony Dyer said a warm tribute to the loyalty and worth of the negro, and told several humorous stories which had the audience roaring with laughter.

Mr. Johnson, who has been pastor of one church in Washington for nearly 40 years, declared that the Democratic party has taken away from colored people Federal positions paying \$19,000,000 annually and cited a list of 52 representative colored men who had been removed from office by President Wilson to make room for hungry Democrats. He said that "there is any negro in this audience who intends to vote the Democratic ticket show him to me so that I can kill him before I go home," and he likened the Wilson Administration to a hen that has been hatching out bad eggs, declaring that the railroad strike legislation was the worst yet hatched out and no one could possibly tell all the ill-effects it would have. He asserted that after the European war closes "boom business" in this country will fall flat and it will require the best statesmanship in the country to deal with the situation, which will

be infinitely more difficult than was the condition following the Civil War in this country.

On the platform were seated Col. William M. P. Bowen, Rev. Jacob S. Wiley, who read two humorous poems, both prophetic, and presented the speaker of the evening, Rev. M. F. Sydes, and the speakers, Secretary Nathan W. Wright of the Republican State Central Committee was in the audience. Secretary C. Thomas Pierson read letters of regret from Senator Henry F. Lippitt, Gov. Beekman and R. H. I. Goddard.

From

Address

Date

The Two-Party Question

"The boys back home" were the ones to put an effectual check on the move in the State committee to bring on a really formidable internecine row in the party in Georgia. The man running for the State-wide office is thoroughly able to command the allegiance of his friends scattered throughout the State only as long as his policies and plans do not tend to embarrass his following in sponsoring them because of adverse and unpopular application in the small local elections. At the same time there can be little doubt but that, universal white suffrage now having become a practicality instead of a hypothesis, we have not much left of what is known as a Democratic primary. It is a white primary, after all, was so organized and has so operated. About its only recognized restraints have been the inferential inhibition of the man who votes in a primary to support the nominees of that particular primary. There have been considerable bolts in time past, but never has the nominee been at all endangered in a State-wide election. As long as our main concern is the negro, we may well let the primary stand interpreted just as it has been in recent years, for it does absolutely nullify negro suffrage. They never even think of trying to vote now. Their ambition may never reasonably be expected to work in that direction, either. It has gotten now that it isn't the form of the primary that keeps them out of the general election, and the negro realizes thoroughly that his best interests in every way, dependent as they

are almost solely on the friendship and co-operation of the Southern white man, can best be conserved by his forgetting there is such a thing as a ballot box. In fact, so readily and clearly has this felicitous state of affairs come to be recognized that among delegates of all classes to the State convention in Macon there was considerable two-party talk, based on the belief of the talkers that not even two militant parties in Georgia would ever bring the negro back into politics.

There are a great many men who, although staunch Democrats, stand to welcome two-partyism in Georgia. They believe it will be better for the whole South. The men who supported the oathbound ballot before the State committee Wednesday realized fully that such a ballot would form forthwith the foundation for a really workable, hopeful, and much to be considered Republican party in the State of Georgia. In fact, they welcomed such a resultant. "I don't know but what it's time for two parties in this State" was a common declaration. "Let's get the sheep and the goats in separate pasture fields, under their right names."

If the situation is so regulated that the negro need never be considered as a possibility between two fighting parties in this State, The Telegraph can see some advantages in a two-party condition—but not brought about as contemplated in the State committee Wednesday. The General Assembly is the body to provide for that by repealing its present creature, generally known as the "universal white primary" law, sponsored and engineered by Hoke Smith to bring his Populistic friends back into the party, and enacting what will be a real party primary law. If the Democrats do not want the Republicans who vote the G. O. P. ticket in national elections to vote in either county or State Democratic, so-called, primaries, even though of proven allegiance to the specific primary voted in, then the State government should be appealed to to wipe out the primary law that has come to be looked upon, and has been so construed for several elections, as letting any white man, twenty-one years of age, register and vote if he pays the necessary taxes. The proposed new law would force both Democrats and Republicans to hold separate white primaries, the party line would be cleanly and certainly marked, factions would be openly placed so that under the Constitution of the State there could be come-back after the final open, well-defined and easily placed contested balloting in the State, which would be the general election. If these gentlemen want that class wearing the name of Democrat so as to make their influence felt in local and State elections, and generally faithful to the primary they enter, vote the national Democratic ticket unquestioningly as an additional earnest of sincerity of participation in the State, or anti-negro, primaries, to leave the party entirely because of national affiliations, they can easily bring it about, by amending the State's, not the party's, electoral machinery to that effect. But to have done it in the committee would merely have churned the whole State into a nasty,

profitless, wicked internecine political uproar, the upshot of which no man might tell. Luckily the men close to the aroma of the soil and the fundamental conditions out in the country, which means the State, knew better, so counselled and so acted. As a result of their action Woodrow Wilson is not in the slightest trouble in Georgia today, nor may he in any human reason be expected to be in November. And just now that's the paramount.

## OKLAHOMA KILLS DEMOCRATS' NEW FRANCHISE BAR

The N.Y. Times 8/10/16

Oklahoma City, Aug. 3.—The new race disfranchisement scheme has failed and the Democrats are in despair.

Reliable returns from 800 out of 2,500 precincts in the State had been received by Chairman Arthur H. Meisner of the Republican State Committee this evening, which show that the same ratio being carried out the literary test amendment offered by the Democrats voted on at the primary yesterday will be defeated by from 15,000 to 20,000. The vote against the amendment is consistent, and the returns are spread out to every section of the State, reflecting in general the sentiment relative to the measure. In some sections the returns show a small margin against the measure, while in other sections the difference against it is more than normal. In Haskell county, one of the complete counties heard from to-day, the amendment had been defeated by more than three to one.

The majority against the literary test has been increasing since the first returns came in. There was no slump one way or the other. Sometimes the gain was small, but always a gain, until the 800 precincts show the measure is certainly lost by a well defined majority. The biggest vote polled against it comes from the country. For instance, in the city of Ardmore the measure carried by a small majority, but when the vote came in from the country it overcame the city majority and showed that county as a whole much against it.



From .....  
Address: .....  
Date: .....  
Journal  
Wilmington, Del.  
NOV 29 1916

## THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

SOME FACTS THAT POINT A MORAL.

Edited By Miss Mary A. Ospina, Delaware Chairman Congressional Committee N. A. W. S. A.

Bear these items in mind and remember that three-fourths of the men of our nation have received the vote as the direct or indirect gift of the naturalization laws; that the Federal Government enfranchised the Indians, assuming its authority upon the ground that they are wards of the nation; that the negroes were enfranchised by Federal amendment; that the Constitutions of all States not in the list of the original thirteen, automatically extended the vote to men; that in the original colonial territory, the chief struggle occurred over the elimination of the land-owning qualification and that a total vote necessary to give the franchise to non-landowners, did not exceed 50 to 75 thousand in any State.

Let us not forget that the vote is the free will offering of our 48 States to any man who chooses to make this land his home. Let us not overlook the fact that every five years of late an average of one million immigrant voters are added to our electors' lists—a million men and mainly uneducated and all moulded by European traditions. To these men, women of American birth, education and ideals must appeal for their enfranchisement. No humiliation could be more complete; unless we add the sorrowful fact that leaders of Americanism in Congress and Legislature are willing to drive their wives and daughters to beg the consent of these men to their political liberty.

Let us return to South Dakota a moment. During the Civil War there was an uprising of the Sioux Indians, who occupied a reservation covering a large part of the territory now comprising that State. These Indians instituted one the cruelest and most savage massacres in our history. They committed atrocities upon women so indescribably indecent that they were never recorded in ordinary history.

By 1890, the numerous efforts to win them to civilization had culminated in an offer of land in severalty and if accepted in good faith, these land owners were promised the vote. Their blanketed representatives sat in the Republican Convention of that year and took their first lesson in American politics. In 1916, I am reliably informed that there are 5,000 Sioux voters in the State of South

Dakota and that they may prove the balance of power in November to decide whether women who have borne the burdens of pioneer life shall be permitted the vote. How much the schools have taught them of human liberty within the last quarter of a century I do not know, but I opine that they will make congenial allies to the Antis.

To my mind, the considerations aroused by such facts entirely outweigh any philosophy which supports the theory of suffrage by "State rights."

Again, let us not forget that while our struggle continues in this supposedly democratic land, women have been enfranchised within a year in three provinces of Canada nearly equal in extent to all our territory East of the Mississippi; in Denmark and Iceland by majority vote of their respective Parliaments. All signs indicate the early enfranchisement of the women of Great Britain by the same process.

Why, then, should American women be content to beg the vote on bended knee from man to man, when no American male voter has been compelled to pay this price for his vote and no woman of other countries is subjected to this humiliation? Shall a Republic be less generous with its womanhood than an Empire? Shall the government be less liberal with its daughters than with its sons?

The makers of this Constitution provides for the amendment of the Constitution by referendum to the Legislatures of the various States. Why should we hesitate to avail ourselves of the privileges thus created? We represent one land and one people. If the advocates of State rights, who are championing national prohibition, the Child Labor Law and the Eight-hour Law, have been enacted by co-operation of the same members of Congress. It will be a curious kind of logic that can uphold these measures as national, yet relegate woman suffrage to the States.

From "Election Frauds and Defects."—Excerpts from "The Crisis," by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, President N. A. W. S. A.

TIMES

New York City  
AUG 30 1916

## HOW WOULD MR. HUGHES TAKE A SUFFRAGE VOTE?

By J. HAMPDEN DOUGHERTY.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

**M**R. HUGHES and Mr. Roosevelt, one an ex-President, the other a would-be President of the United States, are either ignorant of the Constitution or are guilty of evasion in their so-called unequivocal support of a Federal amendment establishing woman suffrage. Mr. Roosevelt says that "Mr. Hughes has unequivocally taken the right position." I purpose to show that neither he nor Mr. Roosevelt has taken any clear and definite stand at all.

The two leading parties substantially agree in their platforms that the extension of the electoral franchise to women is a matter to be settled in the various States. Only a fraction of the advocates of woman suffrage favor the passage of an amendment to the Federal Constitution. President Wilson, who is unqualifiedly for giving women the vote, maintains that each State should decide for itself whether to give the vote to women or not, and so long as our present dual form of government is preserved it would seem that the question is preëminently one to be determined in the several States. In this position I am in full accord with the President.

In his speech of acceptance Mr. Hughes began by accepting his party's creed—that this question should be decided in the various States—but the next day executed a complete volte de face and declared it to be his opinion that female suffrage ought to be secured by a Federal amendment. Notwithstanding this change of ground on Hughes's part, President Wilson courageously adheres to his party's program; even though it may cost him votes he will not deviate from the course which seems to him philosophically right. But let us see to what the Hughes declaration amounts. It may not have been intended to delude the friends of woman suffrage, but it is almost incredible that a candidate for the Presidency should be so exceedingly ignorant of the Constitution. That instrument tells how amendments are to be adopted. It says: "The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution; or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States or by

conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress. . . ."

According to the Constitution, Congress, in passing a proposed amendment, decides whether to submit the amendment for ratification by the Legislatures of the States or by conventions in the States. If it should decide that an amendment should be ratified by conventions in the respective States it would in effect relegate the decision to voters in the respective States, which, of course, is what the women who are seeking a Federal amendment do not desire, as they are afraid of the popular vote. Were Mr. Hughes or Mr. Roosevelt unequivocal in their utterances, they would say whether they favor submission by Congress of an amendment to the State Legislatures or to State conventions, and this they have failed to do. To say, as does Mr. Hughes, that he favors a Federal amendment, is not going half far enough. To be explicit, he should say whether he would have Congress submit the amendment for ratification to the Legislatures of the States or to popular conventions to be called therein. It would not do for him to say that he would leave the decision of that question to Congress. What the women of the country who favor a Federal amendment wish to know is precisely where he stands. They should ask him to answer some such question as this:

"You say that you go beyond your party and believe that Congress should adopt an amendment to the Federal Constitution. But how should the ratification by the States be had? Should Congress resolve to call for ratification by State Legislatures, or by State conventions? If you believe in ratification not by State conventions, but by State Legislatures, do you really think that Congress would propose such a method of ratification when the platform of both parties declare that the settlement of the suffrage question is a matter to be determined in the several States?"

This device of a Federal amendment may be an excellent way of accomplishing the defeat of woman suffrage. Nobody expects the present Congress to adopt an amendment. Assume the next Congress to do so. The question will then arise, how that amendment shall be submitted to the States for ratification. New York State is likely to have a Constitutional Convention to revise its own Constitution in session in the Spring of 1918, and other large States may concurrently be considering

the woman suffrage question. Is it likely that Congress would, if it passed an amendment to the Federal Constitution, direct its submission to State Legislatures and thus in effect deprive the people of a State like New York of the right to vote upon this important subject? Is it not more likely that Congress would postpone action upon any proposed Federal amendment until after the New York State convention had adjourned? Moreover, would not the adoption of even the consideration of an amendment by Congress lead the enemies of woman suffrage to sidetrack any State amendment in the State convention, on the ground that the subject was to be disposed of by Congress?

This notion of a Federal amendment is likely to injure and retard the suffrage movement rather than help women to a vote. Furthermore, assume an amendment passed by Congress and ratified by the States either through their Legislatures or through State conventions. The amendment would be of no actual value until enforced by appropriate legislation. How long would it take to get such legislation? And what should be its nature? It would not be possible to cut down State representation in Congress if the several States did not pass laws giving women the vote, as is possible under the Fourteenth Amendment in the case of the colored vote, for that amendment applies only to the negro vote. President Wilson is philosophically right in insisting that this is a purely State question, not only so, but probably the quickest way of getting action is through the several States by amendment to their constitutions. But the particular point which I wish to press is, that Mr. Hughes, far from being unequivocal in his utterance, is ambiguous, and that he should say whether he advocates submitting a Federal amendment to the State Legislatures or to State conventions, which, in other words, is its submission to the people.

New York, Aug. 11, 1916.

*The New York Age*  
**HUGHES COLORED CLUB**

**FORMED AT CORNING**

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

CORNING, N. Y.—Negro voters of Steuben county are actively working for the election of former Governor Charles E. Hughes, Republican candidate for President, and to that end have organized a Steuben County Hughes Colored Club. The organization was formed at 168 East Market street, with the following officers:

Robert Jones of Addison, president; H. H. Brown of Corning, vice-president; William F. Mann of Corning, treasurer; Henry errine Fredericks of Corning, secretary; Fred Wert of Corning, assistant secretary. Associated in the organizing of the club was the Rev. Z. A. Jones, and more than three hundred voters have enrolled as members of the club.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage OREGON AND THE NEGRO.

If any one were looking around for instances of race prejudice with the negro as its object he would scarcely think of going to Oregon to find it.

But a remarkable story comes out of the far northwestern state, which refused by a majority vote in the recent general election to eliminate the negro anti-suffrage plank from its constitution, notwithstanding it is in direct contravention of the constitution of the United States, and therefore void.

When the national constitution was amended, conferring the right of suffrage upon all classes of citizens, irrespective of race, color or previous condition of servitude, it naturally repealed and invalidated the anti-negro suffrage provision in the constitutions of such states as had it. Oregon was one of these, but it has been allowed to stand without repeal, regardless of its impotence.

Recently it was decided to submit to the voters of that state the question of repealing the prohibition upon the negro vote, in order to make Oregon's constitution accord in that respect with the federal constitutional requirement. There was in the proposal no question involved as to whether the negro should be allowed or should not be allowed to vote. That had already been settled by the federal government. The proposal, therefore, was purely a matter of form in bringing state and federal constitutions into harmony.

But did Oregon enact it? Not a bit of it. By a majority of 700 votes in a total vote of 200,728 she retained the anti-suffrage provision in her constitution.

In other words, 100,701 voters declared against its elimination, and why? The Oregon Voter, a weekly magazine published at Portland, answers:

Prejudice against the colored races was mainly responsible for the impotent negative vote. Some authorities ascribe the 100,701 "Noes" to crass ignorance. Ignorance there was, no doubt, but the race prejudice was reflected nevertheless, and to our knowledge many voted "No" in a spirit of protest, realizing full well that the vote could have no effect on the citizenship of the negro.

As an illustration of how little preaching and practice may sometimes accord, the incident is both interesting and remarkable.

The negro is gradually learning, as the result of cases of this sort, of the treatment which is all too frequently accorded him in the home of his pretended defender, in the suffering and hardship which he has been compelled to endure when persuaded to emigrate to colder northern climates in response

to the demands for cheap labor, that not only is the south the best place for him, but that here he finds his real and, perhaps, his only friends.

## A Plea for White Men To Stand by the Primary

Editor Constitution: It is to be regretted that conditions should make it necessary for the daily press of Atlanta to urge the people to go to the polls on the day fixed for the election of mayor and council members and vote for the nominee.

The times are fraught with evil when any number of our people feel that they have the right to ignore the nominating pledge merely to gratify a prejudice that has grown out of the agitation of a question and a condition for which the nominee is in no way responsible.

Mr. Asa G. Candler was nominated after the issues of the campaign had been subjected to the widest publicity, and after the personality of the opposing candidates had been put under the glass, as it were, of analytical scrutiny.

By an overwhelming majority Mr. Candler was nominated. All classes of our people, the laboring man, the salesman, the office man, the merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, the professional man, all went into the contest of ballots under the pledge that they would abide the result.

This is the democratic way which Atlanta has adopted to make her selections for office by and from the white vote of our city. To endanger this plan by captious opposition is to put in the entering wedge, the success of which means the end of white supremacy.

Without discussing the relative merits of the two candidates for mayor we all know that Mr. Candler was nominated in answer to the popular demand for a thoroughly representative citizen in the executive office.

This being true, it becomes the duty of all who voted in the primary to see to it that the will of the people as then expressed is given overwhelming approval in the general election.

We promised to abide the will of the majority. Let us keep the pledge—not by refusing to vote for the opposing candidate, but by going to the polls and voting for the nominee, Mr. Candler.

BENJAMIN M. BLACKBURN.

s:

## NEGRO CLUB FORMED BY ANTIS IN KENT RATIFIES THE TICKET

Disaffection Stirred Up By Alfred I  
duPont Lieutenants Seems  
Allayed

Dover, Del., Aug. 26.—Despite the efforts of Alfred I. duPont and his discredited lieutenants in Kent county to sacrifice Senator Henry A. duPont on the altar of personal revenge by placing a third ticket in the field endorsing another candidate for United States Senator, the conviction is growing in this vicinity that the great bulk of the Republican voters are opposed to such action, and in any case will line up solidly behind the Republican ticket nominated at the State convention on Tuesday.

Especially significant is the action of the Hughes-Fairbanks Colored Republican Club of Dover in adopting a resolution to support the Republican State ticket as named by the convention, for this club is an anti-Organization off-spring and was organized prior to the primaries for the sole purpose of defeating the Organization, which purpose, as is well known, utterly failed.

The endorsement of this club plainly indicates that the Republican ticket as nominated on Tuesday will receive the united support of Kent county negroes, and will receive the support of the white voters, who are true to their Republican principles, and who recognize the fact that the fight against Senator duPont is being waged for personal reasons, goes without saying. In fact, the only ones who talk of a third ticket are the few anti-Organization, or insurgent leaders, who are sore over the fact that they were repudiated so strongly at the polls last Saturday, and who are still in the game to wreck the Republican party and to give the Senatorship to a Democrat.

There is a prevailing belief that the opposition to the Republican organization was in some measure beneficial to the party, as it resulted in the nomination, by the Republican convention, of one of the strongest tickets that has ever been offered to the voters.

It is believed that the present agitation over the Senatorship will soon die out, despite the frantic efforts of Alfred I. duPont, J. Frank Allee, Benjamin Groves and a few others of the same type, to fan it into a flame of opposition to Senator duPont. Fortunately, the average Republican voter can see through Alfred I.'s scheme to wreak his personal revenge upon his kinsman through the Republican party, and needless to say very few of them will lend themselves to his plans. The Republican voters of Kent county, and throughout the State as well, are not prepared to sacrifice their party to satisfy the animosity of one man, nor are they willing to become the tools of that man in his party-wrecking manipulations.

It is also pointed out that prior to the convention the anti-Organization leaders distributed much literature in which they disclaimed the charge that they were party wreckers and pledged themselves to support the nominees of the State convention. Because they did not have sufficient strength to control that convention is no reason why they should break these pledges and refuse to support the entire ticket nominated.

REPUBLIC

St. Louis, Mo.

## NEGROES DEMAND REPUBLICAN BIG 4 ALTERNATE PLACES

Alleged Double-Cross in Segregation Election May Be Issue at  
Excelsior Springs.

The negroes in Missouri are demanding that four of their race be elected as the four alternates at large to the Republican National Convention. Efforts are being made to compromise with them.

The inactivity of John Schmoll and members of the Republican City Committee in the recent segregation election has been heralded throughout the State. The negroes still contend they were "double-crossed."

Schmoll is slated to be one of the four delegates at large. The negroes started a concerted fight against Schmoll, but the latter, through the influence of Jacob L. Babler, chairman of the State Committee, has almost enough votes pledged to make him one of the "Big Four."

A. L. Shapleigh, with the support of Otto F. Stifel, Charles Nagel, Cleveland A. Newton, Cyrus P. Walbridge, Edmond Koeln and former Supreme Judge Henry Lamm, will oppose Schmoll for this honor. Former Gov. Hadley and Babler are almost certain to be selected.

Stifel Eyes Committeeman Place. There promises to be a fight over the election of National Committeeman. Otto F. Stifel, who four years ago was defeated for the position, will go to the post if the track looks good. He could be elected if Kiel, Schmoll and Koeln would make peace.

Thomas K. Niedringhaus is anxious to succeed himself. Hadley wants to give this important place to former Game Warden Jesse Tolerton of Springfield, while most of the members of the Republican State Committee think Babler would be the ideal man.

It is not believed the Committee on Resolutions at the State convention will devote much time to drafting a platform. The Republican leaders are in a quandary as to what will be done at Chicago.

They do not want to adopt a platform which may conflict with planks

to be manufactured at the National Convention. They may type out a few sentences reaffirming their faith in a high protective tariff; tell the need of some rule for St. Louis so the lid can be permanently lifted, and urge that the word harmony be restored in the Republican political dictionary of the State. This probably will be the gist of the platform.

No Pullman for Negroes.

Apprehensive of "black hand" work in the convention, Schmoll and Mayor Kiel are trying to placate the negroes by promising them the badges of the four Alternates at Large. Upstate Republicans are willing to cater to the negroes for their past support only to the extent of dividing the four places between white and black Republicans.

Local negro leaders are not satisfied with the half a loaf, and threaten to create a scene at the State convention, which meets Thursday at Excelsior Springs, unless they get the four alternate at large badges.

The negroes on the pay roll at the City Hall are trying to restore harmony by promising transportation to and from the convention to negro delegates. Nothing is said, however, of Pullman sleepers for the black delegates. Schmoll has arranged for the negroes an ordinary day coach to be attached to the special train of Pullmans, which will convey the white delegates to the State convention. This particular coach will be "reserved" for the negro delegates, and they will not be permitted by the Committee on arrangements to mingle with the whites.

TIMES

New York City

Negro Disfranchisement.

A. T. W. and A. C.—Negroes have been practically disfranchised in the States of Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, and Maryland. The chief method used in disfranchising the negro in the Southern States has been and is a high educational test as a qualification for voting, which includes the ability to "interpret" any part of the State Constitution. The so-called "grandfather clause," by which any person who voted in or before 1867 or 1868, (the details of the law differed in different States,) was entitled to a vote, was nullified by the United States Supreme Court for the States of Maryland and Oklahoma on June 21, 1915. The first Constitutional Convention disfranchising the negro was that held in Mississippi in 1890, when the educational qualification mentioned above was made part of the Constitution of the State. Previous to that time the imposition of a poll tax was for some years effective in the Southern States. The other constitutional means of disfranchising the negro, to quote Professor Charles A. Beard's "Contemporary American History," are "a small property qualification" and "the wide extension of disfranchisement for crimes by including such offenses as obtaining money under false pretenses, adultery, wife-beating, petit larceny, fraudulent breach of trust, among those which work deprivation of the suffrage."



# OKLAHOMA'S DISGRACE

Topeka Plain Dealer

## 'Infant State' Will Again Attempt to Disfranchise the Colored Voter.

Editor Chiles Writes a Strong Letter from His Sick Chamber to the Governor of Oklahoma--Will he Reply?

Topeka, Kan., Jan. 13, 1916.

To the Governor of Oklahoma,  
Oklahoma City, Okla.:

My Dear Governor—

We see through the press reports that you are convening the Oklahoma Legislature in extra session and one of the chief objects is to pass a law to disfranchise the colored voters of that state. Now, after the highest court of the land has declared the "grandfather clause" unconstitutional and a dead issue, I am at loss, Governor, to see how you can insist on a lawmaking body of your state trying to override the constitution of the land by enacting laws that deprive a part of your citizens of their rights.

We believe you think too much of your oath of office, that you have too big a Christian heart, to try to deprive a part of your citizens of their rights and benefits under the laws of your state, while at the same time you are granting another part of your citizens all of their rights and benefits without any question whatever. We think you ought to be, and are, proud of your colored citizens who are owners of large tracts of land, city property and large personal holdings, and are active and progressive. They should be encouraged and not discouraged or hampered

by segregation laws and other laws that are being passed because of men of the white race who are prejudiced of the success of a rising generation who are laboring hard to make good. The colored man has begun to look out for himself and is not particularly tied to any one party, and if the Democratic party, with which you are identified, will only open the way for good treatment of all races alike, I think you will have no trouble in finding colored men voting and working in the ranks of your party. This great bugaboo about Negro domination should be cast aside by intelligent, capable and self-supporting white men who we find by experience that these big-hearted white men are not worried about the colored man, as he does not consider him in his way and thinks it belittles him to make laws to check the colored man. But we find, on the other hand, a small class of white men who are not capable of supporting themselves, trying to enact laws to keep the colored man back, and at the same time are not making any progress themselves. This is the class that is lynching and burning and driving colored people from their homes and robbing them of their property.

We want to sound a note of warning that the colored people of Oklahoma are becoming just like the white brothers of theirs: they will fight and die for their rights, and if such laws and outrages are continued there will be bloodshed, and men like you who countenance such laws and outrages will be responsible for these crimes. Now, we want you to be like Pilate—wash your hands and say you will

have nothing to do with it. We party of their choice, the party which want you to come out of the Gov-redeemed the South from NEGRO ernor's chair with a clean adminis-domination and Republican outrages, tration and a pure heart and a con-and vote for HIM. To do such an sciousness that you have done theignoble act would be the rankest out-right thing for the races, and ifrage upon decency and common jus-you do your duty there will be notice. WHAT, pray, has John M. Par-conflict. But if these segregationker EVER done for Louisiana that laws and outrages are continued should cause her sons to repudiate against the colored people, they will the party which has given them so be bound to resent them. No white many privileges and advantages, and man would withstand the outrages align themselves with a party COM-as the colored people have stood POSED almost ENTIRELY of Bolt-them for the last century, withouters, DESERTERS, Republicans, resentment. Campfollowers, Scallawags, Carpet

Now, we hope you may see your Baggers and disappointed office-hold-way clear not to cater to that prej-ers? We admit that here and there uided class of white men. It is aare to be found some men who are shame and a disgrace at this late-supporting Mr. Parker that are act-day for a large majority of the white-uated by motives which are worthy people in a state like Oklahoma, and above condemnation, and for which numbers about four whites these men we entertain no ill-feeling, to one colored, to have to meet and politically or otherwise. But there enact segregation laws to controlare others who, after deliberately this little band of colored peopleparticipating in a Democratic pri-who are trying to eke out a living, mary, silently, yet none the less sol-omnly, assumed a sacred obligation

Now, my dear Governor, I hope you will consider this a friendly let-ter and one that appeals to an in-telligent, Christian Governor who will appeal to his race along the suggestions that we have made in this letter; that the big, educated, progressive white man can get along all right in Oklahoma with the colored people without any Jim Crow laws or "grandfather clause" and that the colored people are en-titled to all their rights and privi-leges in Oklahoma and should be considered.

Very truly yours,

NICK CHILES,  
Editor Topeka Plain Dealer.

NEWS

APR 8

A MATTER OF HONOR.

After all has been said—after every argument has been advanced that is calculated to impress the vot-ers who are not firmly fixed in their convictions, after John M. Parker and his crew have exhausted their vo-cabulary in a desperate attempt to seduce voters—the fact remains un-disputed, unchallenged, that Parke is NOW appealing to honest and hon-orable men to disregard a solemn and sacred obligation, to DESERT the

POLITICS IN RICHMOND.

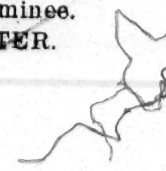
The Richmond Planet

It seems that the two wings of the Republican Party in this city are far apart. The meeting at the Odd Fellows Hall last Saturday night was about as shrewd a piece of political work as has ever been seen in this neighborhood. Some white and colored folks are inquiring as to the cost of the white delegation that filled the auditorium with the regularity of trained soldiers and who voted just as they were told to do. Ordinarily a few hundred dollars paid to these voters would not be sufficient.

Anyway, the leaders carried out their part of the contract and they produced the men. They may never be seen again either at the polls as Republicans or any other place for a similar purpose, but they certainly "turned the trick" on those sleeping Republicans, who anticipated a slim attendance. As for the colored people, or rather some of them, they are grumbling. What are they going to do about it?

Colored folks do not rank high in the Party these days and it is all caused by the petty jealousy existing among themselves. They are not disposed to accept leadership at the hands of those of them, who are qualified to lead. As a result, they are always the tin pan tied to the tails of both of the political parties. We have found that fighting for the rights of the race was a difficult task, but the looking behind to avoid the thrusts of jealous enemies was just a little more than a patriotic citizen was willing to bear.

Other colored leaders have found out the same thing. But we were talking about that Saturday night meeting. Protests are now in order and some of the colored folks are protesting. When will the colored folks come together and stand as one man for the protection and advancement of their fundamental rights and privileges?





Political - 1916

Suffrage  
TRIBUNE

Chicago, Ill.

# PLAN TO END POWER HELD BY SOLID SOUTH

## Republicans Want Con- gress to Change the Election Laws.

BY ARTHUR SEARS HENNING.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9.—[Special.]—Before congress concludes its consideration of the pending corrupt practices bill a good deal of light is destined to be shed upon the part played by the solid south in the election of our presidents.

The Republicans expect to demonstrate that had it not been for the disfranchisement of the Negroes, who are Republican, and for the unduly large representation of the south in the electoral college, President Wilson would have been defeated.

To curb the disfranchisement of the Negroes the Republicans are advocating federal control of national elections along the line of the famous "force" bill of more than two decades ago.

The Republicans also will urge enforcement of the constitutional provision for the reduction of the congressional representation of states disfranchising voters, which if carried out would automatically reduce the representation of such states in the electoral college.

### MAY DROP ELECTORS.

A score of bills to abolish the electoral college and base the election of the president entirely on the popular vote have been introduced, one of the most

notable of these measures having been offered by Senator Shafroth of Colorado, a Democrat.

Hughes carried the eastern states by a plurality of 386,000, the middle western states by 227,000, a total excess over Wilson of 613,000. Wilson carried the far west by a plurality of 874,000.

The country outside of the solid south, where the voting is perfunctory and the result predetermined, preferred Hughes to Wilson by a majority of 118 electoral votes and a plurality of 239,000 popular votes. This was the verdict of 15,000,000 voters, yet it could not stand against the foreordained judgment of 2,000,000 voters in the south yielding Mr. Wilson 139 electoral votes and a plurality of 771,000 popular votes.

### MILLIONS OF VOTES.

There are 1,927,000 male Negroes of voting age in the southern states, 75 per cent of whom, according to the Republicans, have been disfranchised by state laws. Even if only 1,000,000 have been disfranchised it would appear that several of these states were won by the Democrats by virtue of such disfranchisement and that in any event the division of the popular vote would have been much closer had the Negroes been allowed to vote.

The constitution provides that when the right to vote "is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

### BIG EFFECT ON CONGRESS.

If this provision were enforced by congress the solid south would lose, it is estimated, from fifty to eighty members of congress and an equal number of votes in the electoral college. The Negroes are counted when it is to the advantage of southern state to get as many representatives in congress as possible and counted out when it would be to their disadvantage to record their Republican votes.

Wilson started in the recent presidential race with an advantage over Hughes consisting of the 139 electoral votes of the solid south. If southern representation had been adjusted to the volume of disfranchisement by the elimination of fifty votes Wilson would have been defeated in the electoral college, though he still would have had a plurality of the popular vote.

### HUGHES MIGHT HAVE WON.

Had the Negroes been permitted to vote Hughes probably would have had a plurality of the popular vote, though Wilson might still have been elected by the electoral vote.

The south which cast 2,000,000 votes

had 139 votes in the electoral college. The middle west has the same number of electoral votes, but cast 6,000,000 popular votes.

Illinois with twenty-nine electors cast nearly 2,000,000 votes for Hughes and Wilson combined, while Texas with 238,000 popular votes cast twenty votes in the electoral college.

### POST

Pittsburgh, Pa.

### PENROSE AND THE VOTE.

Senator Penrose suddenly has become solicitous for the voting right of the Negroes in the South. As the Constitution says that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude," if Negroes of the South are being discriminated against on account of their color, there is call for action. But it must not be overlooked that the Federal Constitution does not confer the right to vote, that power being left to the states—as now seen in the enfranchising of women. What the Federal Constitution does say, according to the commentators, is that there shall be no discrimination at the polls against the ballots of citizens on account of race or color or previous condition of servitude. Making ability to read a qualification of voting, however, has been held as not against the Fifteenth Amendment, and citizens have been disfranchised by their commission of crimes.

But if Mr. Penrose is so eager to see that every Negro of the South has a vote, may we not hope that he will lend his influence toward securing reforms in his own state that will promote the rights of citizens? In Philadelphia complaint has been made for years that votes cast there are not always certain of being counted as polled. In the recent presidential election Wilson is supposed to have lost thousands of votes by improper counting. This is more than discriminating against certain voters; it is a blow at the principle of popular government.

And there is more than one way of disfranchising citizens. Taking away their right to elect certain officers, making the selection appointive, dis-

franchises them to the extent of the

offices affected. Citizens of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia have been disfranchised so far as the selection of their chief school officers is concerned. Now there is a movement under way to disfranchise Pittsburgh citizens in the matter of selecting the chief officer of their municipality. By all means see that the Negroes of the South get their dues, but do not overlook the interests of the citizens of Pennsylvania meanwhile.

See that the voting rights here are what they ought to be.

### The South's Unfair Representation

From time to time attention is called to the South's unfair representation in Congress without anything being done to adjust this grievous wrong. The House of Representatives is apportioned according to district divisions in each State based upon approximately two hundred and ten thousand inhabitants each, the people of which are supposed to send a Representative to Washington to voice their wishes in national affairs. At the time our constitutional law was framed, slavery existed throughout the Union. A few decades later came the abolition of slavery, the enfranchisement of the former slaves in the slave-holding States and their subsequent disfranchisement by laws enacted in those States, so that now one vote in that section of the country carries practically as much power to elect a Representative as two votes cast in any other part of the Union.

Seven States, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Virginia, have, according to the last census, a population of nearly fourteen millions, and under their apportionments they send to Congress sixty-five Representatives. But of the fourteen million inhabitants in these seven States, more than six million, almost half of the entire population, is to all intents and purposes legally disfranchised. The negroes, generally speaking, have no vote. More than half of the population of South Carolina and Mississippi, and nearly half of Georgia's population, is thus

disfranchised. Eliminating the negro who has no vote and gets no representation, the seven States named obtain one Congressman to each one hundred and twenty thousand population, voting or represented, whereas the Northern and Western States get but one Congressman for nearly twice that number.

On the other hand, taking the number of votes cast in the last election we find that in the seven Southern States named there was in the aggregate one vote to every seventeen of the total population, Virginia, as an example, casting one vote for every twenty-five of her population, while North Carolina, which cast the largest proportional vote, represented the popular will of her people by approximately one vote to every nine persons living in the State.

In the North and West, however, the people were represented by approximately one vote for every five of the population. These figures show clearly that the South not only obtains a larger representation in Congress, as well as an unfair vote in the election of a President, than the Northern and Western States, but the curious anomaly is presented of fully half of its population getting no representation at all. While this condition exists it seems no more than just that the South's representation in Congress, at least, should be apportioned according to its voting population, and not according to the number of its inhabitants. But every time the subject is mentioned there comes a wail of anguish from those States which would be affected by the change.

### NEGRO SUFFRAGE AND WOMAN DITTO.

The writer of "As She Sees It," in the Lowell Courier-Citizen asks if it was fair to force Negro suffrage on the South, "why it is any worse to force woman suffrage upon Massachusetts." In the opinion of The News it would not be as bad—but it was neither wise nor kind to the Negro, to force his right to vote upon him and the South in the way it was done. It led to most of his troubles during the quarter of a century since the war. Nearly every one now recognizes that gradual suffrage for the Negro would have been better for him, better for the South, and better for the nation.

Today, Negro suffrage, or even Negro freedom, is but a name in some parts of the South.—Salem News.



From POST DISPATCH  
Address: St. Louis, Mo.

Date LOCAL ELECTION SCANDALS.

Charges of fraud in voting disfranchised and colonized negroes in this city are made by Democrats against Republicans. On the other hand charges of police intimidation which kept legal voters from the polls are made by Republicans against Democrats.

There is evidence to support both charges and St. Louis is confronted with the revival of election scandals from which we have been nominally free for years.

The manipulation of the negro vote has always been a bad feature of St. Louis elections, but can be controlled by vigilance and legal prosecution. On the other hand the most menacing feature of the recent election was the refusal of the Police Board to shift patrolmen election day and the order for the arbitrary arrest of negroes charged with fraud. The revival of the use of the police for election activity beyond keeping order at the polls is the first step towards the scandalous and disgraceful misuse of the police in elections which for years made St. Louis elections a reproach to the State.

What St. Louis needs more than anything else is home rule, so that the control of the police and elections can be regulated by the people of St. Louis. Meanwhile Col. Gardner is pledged to a clean, capable administration and to the appointment of honest and efficient men to the boards. He will be held to that pledge.

No effort should be spared to bring out the facts of corrupt practice in the late election.

From  
Address  
Date

## COUNTY PRIMARY OF REPUBLICANS REMARKABLE ONE

Little Evidence of Any Election  
in Any of Country

Districts.

## NEGROES PLAY BIG PART

### Irregularities Found in Many of the Wards—Amusing Incidents Are Seen.

A primary, characterized by the opposition as a fraud and farce upon its face, but claimed by its sponsors to have been a "complete success," was held in Davidson county Saturday by "old-time" republicans. They objected, they stated, to the action taken by a subcommittee of the county republican executive committee in arranging for the county convention to be held March 25, and held a primary of their own.

Delegates who were elected Saturday will attend the convention, which is to be held in the Twin building, and will clash with those selected under the plan of the subcommittee. That the fur will fly then goes without saying.

As was to be expected, Saturday's primary was one of the most remarkable, if not the most remarkable, ever held in Davidson county, or, rather, in Nashville, for there was little evidence that an election was held in any of the country districts.

G. W. Sweaney, chairman of the board holding the primary, was sick Saturday and it was stated that for this reason the canvass of the returns was postponed. J. C. R. McCall, one of the prominent backers of the primary, however, stated Saturday night that as many as two thousand votes were cast, and claimed that the vote was the largest cast by Republicans in twenty years. He had no figures to substantiate this, however, stating that he had seen the returns only from a few of the wards and from no country districts.

### Big Majority of Participants Negroes.

He stated that so far as he knew elections had been held in all but four of the city wards and that ballots had been sent to all but three county districts.

An impartial and necessarily hasty investigation of the primary by newspaper men Saturday developed the fact that the primary was very much of a "soap box" affair and that the overwhelming majority of those who participated were negroes.

A majority of the county districts were visited during the afternoon, the primary hours being from 12 until 4 o'clock, and about the only evidence that could be secured that an election had even been contemplated was the statement of several of the men named in the primary plan to hold the election that they had been selected without their consent and would take no part in it.

Donelson, Goodlettsville, Bordeaux, Madison Station, Flat Rock and other districts were visited and in none of these places was there found any signs of an election.

In the city the primary was to have been held, according to the plan, between the hours of 6 p. m. and 8 p. m. The uptown wards were visited between these hours by newspaper men. In some it was found that no election was held. In others the officer or officers of election, only one negro being in evidence in the majority of the cases to serve as officer, clerk and judge of the election, stated that the ballot box would be kept open

until midnight, if necessary, in order to secure a good vote.

### Orderly Election In Ninth Ward.

In fact, in only one ward in the central portion of the city was an election found conducted by white men and closing promptly at 8 o'clock. This was the Ninth, where there was evidence of an orderly election and good vote, so far as a hasty investigation could develop.

In the others visited, and these included the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Twelfth and Thirteenth, a deplorable, though in several cases amusing, situation was found where there was any evidence of an election.

"Yes, sir! We're getting all the votes we can. Callin' everybody in!" said one colored "officer" when the newspaper men arrived. "Here, you!" he cried, darting after an aged negro, who was about to escape him, and dragging him back to cast a vote, for what or who he had no idea.

"No, sir! We haven't gotten many votes yet, but we will if we have to stay open all night," said another "officer." Generally, the printed ballots were merely stuffed into a shoe box, several of which had openings large enough to give easy access to the hand.

Most of those holding the election were open and above board in their work, but in several cases the newspaper men encountered a decidedly suspicious and hostile atmosphere when they arrived. A hasty retreat gave evidence that they would be of little use in Mexico.

Those who were principally sponsors for Saturday's primary were: J. C. R. McCall, J. C. Collins, W. W. Taylor and G. W. Sweaney. The primary board was composed of Chairman Sweaney, George J. Connor and H. E. Cole.

### Vote Will Be Canvassed Monday.

In a statement made by those who backed the primary Saturday night it is claimed that two thousand votes were cast and that in some wards more votes were cast than Roosevelt and Taft together polled in 1912. It was announced that the vote would be canvassed Monday and the result announced. The claim is made that those who held the primary were in no sense "bolters," but that they held the primary in accordance with the rules and under the direction of the county executive committee. They assert that the subcommittee which was appointed by the executive committee for this purpose took the plan prescribed by the executive committee, assumed powers not given to it and undertook to appoint delegates to the county convention without in any way consulting the wishes of the republican voters.

Continuing, the statement says: "Without holding a convention, without holding a primary election, without permitting the republican voters any voice whatsoever in the matter, this committee picked out and named a full set of delegates to the county convention and issued them credentials as such. They did this, notwithstanding there were republican candidates in every ward and district clamoring for an opportunity of submitting the matter of selection to the voters of such wards and districts and listing that the majority of the republican in the wards and districts did not consent the hand-picked delegates to represent them."

The result of the primary, they claim, sustains this contention.

In a statement issued to the republicans of Davidson county and signed by J. H. Austin, chairman, and John C. Fleming, secretary, of the county executive committee, it is stated that the men holding Saturday's primary were not authorized to do so by the county committee and that their action can have no purpose except to cause disruption in the party.

From TRIBUNE  
Address: Chicago, Ill.

## THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO VOTE.

Attorney General Gregory says that he finds it his duty to investigate violations of the federal law in the recent election, but that his inquiries into abuses will be entirely nonpartisan.

"I have evidence," says Mr. Gregory, "that a large number of colored men from the south moved into the northern states within ninety days before election. So far I do not know whether this movement was industrial or political, although some of the men attempted to register."

Mr. Gregory, we are certain, is not indifferent to the humor of the situation he is examining. It is suspected that some Negroes from southern states moved up north and voted where they had no right to do so. Probably they were in search of the thirteenth amendment. They had the right to vote in the south, but could not do so. Mr. Gregory will endeavor to find out whether they voted in the north, where they had no right, but we are not informed that he will endeavor to find out whether Negroes having a right to vote in the south were not permitted to exercise it. There is, as any one may observe, a delicate humor in the matter.

We are for having the south attend to its local political affairs as it sees fit. We concede the south the right to protect white domination. The Negro en masse is unfit to rule the south and if the only fashion in which he can be kept from ruling is to keep him from voting, then keep him from voting.

But we do ask the nation to stop the counting of this unvoted Negro vote. It is counted in the electoral college. It is not counted in southern precincts, but it is counted in the vote of the nation.

The Democratic party won this year with the uncast Negro vote and now the attorney general is chiefly interested in discovering whether or not some Negroes escaped from the south, where they had the right but not the privilege of voting, and voted in the north, where they had no right to cast a ballot.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage TRIBUNE

ss: New York City

# JERSEY WOMEN RALLY TO G. O. P.

Leaders Ready for Big  
Meeting in Atlantic  
City Sunday.

MRS. HOPKINS HITS  
AT THE DEMOCRATS

Says Suffragists Are  
Working for Principle,  
Not Party.

"The Democratic party is thoroughly unsatisfactory to women, and its candidates ought not to be reelected."

This is to be the battle cry when the Woman's Party fires its first gun in the Eastern states, with a suffrage rally in Atlantic City next Sunday, under the auspices of the Jersey Branch of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

Ever since their strongly anti-Democratic conference at Colorado Springs leaders of the Woman's Party have been hard at work in the Western states. Sunday will be the opening day here of a campaign that they promise is to be the most vigorous one ever carried on by women.

The rally will take place in the drawing room of the Steel Pier at Atlantic City at 3:30 p. m. Representative Isaac Bacharach, of the 2d District, will welcome the women into the fight. Miss Lucy Burns, national vice-chairman of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, of the National Advisory Committee; Allen McCurdy, of New York; Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, circulation manager of "The Suffragist," and Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of Morristown, chairman of the Jersey branch, will be the speakers.

Mrs. Howard P. Boyle, of Atlantic City, chairman of the 2d Congressional District, will preside. Mrs. Florence Bayard Hillis, daughter of former Ambassador Thomas Bayard, will probably return from her campaign in Colorado to let the women of the East know how their Western sisters are carrying on the fight.

### Money To Be Raised.

Why the women should fight the Democratic party, and how, will be the chief subject of the afternoon. It is

hoped to raise a large sum of money to supplement the \$500,000 given by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont to carry on the campaign. Two members of the Jersey branch—Miss Julia Hurlbut, of Morristown, and Miss Agnes Campbell, of Short Hills—are now at work against the Democrats in the State of Washington, and will send reports of their progress to the women who have pledged themselves against the party which they accuse of blocking the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

"The Woman's Party is non-partisan," Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins said last night. "It is working for no man or set of men, but for one principle—that of political liberty for American citizens. The Democrats in Congress have opposed the Federal suffrage amendment at every stage. Women ought not to return them to power."

"The other parties have each, either in their platforms or through their Presidential candidates, indorsed the Federal amendment. Therefore, between them the Woman's Party makes no distinction. This is a wise policy both morally and politically."

"In supporting an untried candidate the Woman's Party would have no knowledge of what he was going to do for suffrage, and we have no interest in hypotheses."

"We know and can prove the Democratic party is thoroughly unsatisfactory to women, and ought not to be reelected. Personally, as an unenfranchised woman, I regard suffrage as the supreme issue, and I shall do all in my power to defeat the party which has denied freedom to the women of the United States. Until the voice of every citizen can be heard at the polls on Election Day we shall not have a pure democracy."

### Mrs. Burch Advance Guard.

Mrs. W. P. Burch will go to Atlantic City to-morrow to make arrangements for the rally, and Mrs. Hopkins will follow her there on Friday. There was a series of coast meetings at Belmar, Asbury Park and Spring Lake last week to arouse interest in the beginning of the campaign, and this week there will be street meetings, parlor meetings and hotel meetings in Atlantic City, to let every one know what the women are doing.

The New York City Committee of the Hughes Alliance reports that Mrs. Charles W. Farnham, wife of the manager of Mr. Hughes's speaking tour, is chairman of the upper New York district, and is organizing scores of women for the cause. She has succeeded in getting three stores for campaign purposes, meetings and the distribution of literature, one at Seventy-fourth Street and Broadway, one at 105th Street and Broadway and the third at 125th Street and Eighth Avenue.

Mrs. Emily S. A. Page has been appointed chairman of the negro women who are out for Hughes, and will appoint one leader in each of the leading colored districts, with five chairmen under her to organize them.

### STANDARD UNION

ss: Brooklyn, N. Y.

### Penrose's Force Bill Like the Hats of '98.

In the days long gone by before the Irish immigration practically ceased

call hats of a very ancient vintage, than two thousand citizens in some instances, nullifies the vote of a Congressman from the North or West, in whose district sixty or more thousand votes were cast at the Congressional election. Because of the absolute suppression of popular government in several States of the South elections there have become more or less a farce. Also it is a fact, so rapidly does undisturbed tyranny gather to itself the strength of lawlessness, the terrorism exercised over the colored people by the political leaders has been often extended to a part of the white population, particularly those engaged in business in the smaller towns.

"It was made in '98;  
It was never called in,  
"So you can't begin  
To say it's out of date."

was the defense in a doggerel common at the time among the fun-loving owners of the venerable lids. The '98 referred to was the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

The force bill was never "called in" by the ante-bellum Republicans.

Nor for that matter did the war Democrats here in the North abandon the principle for which it stood, as, indeed, they could not without disavowing belief in manhood suffrage as the foundation of free institutions in this country.

And so it can't be called altogether "out of date."

But the bill was beaten a generation and more ago after a struggle that will long be memorable in Congressional annals. It has been said that no public question in this country has ever been finally settled until it was settled right. And, if we are to accept that dictum as true, the so-called force bill—a wretched misnomer in its political acceptance, by the way—certainly cannot be called out of date, that is, disposed of finally and forever.

And yet in a just sense it was a force bill.

It proposed, in short, to enforce the right of the enfranchised native American colored citizens of the South to vote. There was no purpose to interfere with the domestic affairs of the States, then lately in rebellion against the Union. What the force bill set out to do was to see to it that at Federal elections, when members of Congress or a President were to be chosen, there should be such national supervision at the polls as would insure the right of the colored citizens in the South to vote. The defeat of the force bill in Congress took away no legal suffrage right possessed by the colored people of the South.

Open violence, often murder, accomplished that crime.

Nor has the passage of time made less severe the effects of the blow then struck at government by the people. To-day the vote of a Southern Congressman, voted for by less

serious interest, particularly in view of the fact that a Southern-born resident will be in the White House for four years, but if it is proposed to submit the Presidency to a vote of all the people there will be no toleration of annulment, through suppression of votes, in any State of the popular will. In such an event the proposal of Senator Penrose and his Republican colleagues, with regard to the revival of the so-called force bill, cannot, in any sense, be called out of date.

Some of these white men are disfranchised through threats.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that the North and West, recognizing the difficulties of the race question, virtually, while not formally, accepted the conditions brought about by the defeat of the measure which denied to the Federal authorities the right to see to it that at elections for President and Congress no citizen qualified to vote was robbed of that right.

In every Presidential election since the Democrats played with loaded dice.

In other words, in at least eleven States constituting what is called the Solid South there is no semblance of a contest. Through the suppression of the vote of more than a million and a quarter of legal colored voters in the South the electoral votes of these States are practically recorded for the Democratic candidate before a ballot is cast. But while it is true the Republican party of to-day accepts this handicap, and has accepted it election after election, without more than a formal, if any, protest, and is not, therefore, in a position now to question the election of Mr. Wilson because of the unfair conditions prevailing in the South, a new situation will be created at once if any attempt is made to abolish the Electoral College and elect the President by popular vote. Any Constitutional amendment looking in that direction will call for a complete readjustment of the political relations existing between the Solid South and the remainder of the country.

In the circumstances that exist to-day the Penrose revival of the so-called force bill will hardly be regarded as of less serious interest, particularly in view of the fact that a Southern-born resident will be in the White House for four years, but if it is proposed to submit the Presidency to a vote of all the people there will be no toleration of annulment, through suppression of votes, in any State of the popular will. In such an event the proposal of Senator Penrose and his Republican colleagues, with regard to the revival of the so-called force bill, cannot, in any sense, be called out of date.

M. C. Maurin, of Laplace, informed Pleasant headquarters that Pleasant clubs were being formed in every ward of St. John parish.

Robert B. Butler of Houma was a caller at Pleasant headquarters. Mr. Butler is to take the stump for Col. Pleasant in his parish, and the adjoining territory.

FROM PARKER HEADQUARTERS  
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## FOUR CONGRESSMEN WILL TAKE STUMP FOR COL. PLEASANT

Aswell, Lazaro, Watkins and  
Dupre Are Coming to  
Louisiana in April.

Congressmen Aswell, Dupre, Lazaro and Watkins are to come to Louisiana early in April to take the stump for Colonel Pleasant, A. J. Frantz, at Pleasant headquarters, announced Friday. Dr. Aswell will return April 6, and spend three days in Washington and Tangipahoa parishes, and then go to the Eighth district. Congressman Watkins will reach the state April 3 to stump the Fourth district. L. E. Thomas will accompany him. April 8, at Mansfield, a big rally will be held in celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Mansfield. Thomas C. Barret and Colonel Pleasant will speak. The rally will be for all of Northwest Louisiana. The occasion will be the first and only time Messrs. Barret and Pleasant will appear on the stump together.

T. Sambola Jones and George K. Favrot are to speak in Livingston parish Tuesday and Wednesday of next week for Colonel Pleasant.

Because he was supporting John M. Parker, J. D. Rusca was ousted from the Democratic parish executive committee of Natchitoches parish, according to information at Pleasant headquarters. The committee organized with G. W. Kile, of Natchitoches, as chairman, J. H. Caldwell as vice-chairman, and U. P. Brazeale as secretary. A resolution declaring vacant the seat of J. D. Rusca on the committee was adopted. The ground for the resolution was Mr. Rusca's support of John M. Parker.

Thomas S. Hardy, of West Lake, Calcasieu parish, has written Pleasant headquarters that Mr. Parker will get 100 out of 700 votes in his ward.

J. W. Joffrion, of Marksville, called at Pleasant headquarters, and said that Avoyelles parish would give Colonel Pleasant from 500 to 1000 majority.

A. P. Welsh, of Cameron parish, wrote Pleasant headquarters that only the old-time Republicans were supporting Mr. Parker.

M. C. Maurin, of Laplace, informed Pleasant headquarters that Pleasant clubs were being formed in every ward of St. John parish.

Robert B. Butler of Houma was a caller at Pleasant headquarters. Mr. Butler is to take the stump for Col. Pleasant in his parish, and the adjoining territory.

FROM PARKER HEADQUARTERS  
Charles Oury, acting campaign manager for John M. Parker, Friday contradicted the assertion of Pleasant or-



gans that if elected governor, Mr. Parker could not appoint to office Democrats who voted in the Democratic primary. He quotes the law to show that the statute to which the Pleasant newspapers refer has been repealed. His statement follows:

"Again it becomes necessary, by the presentation of documentary evidence, to call attention to the mendacity and general untrustworthiness of the Ewing-Pleasant press agency.

"Sunday's States carried on its front page a 'news item' containing what purported to be a law prohibiting anyone voting in a primary from holding appointive office under an officer elected in opposition to the nominee of the primary.

The law the Daily States quotes in the 'news item' was repealed eight years ago. The statute from which it quotes is act 133 of 1900, repealed by act 49 of 1906. Section 27 of act 49 is a verbatim copy of section 15 of act 133 down through the words 'in which he took part,' all reference to appointive offices being omitted in the present law.

"The purpose of the publication in the Daily States, it was inferred therein, was to influence men away from Parker with the cry that Pleasant, if elected, could give them jobs and that Parker could not. It is not our desire, nor our need, to retain the support of any man that could be bought with a promise of a job—and we haven't lost a man.

"Our chief purpose in making this correction is to let Mr. Parker's friends know that he will be in no way handicapped when it comes time to appoint men to office under him in the service of the people of Louisiana. He will have the whole electorate of Louisiana from which to pick his men."

"The States this afternoon makes much ado over a speech by one Peter Clark, elevator tender at the city hall delivered at a meeting of Ewing's henchmen in the Tenth ward Thursday night in which this political hireling undertook to accuse John M. Parker of unfairness to labor. Clark is played up as a cotton man, whereas he has been a political job holder for years. I merely call attention to this matter to show the lengths to which Ewing is going, making a tool of an insignificant city hall elevator tender to spill his spleen upon Mr. Parker."

A. D. Piaggio, attached to the Parker headquarters staff, recently returned from Tangipahoa parish, said at headquarters Friday that Mr. Parker will carry Tangipahoa by a record majority. Hammond, Ponchatoula and Independence, he said, are solidly for Parker.

The First, Second and Third precincts of the Thirteenth ward will meet at Ernest hall, Tchoupitoulas and Valmont streets, Tuesday night to transact precinct business.

#### INSTRUCTED FOR NOONAN

M. O. Craton, of Doyle, La., who signs himself "state organizer" and lecturer of the Socialist party," writes The Times-Picayune the Socialists of the state are instructed to vote for Horace Noonan, Socialist candidate for governor.

Following the refusal of the secretary of state to place the Socialist ticket on the official ballot, many prominent Socialists of North and West Louisiana wrote Parker headquarters tendering their support. The movement last week became very general and pronounced. The reason given has been opposition to the "regular organization." Mr. Craton writes "to forsake our own candidate, Hr. Horace Noonan, and vote for Mr. Parker will constitute party treason; consequently our Socialists will vote for the Socialist candidate for governor."

## PARKER'S WELCOME IN ST. TAMMANY GREATEST OF TOUR

## Farmers Line Roads, Begging Candidate to Make Address.

BY H. H. AHRENS.

Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent.

Covington, La., March 24.—Nowhere since the campaign opened has John M. Parker received a more cordial welcome in Friday when he entered St. Tammany parish. News of his coming had preceded him and along the roadside on a way to Madisonville several farmers came great distances to meet the candidate and insisted that he say a few words to them.

Almost immediately after leaving the Tangipahoa parish line a little incident happened which gave the friends of Mr. Parker considerable concern. Before any one else in the automobile could interfere, Mr. Parker jumped out before a vehicle was stopped to catch a cottonmouth moccasin snake which he discovered in a pool of water alongside of a road. It was thought the candidate would take a stick and kill the reptile instead he took the poisonous serpent by the tail, gave it a few swings in the air and a moment later its head popped from its body and after which Mr. Parker threw the wriggling serpent back to the swamp. While this performance was going on his friends were beseeching him to turn the snake loose for fear it would be bitten. The candidate calmly entered the auto after killing the snake and his only comment was, "I have done it a hundred times—it's easy to kill a snake that way when you know how to do it."

Harry W. Fitzpatrick, of New Orleans, and Gus J. Labarre, of Paincourtville, La., the unopposed candidate for the U. S. Senate from the Tenth senatorial district, accompanied Mr. Parker on his tour through the parish and made several speeches in his behalf.

Both Mr. Fitzpatrick and Mr. Labarre took the negro question hard, the latter asserting that he had been informed that it was perhaps the only man in the United States who positively refused to take a negro to work in his timber camps; at he refused to have a negro in the village in which his home was located. He was sure that if he believed Mr. Parker's election meant bringing back the negro into politics he would be the last man in the state to support him.

Harry Fitzpatrick could not help telling what Mr. Parker had done to the snake during the trip today, and after asserting that he considered himself a democrat, and that he had hitherto supported the ring candidates and that he as a friend of Mayor Martin Behrman, would and could not have anything to do in the future in state elections which had the stamp and approval of "Boss" Bob Ewing upon it.

Then said Mr. Fitzpatrick: "As Mr. Parker fearlessly took hold of the snake this morning and popped its head off, will he also be able when elected governor of Louisiana to free the state of the venom of Ewingism?"

Mr. Parker did not speak as long as usual on his tour today, leaving most of the speaking to Messrs. Fitzpatrick and Labarre. Mr. Parker's references to the manner in which the "Boss" element of New Orleans controlled the last election, his references to the fee system, his opposition to the negro in politics, never failed to bring applause. His remarks day were chiefly confined to the discussion of matters pertaining to the farmer and outlining his platform in which measures of relief are proposed.

Kentwood was left behind at 5:30 this morning and a quiet run was made to Hammond where, notwithstanding the early hour, several of the candidate's friends came to the hotel to tell him at his speech of Thursday night had been the means of causing many to think seriously before casting their ballot in April. Further assurances were also given that Tangipahoa parish was sure in the Parker column.

On the way to Madisonville, Mr. Parker

passed through Ponchatoula, where he stopped for a few minutes and met several of his friends and supporters who assured him that he need have no fear as to his success in the thriving little town.

The following citizens of St. Tammany parish met the candidate: Messrs. August Coig, R. B. Pruden, George Wilson, E. Mugnier, George Mire, E. R. Moses, Judge H. I. Smith, and Dr. H. L. Watkins. They decorated the car in which Mr. Parker was riding with dogwood and honeysuckle blossoms and the trip was resumed to the first stopping place of the day.

#### ASSURED SUPPORT

Arriving at Mugnier's Hotel in Mandeville, Mr. Parker received assurances from the above named gentlemen and citizens of the town that there was no doubt as to his victory in the parish over his opponent, Col. Pleasant. They further stated that the Progressive candidate was growing stronger every day with all classes. There were a few Parker supporters who believed that there would be a close vote in the parish, but that Mr. Parker would receive a small majority.

G. R. Dutsch, chairman of the parish democratic executive committee, said: The Parker adherents are making great claims for their candidate, but I am certain that Col. Pleasant will carry even out of the ten wards of the parish. In the primary 2100 votes were cast, but I hardly believe that more than 700 voters will go to the polling places on April. Col. Pleasant will carry the parish by a majority of between 300 and 400.

At Madisonville, Mr. Parker preferred to stand on the street corner and discuss matters with those who had come to hear him, although his supporters desired him to go into the hall engaged for the occasion. Between twenty-five and thirty men gave Mr. Parker the closest attention.

#### MEETS LABORERS

A visit was made to the shipyards in the vicinity of Madisonville where the candidate shook hands with every workman in the plants, some of whom he knew. The large majority of the workmen expressed themselves in favor of Mr. Parker.

A brief stop was made at Houllonville where the candidate met several officials of the Houllonville Lumber Company and also many of the workmen. Mandeville was reached in good time and the speaking took place in the hall of the Woman's Progressive Union. There were about seventy men present. J. Davis, mayor of Mandeville, presented Mr. Parker and the other speakers. The majority of those present had already expressed themselves as favorable to the platform on which the Progressive candidate was running.

Judge H. J. Smith, who attended all the meetings in the parish, today said: The Pleasant supporters are getting rattled and are now using their efforts to get Col. Pleasant to come to the parish to make several speeches. There is absolutely no uncertainty in my mind that our candidate will carry St. Tammany by a big majority. The claims of the Pleasant supporters that the Democratic nominee will carry the parish by between 500 and 700 are ridiculous. There are 437 votes in the Covington precinct and Mr. Parker will get the majority of these votes.

#### NEGRO TALK SCORNE

"There has been much negro talk in this parish, but we are nailing this false issue in the campaign everywhere and the people are now beginning to realize that there is no truth in the statement that Mr. Parker will bring the negro back to political life."

A. Depre, one of the leading merchants of Mandeville, said:

"I am supporting Col. Pleasant and I believe he will carry the ward and the entire parish by a safe majority. Aug. Coig said he was recently on a certain jury and of the twelve men, ten declared their intention of voting for Mr. Parker."

E. R. Moses said he was a traveling man and that his business took him into every nook and corner of the parish and that everywhere he went he found Parker sentiment strong and growing. He firmly believed the Progressive candidate would carry the parish by a large majority.

Mr. Parker arrived in Covington late this evening a little tired, but declaring himself to be in excellent shape and ready for his tour next week through North Louisiana.

Saturday Mr. Parker will spend in Washington parish and will talk in Bogalusa and other points in the parish. He will leave for New Orleans Sunday morning and start upon another tour Sunday night.

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## STATEMENTS MADE BY DEMOCRATS ON VOTE CONTROVERSY

### Visit to Polls on Election Day Revealed Law Enforcement, Citizen Says.

Citizens of St. Louis interested from a non-partisan viewpoint in the various phases of the Republican attempt to go behind the ballots cast in the recent election in St. Louis, have made statements to The Star bearing on the participation of negroes in the election.

A prominent St. Louis Democrat who asked that his name be withheld, today made the following statement to The Star:

"About 11 o'clock on election day one of your reporters asked me to accompany him while he visited the election precincts between Twelfth street and Jefferson avenue, Olive street and Clark avenue.

We visited ten of twelve precincts and found everything quiet and orderly. Police officers were present. Voting was progressing quietly, and lines of negroes were voting without any indication of fear or intimidation. At one precinct on Jefferson avenue, I heard the election officials cross-examine a negro who at first claimed to live at 2316 Pine street, and whose name was registered from 2310 Chestnut street. He was unable to explain the discrepancy and was permitted to leave, which he seemed anxious to do.

"Other similar instances were noted, and I returned to my office about 2 p. m. fully satisfied that all the talk about intimidation was political guff, started and circulated for the purpose of meeting the charges that negroes had been imported for voting purposes.

At several precincts I talked with the police officers, and found them very indignant because it had been charged they would undertake to intimidate voters. I think such statements were entirely untrue, and I am sure the police officers of all the precincts I visited were scrupulously exact in carrying out their instructions."

Fred L. English, former candidate for Congress in the Tenth District, and active in St. Louis politics, said: "The Democrats on election day, it is true, challenged a great many negro voters, but the Auxiliary Committee that had this in charge, made a personal investigation in the records of the Criminal Court finding that about 3,000 registered voters had been convicted of crimes which barred them from voting. The fact that in some instances Democratic negroes were challenged and arrested shows that the claims of the challengers were bona fide.

"On election day Jephtha D. Howe stated that the challenges of the Democrats would cost the Republican party about 2,500 votes. I presume that when he made this statement he knew that there were that many Republicans who could be rightfully challenged.

"The reason Mr. Breckenridge Long was delegated to obtain this list was that the Democrats found evidence that negroes were being imported to vote. On October 19 I went to Union Station to take a train to Maysville, Ky. About twenty minutes before my train pulled out I saw a Mobile & Ohio train come into Union Station with fifteen coaches full of negroes. There were so many negroes on the train that they blocked up the midway of Union Station. I questioned about twenty of the negroes as to their reason for coming and they said that they had come from Mississippi on a \$3 excursion, but nearly all of them stated that they intended to stay in this part of the country for a few weeks. This sort of thing went on in several of the States bordering Missouri in an attempt to swing the election, and the committee finding this out began the investigation which resulted in the uncovering of about 3,000 illegally registered negroes in this city.

"The Democrats are on the defensive in this matter simply because they have had no Democratic newspaper to take their part, and I am glad to see that The Star is making a disinterested investigation of the matter.

"The law provides that the judges of election are the sole judges as to the qualification of voters and the law places upon the challenged voter the burden of showing that he is entitled to vote. The law is plain on this matter, and it will be impossible for any mandamus proceeding to succeed."

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Political - 1916

# CONGRESS TO NULLIFY THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT

Chicago Defender 2/5/16.

The Honorable Lemuel P. Padgett, a congressman from Tennessee, did the Defender the courtesy to forward to it a copy of the Joint Resolution introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman Sisson for the purpose of directing the Attorney General of the United States, in a proper proceeding, to present to the Supreme Court of the United States all data concerning the 14th and 15th amendments, with a view of having the validity and constitutionality of those amendments tested. The resolution is as follows:

Directing the Attorney General of the United States to submit to the Supreme Court all information available bearing upon the validity of the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Whereas, The Government of the United States and its citizens alike are bound to obey the Constitution, the amendments thereto, and the laws passed in pursuance thereof; and

Whereas, It is not to the interest either of the Government or its citizens that obedience be exacted to a constitutional amendment or law when serious doubt as to the validity thereof exists; and

Whereas, Under our form of Government questions pertaining to the validity of a constitutional amendment or law belong to the judiciary for investigation and determination; and

Whereas, Official records suggest serious doubts as to whether amendments fourteen and fifteen of the Federal Constitution were legally adopted and are a part of the Constitution; and

Whereas, The United States Supreme Court has not heretofore considered or decided as to the authenticity of these amendments; therefore be it

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Attorney General of the United States be, and he is hereby directed, to present to said Supreme Court, in an appropriate proceeding, all data concerning either or both of said amendments, to the end that thereby said court may ascertain whether either or both of said amendments conform to Article V of the original Constitution, and whether they or either of them constitute a part of the Constitution.

Comment upon this resolution has been referred to the Defender Law Department for reply.

BY GEO. W. ELLIS.

ess: New Orleans, La.

## "SAFETY FIRST" PLEA OF PLEASANT ENVOY AT EUNICE

Sandoz Asks St. Landry Voters, "What Has Parker Done for State?"

BY C. F. POOL.

Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent.

Eunice, La., March 24.—The Democratic meeting held here tonight taxed the seating capacity of Picou Hall and a number of persons were compelled to stand. A count of the chairs before the meeting showed the seating capacity to be 230, but the hall is a large one and there is standing room for many more. There was 300 persons present.

The meeting was called to order by James K. Lewis, who called on the secretary, J. L. Hammers, to read the list of vice-presidents as follows: Agueole Fontenot, Olive Manuel, Durell Miller, Delegain Fruge, Airne Soileau, Dr. W. H. Ray, Dr. J. J. Stagg, Wallace Trowbridge, S. A. Gournay, Eliteul Brown, A. V. Williams, K. Moosa, M. Tier, S. M. Hundley, P. H. Prudhomme, Andras Manuel, E. L. Gil, Alexander Miller, Dudley Berwick.

The first speaker was Peyton R. Sandoz, who said if any apology was needed for presence he would reply that he was too good a Democrat to keep away. He did not believe there would ever be a recurrence of negro domination because the white manhood of the state would not permit it. He did think, however, that the people should keep clearly in mind the events of the past and pursue the safe course in politics. They could not have forgotten the days of 1886 when the whites were compelled to resort to arms to keep down the negro. He called attention to the recent decisions of the court in the land, as affecting the

grandfather clause, and called attention in connection therewith of men of both parties catering to the negro vote.

ARGUES "SAFETY FIRST"

He argued along the line of "safety first" in connection with this question of the return of the negro to politics. He understood that Mr. Parker had many adherents in this section and he conceded their right to vote for the candidate of their choice, but he asked: "What has Mr. Parker ever done for the state and its institutions?" His interest in farming consisted in his adding to his inherited wealth by speculating in the products of the sweat of the faces of the farmers. What was the sense in supporting a man who had done nothing for the state, he asked.

Mr. Sandoz said the people of the state would have to have a constitutional convention to provide a substitute for the grandfather clause of the constitution, and if the Parker policy of a convention of twenty-five members, nine of whom were to be appointed by the governor, prevailed, white supremacy would be seriously imperiled.

Mr. Sandoz ended by appealing to his hearers to remain loyal to the party which had done so much for the state and its institutions.

Judge Coco was the next speaker and he made an address in French, which aroused and sustained the interest of his hearers throughout, and excited the risibilities of the Creoles, as do all his addresses in their mother tongue. He was followed by John W. Lewis, E. L. Thomas and Colonel Pleasant, all of whom spoke along lines that have been adopted by the Democratic orators during the campaign.

PLEASANT PARTY ACTIVE

The Pleasant party arrived in St. Landry parish early this morning, leaving Baton Rouge at midnight, after addressing what is said to have been the largest political meeting ever held at Brusly Landing or in the confines of West Baton Rouge parish.

The first meeting of the day was held at Bergeron, at which speeches were made by Messrs. Porterie, Guillot, Coco and Pleasant. There was a good crowd to hear the speakers.

The next meeting was at Chataignier, where a good meeting was presided over by Dr. Ardoin and at which the speakers were the same as those at Bergeron, with the addition of Peyton R. Sandoz.

The third meeting was held at Mamou, where Mr. Tate presided and where speeches were made by Rene De Rouen, Mr. Perrault, Judge Coco and Colonel Pleasant. St. Landry is considered debatable ground and while both parties are claiming it, there is an evident element of doubt in the claims of both sides. It is believed the visit of the present campaigners will have a good effect on the Democratic element, and there was evident after the meeting tonight a stiffening of their claims.

ON NEGRO QUESTION

In his discussion of the negro question today Col. Pleasant frequently was interrupted by applause. On this subject he was rather more definite in his remarks than heretofore, saying:

"The Progressives in this campaign have attempted to ridicule the danger of the return of the negro into politics, but the fact remains that the negro still is here in great numbers and that there is no law to prevent him paying the poll tax or from registering if he has the property or the educational qualifications, which thousands of them have."

"There are but three ways of preventing the negro regaining an important, perhaps a decisive place, in the politics of the state, viz:

"First—The terrible shotgun method by which is meant all forms of violence against the person, and which many of you remember to have been used effectively in Louisiana."

"Second—The equally immoral and illegal method, of stuffing the ballot box. This method was used effectively in the past against the negroes and the whites."

"Third—The present method, both legal and humane, of settling all political differences between the whites in an exclusively white primary, an election in which no one but registered white men

can vote. "If, as I conceive, there are but these three methods, what are you to understand by John M. Parker's fervid declarations against the white primary? Granted the postulate, it follows that he either is in favor of one of the other two methods."

"Mr. Parker has been absolutely frank and fervid in his opposition to the white primary, though it concerns only a party he has abandoned. Will he be equally as frank and inform the people which of the other two methods he favors, or what method he proposed to adopt to keep the negro from voting, as was intended by the electoral clauses of the Constitution of 1898."

"The memory of the older of you carries you back to the terrible but necessary work done by Col. Theobald in Ouachita parish in 1876 and other years. Those 'terrible rides of Tibbles' struck terror to the hearts of the negro as in those days and kept many of them from the polls."

"Do you want your sons to 'ride with Tibbles,' or to perpetrate election frauds and swear falsely to returns in order to preserve the dominance of his race; or do you prefer that the whites shall settle their difference in a white primary, of which the general election is to be a ratification? As surely as he has the blood of the white man in his veins, if the latest and perfectly legal method is not offered him, he will choose one of the two illegal methods. Driven to the extreme necessity of preserving the supremacy of the white race, he will take a leaf from the history of the Ku Klux and the Knights of the Camelia and do the terrible things his fathers did, and for which today the dominant white race of the South calls their names 'blessed.'"

WORTH CONSIDERING.

The Nashville Banner, a daily white publication of Nashville, Tenn., after quoting from the Western World Reporter, a Negro publication touching on what is claimed as the great victory for the "Lincoln Republican League" in the recent election in Shelby county, offers the Negroes of that county and state some advice which, to say the least, is worth while considering. The paragraph quoted from the Western Reporter:

If the league did nothing more than teach colored men the dignity of the ballot and white men that all colored men cannot be purchased and a great number misled, that is enough for the first time. Both the leaders and the candidates announce their determination to go ahead with the fight year after year until the political chains are broken, and colored men are treated as citizens.

The Banner sees no more freedom of the suffrage for league led Negroes than purchased Negroes, expressing itself as follows:

A wise plan to the accomplishment of that end might be to dissolve the Lincoln Republican League and allow the black man who wishes to vote to do so of his own initiative and according to what he thinks the public good requires.

If the negro voters are to know only a party name and tradition in forming their ideas about politics and vote, not as freemen, but at the dictation of a league, or other directing agency, they will invite a solid white opposition. Where conditions as to population are such as they are in a congressional district, by this race solidarity method, of stuffing the ballot box, this in politics they attempt political supremacy which they should surely have learned to know by now that the Caucasian element will not tolerate.

It is difficult to understand situations of distant localities, consequently we are not prepared to say that the

advice is as timely as it seems. Nevertheless, there is much food for thought, and especially if the comment reflects the real sentiment of the reading white men of that state. What the Banner says carries with it the thought that the Negro is free to vote, and that his vote will be counted as cast. Whether this is a dream it is not for us to say. We do not know. If it is true then it follows that it will be impolitic to stand aloof from the great parties of white men because faring poorly politically, not to speak of the harm that will surely befall the race. The Western Reporter says further:

The Lincoln League is organizing for local contests next year, and for the Congressional race in 1918. Candidates will be put up for every office, county and congressional, and since the great vote piled up by the organization establishes it as the regular Republican party organization in this section of the state, the party will always be represented on the official ballot.

Robert Church, the leader in this movement, is reported a man of good understanding. And for that reason we have given considerable publicity to his efforts in his community. Other publications by race men, we observe, have been no less generous in giving him a sort of encouragement even if the feasibility of his efforts was doubted. This encouragement was given, we take it, because of the poor political consideration shown, as it is understood, to the Negroes of the South generally.

But the fair speech of the Banner is a new interpretation of the situation, at least in the state of Tennessee. In reply to the last quoted paragraph of the Western Reporter the Banner says:

That will work a revival of the race question in politics not calculated to benefit the negro. It is not to his advantage to antagonize the white element.

The object of the negroes should be to make their men capable through character and intelligence for the duties of citizenship, and to exercise individual judgment in voting; not to be herded like dumb driven cattle at the polls by any league, machine, party or other influence. The worst thing they can do for themselves is to try to perpetuate the color line in politics.

The last paragraph should appeal to every Negro, and every man whether on the scene or far from it. It is touchingly sensible, and to the point. We do not have in mind the status of affairs in that community or state, but the general principles. And if it is possible to conduct oneself as is indicated the situation is as ideal in that community and state as it is elsewhere. We cannot arise above the fact that there is a race question.

## Mills Denies Election Charges

St. Louis Argus

Mr. J. E. Mitchell,  
Managing Editor, 11-17-16  
St. Louis Argus.



My Dear Sir:—

I beg to write you concerning the unjust treatment accorded me and spread broad-cast over the city by the public. Mr. Mitchell, I am only too glad to know that you are willing to be fair and just. Consider my position. Political hatred on the part of men has caused the people of my home city, the people that have been grateful to me in everything in which I have taken part in a business way, to believe that I am ungrateful and undeserving.

I want to put myself before you and the public as a young man and as a Negro "Fearless." One who has tried and tried hard to stand for my people and for something really worth while. Regardless of the business I am engaged in.

The charges are brought in a way so as to leave me powerless to defend myself. It is unfair. It is unjust. I flatly deny one and all of these unjust charges, and can prove that every charge made against me is false.

Where are the men or man that I so wrongly treated election day? Not one to be found. The truth of the thing, Mr. Mitchell, I was home and sleeping from 11:45 a. m. until I was aroused by Mr. John Thomas, a friend, at 6:30, telling me of all the excitement that was laid at my door.

Now, again, where would I be to-day if I had committed such acts, as tearing up ballots, using pistols and having people arrested by the wholesale? Surely, Mr. Mitchell, I am not bigger than the government. I have never been arrested in my life, and if I keep my right mind I never will.

I am not pleading for sympathy as I stand alone in this unjust fight and if given a fair chance I will vindicate myself. I am not a quitter and promise to be here, if God spares me for years to come. This political hammer to drive me out of business is a hard blow to overcome, and after a thorough investigation I am sure you and the public will not approve of the tactics used against me. The public is judge in this case, and I court investigation.

Thanking you,

Sincerely yours,  
CHAS. A. MILLS.

**NEAR RIOT OCCURS  
IN OKLAHOMA HOUSE**

**Democrats and Republicans  
Hurl Ink Bottles and Paper**

## Weights—One Man Is Knocked Unconscious.

Oklahoma City, Okla., February 18.—Tumultuous scenes occurred in the Oklahoma house of representatives late today while the members were voting on an election law designed to take the place of the famous "grandfather law" recently declared unconstitutional by the United States supreme court because in effect it disfranchised the negro population of the state.

### Culminated in Riot.

Partisan feeling finally culminated in a near riot precipitated by charges of corruption and the passing of the lie between members, during which ink bottles and paper weights were used as weapons. A serious affray seemed inevitable as democrats massed and advanced toward the republicans and socialists. Arthur H. Geissler, chairman of the republican state central committee, was knocked down and rendered unconscious by Representative Loris E. Bryant.

The proposed law is the product of a democratic caucus. It has passed the senate and was up for final passage in the house late today, with republican and socialistic members offering vigorous opposition. Geissler was on the floor through the courtesy of a visitor's permit.

Representative Paul Nesbitt, of Pittsburg county, had voted in favor of the proposed law and as he announced his vote Representative Sams, republican, taunted Nesbitt with being "unfair" to republicans. Nesbitt replied that he was raised in a section where the republicans had overridden him with corrupt practices, and that he had no desire to be fair to republicans. "They probably took you for the crook that you are," shouted Sams.

"If you make that charge you are a liar," replied Nesbitt.

Sams arose in his seat and shouted toward the democratic side of the house, "Come on!"

### Bottles and Weights Thrown.

In an instant every member of the house was on his feet. Ink bottles and paper weights were thrown back and forth. The democratic members advanced through the aisles toward the republican members. Speaker A. C. McCrorey left his chair and rushed out of the legislative halls. The democrats greatly outnumbered the republican combatants, and after a few volleys the melee ended.

Representative Tom Hensley, democrat, went to the "side line" and was engaged in conversation with Geissler. When Hensley walked away Bryant stepped up to Geissler and demanded: "What right have you to be talking to a representative on the floor of the house?"

Geissler replied: "Beg pardon, what is your name?" Whereupon Bryant hit Geissler in the face, according to witnesses, knocking him to the floor and rendering him unconscious for several minutes.

Bryant became lost in the crowd that rush around Geissler. No further disturbances occurred.

President Wilson recently pardoned two Oklahoma election officials convicted for enforcing the "grandfather test." Two others now are on trial in the federal court at Guthrie.

## THE BEE SUSTAINED.

A former Washingtonian, Mr. J. R. Duquoin has sent us the following editorial from a recent issue of The Ohio State Journal, published at Columbus, Ohio:

### A Colored Candidate.

The Democrats in Chicago are breaking down the color line in that city by nominating a negro for the city council. It may have a trace of political strategy in it, but whatever the object, the colored voters should vote for the negro. If the Democrats propose to put into active practice the Republican doctrine of equal opportunities and the square deal, they should be cordially supported. It is not good policy to stick to a party when its foe does the thing the other has not the courage to do. There is no use to go back to search for motives when the matter proposed is right. The election of that colored candidate to the council may start an experience that will solve the whole question for which the colored people contend. They are very foolish if they don't vote for him. A Democratic candidate is not "pizen" if the man is all right.

The Ohio State is one of the oldest, best, and most influential white Republican daily newspapers in Ohio. While understroppers are taking exceptions to The Bee for speaking well of Democrats who favor the race here is a big white Republican daily advocating that the colored voters support Democrats who support the race. The Bee is sustained in this editorial. The Bee has no favors to ask of negro job-hunters who would censor The Bee from receiving Republican political advertising because it had the courage to support white men who happen to be Democrats, who stand by the race. The editor of the The Bee agrees with the Ohio State Journal in that a Democrat candidate is not 'pizen' if the man is all right" on the race question. The Bee serves notice on all colored political office-seekers that it will continue to support men who support the race, whether they are Democrats, Republicans, Prohibitioners or Socialists. The Bee has lived thirty-five years without political advertising and it will continue to live. Former Negro office-holders, with few exceptions, who wanted to get back to the crib, never help The Bee when they were in.

## SUN

New York City

## COLORED DELEGATES LONELY IN CHICAGO

So Few. No One Cares for  
Them: Two Sofas Hold  
Advance Guard.

### NOT LIKE GOOD OLD 1912

CHICAGO, May 31.—The day of the colored delegate at Republican conventions has passed. A few turned up here to-day. They dropped into the headquarters of some of the candidates, received a few bland smiles and some literature, were told to drop in as often as they felt like it and were then permitted to wander out into a cold world without so much as being asked where they were staying.

It was not like this four years ago, or even eight years ago. In 1908, when the "allies" made their futile fight against Taft, these colored delegates and their friends were fairly dragged into the various headquarters.

The appearance then of a Southern colored delegate generally was the cause of a whispered conference and then he would depart, looking very wise and very important. There were not only the delegates themselves, but the contestants, who that year were crushed under the Hitchcock steam roller. They made a formidable number.

But what happened in 1908 was as nothing to what happened in 1912. Chicago four years ago fairly flowed with milk and honey for these colored delegates. The Taft men and the Roosevelt men furnished them with sumptuous quarters. They were feted, courted and fought over. Nothing like it was ever seen before. It approached a scandal.

But to this convention there are to be not over twenty-five colored delegates, whereas four years ago there were more than three times that many. This is because of the new representation rule adopted by the National committee which has affected chiefly the delegations from the Southern States.

To mollify the feelings of the colored brethren an effort has been made this year to squeeze in here and there a colored voter in the delegation from the Northern States. Many State delegations which for years have not contained any colored men will have at least one this time. But these delegates are of a class distinctly different from the colored representatives of Republicanism who have hitherto appeared from below Mason and Dixon's line.

James H. Hayes of Virginia, who four years ago was in charge of the enter-

tainment of the colored men who espoused the Colonel's cause and was in charge of the headquarters fitted up for them on Thirty-sixth street, complained bitterly to-day that nobody had had the forethought to provide any meeting place for them. He had heard rumors, he said, that Candidate John A. Weeks thought enough of the colored delegates to provide a resting place for them, but these rumors had not materialized. At the Weeks headquarters they disclaimed all knowledge of such a plan.

The fact is that nobody cares apparently as much as a red apple for the colored delegates this year. There are so few as to make them almost a negligible factor. Of course a situation is conceivable where these few delegates might turn the scale, but that does not appear to be entering into the present calculations of the boom managers.

The slim advance guard of colored delegates did not take up more than two sofas in the Congress Hotel. They and those who are to follow them are all uninstructed. They are waiting to decide who is the best man for the party to nominate.

"The colored delegates are still potentially important," said Mr. Hayes, between trips made to Presidential Row.

But if there is any barrel waiting to be tapped for the benefit of these colored delegates, nobody could discover it to-day.

## SUN

Baltimore, Md.

## NEGROES TURN AGAINST G. O. P.

"Fancy Promises" Faded Away,  
Delegation Tells Wilson.

Washington, Aug. 28. — Declaring that the Republican party had failed to carry out its "fancy promises" for the betterment of the negro race and of recent years had even repudiated the negro as political factor, a delegation of negro citizens called upon President Wilson today and assured him of the support of the Hannibal National Democratic League of the United States.

The league is headed by Giles B. Jackson, of Richmond, Va., one of the leading negro business men of the country. The support of the organization promises to be an asset to the Wilson campaign.

An address which was presented to the President says:

"There was a time when the Republican party put into its platform fancy promises of legislation for the protection and uplift of the negro, but those promises soon faded away, only to be revived at the next national convention.

"In recent years the Republican party has ceased to even mention the negro in the resolutions or the platform at its national conventions. In a majority of Southern States where the colored man constitutes a majority of the Republican vote he has been excluded from participation in the affairs of the party and a 'Lily White' organization perfected, with the sign 'No Negroes Wanted.'

"President Taft, the last Republican President, removed every colored man from office in the South and appointed white Democrats in their places."



Political - 1916

Suffrage  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

## WHITE SUPREMACISTS, COME FRONT

WE HAD hoped, by this time, to hear an answer so beautifully described by Grover Cleveland a from The Pink Ticket orators or organs on the "the cohesive power of public plunder," have cheerfully RECEIVED and happily ACCEPTED a SIMILAR appointment by THEIR political MASTER in the free CONSENT that SILENCE gives.

If the people of Louisiana ought to vote against John Parker because a REPUBLICAN President named ROOSEVELT appointed a NEGRO named CRUM to the post COLLECTORSHIP at Charleston, why should the people of Louisiana not vote AGAINST MR. PLEASANT because a DEMOCRATIC President named WILSON, at the recommendation of a DEMOCRATIC Attorney General named McREYNOLDS, appointed a NEGRO named TERRELL a city JUDGE over a court administering justice to WHITE men and women in the city of Washington, when WHITE DEMOCRATS sought the same office?

Anybody who is honest in professing to believe we are confronted by a Negro Peril must inevitably regard the appointment of a Judge from the colored race as more dangerous to "White Supremacy" than the appointment of a mere clerical official.

WHATEVER Mr. Parker and Mr. Pleasant both feel toward such appointments, Mr. Parker has certainly DEMONSTRATED himself more clearly out of sympathy with them than Mr. Pleasant.

For Mr. PARKER PROTESTED to President ROOSEVELT against the Crum appointment, and no more negroes were appointed in the South by Mr. Roosevelt. IF Mr. PLEASANT ever PROTESTED to Mr. WILSON against the TERRELL appointment we do NOT RECALL it.

Mr. Vardaman actually INVITED Senator RANSDELL and his other Southern colleagues to join him in a fight upon Mr. Wilson's appointment of Judge Terrell to a white man's bench. Mr. Ransdell did not join. He merely took his share of the Wilson PATRONAGE in SILENCE, and comes down here two years LATER, after ACCEPTING the appointment of a negro judge, when a word from HIM would have BLOCKED it in the senate, and joins the chorus raised by half a dozen other eminent Office Holders who are berating Parker because another man appointed a negro collector.

THE absurdity of the whole performance become more hilarious still when we reflect that Parker himself protested the appointment blamed on him while these other gentlemen, bound together by the binding

of the cohesive power of public plunder," have cheerfully RECEIVED and happily ACCEPTED a SIMILAR appointment by THEIR political MASTER in the free CONSENT that SILENCE gives.

Ewing, Sanders, Aswell, all the rest of them, never chirped a chirp of disapproval that we can recall, while Mr. Vardaman and others were calling for volunteers to fight Judge Terrell's appointment. But now, when something is to be gained, instead of lost, by being "White Supremacists," they burst loudly and luridly forth, like brilliant butterflies from their cocoons, full-fledged White Supremacists over night.

WHAT Democrat is gulled by them? What excuse can they offer for themselves—save the excuse of ignorance?

What Democracy, what sane citizen of any label, wants to confide his fortunes and those of his state to a cabal whose best excuse—its inconsistency and absurdity is its ignorance of the subject it treats?

If Ignorance be not the excuse—if these gentlemen now promoting the Pink Ticket of Bossdom KNEW all about the TERRELL appointment by Wilson, and STILL berated Parker for the CRUM appointment by Roosevelt—we ask again, what does THAT bespeak for themselves?

THE DAILY STATES remarks evasively that we referred Crum to Savannah instead of Charleston, which is correct—an inaccuracy. It also observes that the Mayor of Charleston protested instead of recommending Crum. We relied on our memory, Crum having several prominent Charlestonians supporting him. If our contemporary's remark be true, the fact leaves the Wilson appointment rather more unfortunate from "the White Supremacy" viewpoint than the Roosevelt appointment, for it was not only made by a DEMOCRATIC president, but urged by a DEMOCRATIC Attorney General.

Lest there be any doubt of the general understanding in Washington with reference to the reasons for the appointment of Judge Terrell by Mr. Wilson, we quote The Baltimore Sun, of February 17, 1914:

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17.—The reappointment of Terrell, it is understood, will be made as a RECOGNITION of the NEGROES who supported the DEMOCRATIC ticket in the Middle Western states in 1912.

These negroes made a strong appeal to the Attorney General in behalf of Terrell, who is a REPUBLICAN. They asked that should the negro judge be not appointed, another lawyer of his race be selected.

The Sun is one of the old line of Democratic news-

papers. From all of which we learn that DEMOCRATIC Wilsons are not much different from REPUBLICAN Roosevelts, with reference to "The Negro Question," or any other question, when it comes to "recognizing" those who have "delivered the goods," and may be required to do so again.

We remark in this connection that the DEMOCRATIC Governor of Indiana has just appointed the DEMOCRATIC BOSS, Tom Taggart, to a vacancy in the United States Senate. Tom Taggart is known for a fine Negro Democratic Marching Club that "supports the Democratic ticket" in his part of "The Middle West."

The only remark of consequence in The Daily States' evasion of our direct question is its assertion that the noble resentment of the sudden "White Supremacists" of Louisiana against Mr. Roosevelt, is found on other things too, and not on the Crum matter alone. These other considerations will be discussed in their order.

Meanwhile, if Louisianians are to be advised to "blackball" Mr. Parker because he knows Roosevelt, why not advise them to double-blackball Mr. Pleasant because he is political friends with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Taggart?

### THE SHADE OF THAD STEVENS.

The New York World polled American Senators, Representatives and Governors on the question of abolishing the electoral college and substituting direct elections. Many Democrats replied that they favored the plan and of course most of the Republicans favored it. But the Southerners were very nearly unanimous in their opposition to the scheme.

There are enough Southerners in Congress, assisted by several colleagues from other sections, to block this game. We doubt if the amendment can be submitted at this time.

It is to be expected that the Republicans favor the scheme. Only one representative Republican, however, is candid enough to express Republicanism's fundamental and traditional motive for interfering with our election system. That man is Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the great educator, who frankly says the direct action plan should be set up so that the "negro in the South may exercise his constitutional right to vote for president." At present the negro suffrage question is of serious bother to neither white nor black man; but the day we declare this amendment ratified, that day will a premium have been put upon the negro's vote in the South and we may be sure that energetic efforts will be made immediately to take advantage of the situation.

Another reason why the Republicans want it is that it would enhance the power of populous Republican States and make it harder to elect a Democratic President. Re-

publican favor of the direct plan is based mainly on selfish motives.

Southern and Western statesmen are playing with fire when they cuddle up to this plan to carry on the work of the dead Federalists and the dead Thad Stevens.

Why some Southern newspaper editors should be doing a muscle dance in celebration of this inspired scheme, passes our understanding, but some of them are doing it



# INTIMIDATED VOTER FILES \$10,000 SUIT AGAINST DEMOCRATS

**Breckinridge Long, J. J. Kennedy, T. Sandmann Named in First of Series of Legal Actions by Negroes.**

**MANDAMUS PROCEEDINGS  
WILL BE HEARD TODAY**

**Judges and Clerks in 53 Precincts Cited to Explain How 180 More Votes Were Tallied Than Were Cast.**

The first of a series of damage suits growing out of voters being intimidated, arrested and otherwise interfered with on election day in St. Louis, as outlined Thursday by members of the Board of Election Commissioners, was filed yesterday in the Circuit Court.

Henry Lucas, a negro, of 309 Lesperance street, filed the suit. It was directed against Breckinridge Long, president of the Wilson Club; John J. Kennedy, Democratic city committeeman of the Eighth Ward, and Theodore Sandmann, Democratic challenger of the Eighth Ward, Fifth Precinct. Damages of \$10,000 are asked.

Discrepancies which point to possible fraud on the governorship vote in fifty-three scattering precincts caused the Board of Election Commissioners to issue

missioners did not take the stand, however, that the ballots should not be counted.

## Lucas Makes Charges.

Lucas, in his petition filed yesterday, alleges that he was arrested, when he presented himself at the polling place, at the instance of Sandmann, who charged him with having a criminal record that would bar him from voting.

In the petition it is stated that the defendants "unlawfully, wickedly, falsely, willfully and maliciously, intending to oppress and intimidate the plaintiff, and to deprive him of his liberty, and to bring shame and disgrace upon him, caused him to be arrested and forcibly taken into custody without warrant of law."

Lucas was kept in a cell for two and a half hours before he obtained bond. When he appeared in the Court of Criminal Correction, November 10, to answer any charge that might be brought against him, he was discharged without trial.

Lucas had been accused at the polling place of having been sent to the Penitentiary in 1906. He says that he was never arrested for any cause previous to when he was arrested on election day.

At Long's office yesterday it was said that he was out of town. His private secretary said that he had left word not to be disturbed under any circumstances. She declined to reveal his whereabouts.

Kennedy said last night he knew nothing about the Lucas suit. "That's funny," he said. "If I thought I could raise \$10,000 out of it, I'd file a suit myself. I don't know anything about Lucas. Never heard of him. How do I know

## Continued on Second Page

whether he voted or not? I was only in the Fifth Precinct polling place a few minutes on election day."

Kennedy said he did not know what he would do about the suit. He said he did not even know it had been filed until informed by a GLOBE-DEMOCRAT reporter. He insisted he knew nothing about Lucas and said he was not even sure Sandmann was a challenger in the precinct.

That Long was the head of a movement to challenge negroes in wholesale lots was the substance of a statement purporting to be from him in the St. Louis Republic, November 7, election morning.

It was stated that Long had the names of 3000 negroes who were registered and who had criminal records which would bar them from voting. Subsequent events have proven, however, that hundreds of the negroes challenged, many of whose votes were not counted, and many of whom were arrested as a result of the challenging, were qualified voters.

Long, on election morning, was quoted as follows in the St. Louis Republic: "Democratic challengers in every affected precinct in the sixteen wards have been given a precinct list of the negroes who have registered illegally."

"AS RAPIDLY AS THEY ARRIVE AT THE POLLS THEY WILL BE CHALLENGED. IF THEY INSIST ON CASTING THEIR BALLOTS AND START TO SWEAR IN THEIR VOTE, THEY WILL BE ARRESTED AT ONCE, CHARGED WITH PERJURY."

"The discovery and proof of this fraud, I believe, will make St. Louis Democratic.

Republican leaders have realized that the fight is close.

"I BELIEVE THAT THE THROWING OUT OF THESE 3000 VOTES WILL PUT ST. LOUIS IN THE DEMOCRATIC COLUMN."

## Commissioners Condemn Move.

The wholesale arrests, which are now a matter of record, followed, and the intimidation and wrongfulness of the proceedings was openly condemned by all members of the Board of Election Commissioners. In addition, a delegation of citizens, headed by Mayor Kiel called upon Chief of Police Young and President Thompson of the Police Board and protested.

One of the negroes arrested, according to an affidavit on file with lawyers, who are making an investigation, was told by a policeman on the way to the station house, that the "whole thing was a frame-up."

## J. T. Cole Challenged.

James T. Cole of 3955 Finney avenue, was one of the negroes on the list of voters furnished to Democratic challengers, and Cole was challenged when he appeared to vote by William Palmer, a negro Democratic challenger.

Cole is known to hundreds of St. Louisans as "Jim" Cole, and has served in some of the most fashionable and well-known families in St. Louis for nearly fifty years, at various functions. Cole, on the list of "fraudulent" voters was accused of having served a term in the Workhouse in 1905. It was news to Cole. He protested, and the judges, knowing him, allowed him to vote, unmolested.

Scores of other negroes, some of whom were arrested when they appeared to vote, have made affidavits that they were never arrested before, and that they were qualified electors. They were included on the list of "fraudulent" voters. All of this information will be laid before the proper authorities, in addition to being used as the basis of damage suits.

## WHAT DOES THE FUTURE HOLD?

While this paper desired the election of Charles Evans Hughes as president we are not entirely despondent because success rested upon Woodrow Wilson. It is not Mr. Wilson that we fear so much as we do his party. We believe that at heart Woodrow Wilson is a much bigger man than his party, that he is really democratic in his ideals, and that his failure to fulfill certain promises and obligations to colored Americans has been due to the fact that during his administration he has been forced to pursue as a matter of policy his course in regard to the race. Now that his legislative program has been largely carried out and practically all "deserving Democrats" have been provided for we look for the president to pay less heed to the whims of little politicians who wanted for personal reasons a Negro demoted here and there in the civil service or wanted a position in the consular ser-

vice held by a Negro. Except as a matter of principle the loss of a few political jobs does not affect the race. We can afford to lose the political jobs if we lose them on account of politics, but it is quite another thing to have to surrender them on account of color. That is what many colored men in the government service have had to do, not so much we believe to satisfy Mr. Wilson as to satisfy some of his henchmen. We hope that in the beginning of his second term, with his political ambitions amply fulfilled, Mr. Wilson will divorce himself from some of the undemocratic influences that have beset him during his first administration. During the next four years the president will be confronted by some of the most serious and most complicated problems that ever confronted a chief executive of this nation. The Mexican situation, the European war, the great conflict between capital and labor, the tariff and the combinations in restraint of trade which are constantly sending upward the cost of living all present great questions for Mr. Wilson to handle. In their solution he needs the support and good will of all Americans, regardless of race or color, and under such circumstances it is hard to believe that the president will yield to partisan influences in dealing with domestic matters that affect the interests and welfare of any great body of American citizens.

If the country under Woodrow Wilson's next administration is prosperous, the Negro will prosper in proportion as all Americans prosper. If, for instance, the sudden ending of the war should bring on an extended period of depression the American Negro will suffer in common with all Americans. Let us hope for the best, and let us not relinquish our Americanism nor yield to any class the proud and exalted position we have held in upholding the ideals and institutions of our country.



Political - 1916

# Suffrage. The Negro Men Should Register

Savannah Tribune

By J. C. Lindsay

While it is a fact that the National Negro Business League was not organized by its founder, the lamented Booker T. Washington, for the purpose of dabbling in matters purely political, nor has this organization at any time, during the seventeen years of its existence, attempted to exert an influence, other than to assist the members of the race in matters pertaining to business, pure and simple, but, at this time, the members of the local branch of the National Negro Business League feels it not robbery to call attention to the importance of every man of the race paying his tax and registering, so as to be qualified to vote on any proposition which may come up, which may be left to the discretion of men to decide.

It is indeed, a deplorable sight to see grown up men who have no more voice or vote in the government of their city, county, state or nation, than a baby, and a girl baby at that. Some careless, cowardly crying fellow will say: "I would vote, but the registrars will not let me register." That is no excuse at all. A manly man, who feels that he is responsible to his wife and baby at home for the kind of laws enacted and feels that he should take a hand in electing the officers who are to enforce the laws put on books, whether they be municipal, county, state or national laws, will see to it that if he is denied the right to walk to the court house, as other men, and pay his tax, register and when occasion require it, vote, we say such a man should take legal steps to see that such a sacred right be not denied him.

There is not an honest white man in Georgia, but who will not encourage and, if need be, protect the taxpaying, property-owning, non purchasable voting Negro. Every manly man admires true manhood when he sees it in another, be he white or black. Therefore, in this letter, we are appealing to the men of the race, to go to the court house and pay your

poll tax, see to it that your names are placed on the books as men and as voters. Don't wait another day, go now.

In a civilized government like ours, our rights as citizens, depend upon the ballot. You may say what you please, you may talk all the big fancy talk you wish, you may orate until you are hoarse, but if you cannot vote when election day comes around, believe me, the other fellow has but little respect for you.

The local league does not care much if it should happen to insult and make a few so-called "big uns" just a little angry in its letter of this week if they would only get angry enough to go to the court house and pay their taxes and see to it that they become qualified voters.

If it was not for the fact that it would be giving away a little family secret that we do not wish to divulge at this time, we would tell our many readers who see our letter weekly about the number of so-called "big uns" many of whom are trying to tell the people how to live spiritually and otherwise every week, who are just as voteless themselves as the little grand daughter of the writer, who has not yet joined the suffragette party on account of her tender years.

Now, voteless men, if you are angry to the extent that you are going to pay your tax and register at once, then we feel that this letter has accomplished that where unto it was sent. Come early to your next meeting, Wednesday evening December 6th, there will be reports made that you will be interested in.

## COLORED REPUBLICANS SAY THAT THEY WERE FROZEN OUT.

Charge Efforts to Oust Black Brother From Deliberations of Party Convention in Richmond.

The following communication was received by The Times-Dispatch late last night:

To the Editor of The Times-Dispatch: Sir,—We, colored voters of the city of Richmond, do not approve of the program as carried out by the city committee at the mass-meeting held at the Odd Fellows' Hall, over Station A, on Harrison Street, Saturday night, March 4, 1916, for the purpose of elect-

ing twenty-five delegates and twenty-five alternates to the district convention, and twenty-five delegates and twenty-five alternates to the State convention to be held in the near future. These conventions will elect delegates to the National Republican Convention, which meets in Chicago on the 7th day of June, 1916.

Some of the facts upon which we base our disapproval are as follows:

That upon our arrival at the meeting place at 7:50 o'clock we found the doors locked. At 8 o'clock the doors were opened. We proceeded to the meeting room, where we found about 150 already seated, most of whom appeared to be employees of a certain can factory of this city.

That prominent Republican voters were entirely ignored and not allowed the privilege of the floor.

That every motion was made by the ring (no others recognized), put and carried, refusing to recognize any and all objections offered by bona fide Republican voters.

That a committee of three was appointed on nominations, which was out only a few minutes, and brought in a typewritten report carrying 100 delegates and alternates, a city committee of forty-two and chairman and secretary.

That out of 100 delegates and alternates not a Republican voter was represented.

That in the presidential election of 1912, out of a Republican vote in Richmond city of 888 the colored Republicans cast 535 of these votes, which shows that the colored Republicans represent about three-fifths of the Republican vote of said city.

That in the district the vote for 1912 was 1,859, of which 1,167 were cast by colored Republicans.

That the colored Republicans were entirely ignored at the mass-meeting above referred to as of March 4, 1916.

If votes count for anything, we would like to know if they are worth anything in the estimation of the makers of the slate which was steamrolled through Saturday night's meeting.

We ask that the bona fide Republican voters join with us in our disapproval of the action taken at Saturday night's meeting as of March 4, 1916.

A Republican mass-meeting has been called for Tuesday night at the True Reformers' Hall at 8 o'clock. All Republicans are urged to attend and participate.

CHARLES JOHNSON,

President.

H. H. PRICE,

Secretary.

Richmond, March 4.  
(Times-Dispatch)

## LILY WHITISM AGAIN SEEKS SUPREMACY IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

Negro Republicans Throughout the Country Should Take Notice

Strike a Death Blow to

Lily Whitism wherever

it Exists.

Nashville Globe

In March of this year Mr. J. Duncan Adams, of Charleston, S. C., and Mr. A. D. Webster, of Orangeburg, S. C., were earnestly and urgently importuning republicans wherever one could be reached to send the said Mr. Adams, and Mr. Webster as delegates to the National Republican Convention which was held at Chicago in June. Mr. Adams was elected a delegate from the regular organization at the State Convention held March 7th, 1916, by the enormous majority of one vote. Mr. Webster controlled the machinery of the regular organization in his District (the seventh) and went to the National Convention as a contestant from the District; the National Convention though he was not the legally elected delegate and he failed to obtain a seat in the Convention.

Returning home these gentlemen evidently ruminated over the close shave which one had in securing a seat in the National Convention and over the failure of the other to obtain a seat so they decided to form an assemblage of gentlemen whose interests were common (the desire for office) call it a Republican Party exclude the Negro, and all would be happy under the Hughes administration.

Therefore Mr. Adams, in July three months after his triumphant election as delegate in the regular Republican organization issued a call to those whom he designated as clean and fit for self respecting white men to rally to the Jefferson Hotel (white) at Columbia, S. C., and "organize" a republican party which is to be presumed he regarded as clean and fit for self respecting white men (who had been or tried to be delegates from the regular organization and which wasn't any longer clean after they used it to accomplish their ends) to join.

A few gentlemen met, the most of whom were the very same gentlemen who formed the Lily White effort in South Carolina six years ago, and they launched what they styled "The Progressive Republican Party."

Mr. A. D. Webster, aforementioned, was chosen State Chairman and Mr. J. Duncan Adams was called National Committeeman. An Execu-

tive Committee for the State was formed composed entirely of white men.

Visions and dreams of political pie floated before this little band of patriotic and party loving republicans as they thought of the patronage to be dispensed by the incoming Republican Administration. And with those dreams and visions came the determination that the Negro who has kept alive the Republican party all these years in South Carolina, should be debarred of the privilege and right of a voice in its councils or any participation in the reward to be given for party service except such crumbs as these gentlemen should let fall in charity from their table.

And now Negro Republicans are anxious to know whether Republicans who have labored for years to maintain an organization in South Carolina are to be cast aside for men who now rush to the front in order to secure spoils of victory for themselves and for the further purpose of eliminating the Negro from politics in South Carolina as he has been eliminated in other southern States.

The republican party with a white man at its head as State Chairman, and its Executive composed of both white and Negroes was good enough for Mr. Adams and Mr. Webster in March and June, why was it not good enough in July and August?

It is dangerous, exceedingly dangerous at this time with the National election impending for the National organization to permit these men to strike at the rights of the Negro to be Republicans and to sit in its councils.

What has Lily Whitism accomplished in the South? Was North Carolina carried Republican by Lily Whites when it was last in the Republican column? Was Tennessee?

But for Lily Whitism, Tennessee, Kentucky and Maryland could be counted as sure for Hughes and Fairbanks in November. There is a good fighting chance even in North Carolina, but with Lily Whitism rampant throughout the South the Negro cannot be expected to vote for his own exclusion from politics and the complete destruction of his civic rights.

Segregation in the government service, exclusion of the Negro from holding positions of honor and trust under the Wilson Administration and encouragement by that administration of lynching, and other lawless acts and every form of oppression exercised against the Negro in the South will become the policy of these Lily White Republicans of the South who will endeavor to fasten it upon the new Republican Administration as its southern policy, to be stretched to fit northern situation whenever the opportunity offers.



We appeal therefore to Negro Republicans and fairminded white republicans as well throughout the country to put the stamp of their disapproval upon Lily Whittis wherever it shows its head and to demand that this new band that now appears in South Carolina, without reason or excuse, (except hope for office hereafter) be warned that unless their claims be presented a Republicans working in harmony with the party which honored them or their leaders and promoters in March and June they will receive no recognition now or hereafter.

**THE INDEPENDENT** 7/1/16

*The Journal & Guide*

There has existed some skepticism and some misgivings as to the intentions and purposes of the Independent Political League, organized in this city several weeks ago, despite which, however, the league continues to grow and each meeting brings new members.

The men who are foremost in the Independent Political League movement are aware that in view of the past history of such movements, uncertain and short-lived, there are ample grounds for the doubtful to stand off until they are convinced that this new movement means business and has some character and brains behind it. We believe that the public is in the right state of mind to support such an organization when it is clear that the organization was formed with an unselfish purpose to work along legitimate lines for the amelioration of the civic and political condition of the colored citizens of the city.

The organization is first, last and all the time independent and void of any political alliances. It is political in nature, for the reason that as an organization it is a means to an end, and there is no other way to accomplish the ends sought except by political means. We may debate the point as much as we choose, but the fact remains that under our form of government the ballot is the basis of adjustment for all questions affecting the inherent constitutional rights

of citizens.

The organization has another aspect touching a question that is little thought of in connection with well-rounded citizenship. It aims to emphasize the point that a man has certain duties as well as certain rights under the constitution and that it is important, in fact essential that these duties be performed.

The Independent Political League aims to have men qualify for full citizenship rights and responsibilities. It invites men who believe that this is their duty, to identify themselves with the organization. It invites men who are lukewarm upon the subject to attend the meetings and hear the discussions. Those who are skeptical but open-minded are invited to come and learn more about the organization.

The organization is not temporary. Its membership already includes enough public spirited and determined men to insure its permanency. It invites the co-operation of all men who believe that the time is at hand when we should cease to complain among ourselves of existing conditions, but should organize for power and when we have it go about remedying our conditions through the well-known channels open to all full-fledged men and citizens.

**BAR NO WHITE MAN  
IN COMING PRIMARY,  
URGES HUGH DORSEY**

"Expression of People in Campaign of 1906 Should Be Considered Conclusive," Declares Fulton County Solicitor.

*Constitution*  
**ASKS THE COMMITTEE**

**TO REJECT SUGGESTION**

*7-2-16*  
**Announces He Will State His Position on Race for Governor After Meeting of Democratic Committee in Macon.**

Although Solicitor General Hugh Dorsey has not yet made it clear whether or not he intends to run for governor, he has at least made it clear, in a statement authorized last night, that he has not foregone the idea of running, and that he will make known his intentions in this direction during the week immediately following May 3 when the state democratic executive committee meets in Macon and fixes rules for the state primary.

In his statement Mr. Dorsey expressed himself as opposed to any rules which the committee might fix looking to dividing the white voters of the state.

Whatever action the committee may take at that time, he said, will in no way affect his decision to run or not to run for governor, however.

**Says Action Was Wise.**

He explained that when, some time since, he stated that he would have something to say in the early spring he had expected that the committee would fix the rules for the state primary at its February meeting. He thinks, however, that the committee acted wisely in postponing action on this point, and takes this action "as an indication that neither the politicians nor the people of the state are in any humor for a prolonged political campaign," and that there will be ample time after the committee meets for him to make any announcement of his plans.

In his statement, however, Mr. Dorsey expresses his disapproval of any action of the committee toward prescribing any rules and regulations which would operate to divide the white voters of the state into two parties. He also stated that, while personally he favors the county unit plan in preference to the popular vote plan, this is of comparative insignificance to "the proposed plan to prescribe proscriptive rules and regulations which would operate to immediately divide the white men of the state into two parties."

**Bar No White Man.**

On this subject, he said: "I should very much hate to see the democratic organization in Georgia adopt any rules which would disfranchise any white man in the coming state primary. I think that the expression of the people in the campaign of 1906 should be considered conclusive on that proposition and that the policy of the democratic party, the dominant party in Georgia, should be that of guaranteeing to every white voter the right to participate in the white primary as regards all state affairs.

"This policy has been uniformly adhered to in the management of the municipal affairs of the cities of the state, and I can see no good reason why the policy which has been in vogue, so far as state matters are concerned, since 1906 should now be varied in any particular. I hazard the prediction that the wisdom of rejecting

the proposed proscriptional rules will be sufficiently manifest to the committee in charge of the affairs of the party as to cause them to reject the suggestion. I am surprised if we have not already heard the last of that."

**GAZETTE**  
*Fullerton Ok.*  
**JUN 2 1916**

**The Popular C. n.**

The Hon. Negro, who has been buffeted around first to the right, then to the left, then up and then down, had his inning in one Oklahoma county, if in no other during the period of registration. Following the enactment of the grandfather clause by means of the famous trick ballot, there was little ceremony in disfranchising the dusky voter. When it came time for him to vote the election officers were either out of ballots, the polls had closed, or some catastrophe had occurred that barred the brunette brother from the ballot. At first some ingenious tricks were devised, but it was not long until cleverness was displaced by contempt and the disfranchisement of the colored troops was an open certainty. Not even excuse was longer offered, but the mandate was simply issued that consanguinity and the coon were out in the cold as far as voting was concerned. Along came a decision of the United States supreme court which held that the Oklahoma law regarding voters was the next thing to anarchy and in conflict with the charter of rights and the thing stood just where it did before the Hon. Haskell and his shipwreckers adopted their program. With the decision, however, was a mandate that confirmed the conviction of two precinct election officials charged with depriving shady citizens of the right to vote.

During the first ten days of May the period of registration was on. The registration law, shorn of the grandfather feature, was planned to take the place of the former statute. It was presumed that enough precinct registrars would deny registration to negroes to keep the disfranchisement policy intact. In fact, this supposition was correct in some of the southern and eastern counties, but there was one place where the negro regained some of his old-time popularity, and in fact a great deal was added. It was in Kingfisher county. The colored brother found that he was a popular citizen during the ten days' period of registration. In fact, precinct registrars were out bright and early on the first day of May knocking at the doors of negro residences awakening the drowsy dusks that they might be enrolled as electors. At the places where the books were kept a reception committee of democrats, wearing ribbons and smiles, was on duty welcoming

the negroes and urging them to register. In fact, lemonade and some ice cream was served in many precincts. There was a general disposition to see that the coon registered if no one else was enrolled. No questions regarding penmanship and trigonometry were asked. The Hon. Negro was in the midst of the vox populi stuff and precinct registrars even paused to discuss preparedness with him. There can be no way of accounting for the sudden yet immense popularity of the negro in Kingfisher county unless it is due to the fact that Messrs. Beall and Guinn reside in that county.—Walter Ferguson, in Cherokee Republican.

**THE NEGRO IN POLITICS.**

Just what the status of the negro will be in politics in the coming campaign is a question that is very seriously considered. While President Wilson has not given him any official recognition to any extent, the republicans in the South have attempted to organize a lily white party and ignore his political claims altogether. The white republican party in the South means negro elimination from the body politic. The white republican party in the South organizes for offices only and nothing more. It is too clanish to place in the field a republican ticket, and many, if not all, white republicans organize to prevent the colored republicans from affiliating in the councils of the party. There has come to the front today the old pledged office seekers who figured to a great extent in the past republican administration.

If the republican party should win in the coming contest it would find itself embarrassed by having a lot of leeches hanging on to it. The Bee sympathizes with the South, because the two candidates for delegates to the national republican convention are from adjoining states and if such methods as they used in the recent election in this city are used in the South. The Bee sympathizes with the good people in the South who ask to be delivered from such imposition. The citizens of Washington have been imposed upon long enough, and yet to a great extent they are to blame.

In the recent election money and whiskey had a telling effect which convinces The Bee qualified suffrage is what the people in this city should be given, in the event they are to be given any suffrage at all.



Political - 1916

Suffrage  
PLAIN DEALER

Cleveland, Ohio.

## WILLIS DECLARES FOR RACE JUSTICE

Governor Acclaimed Cham-  
pion of Humanity at Col-  
ored Men's Picnic.

Barring of Racial Film From  
Ohio Brings Praise to  
Executive.

Gov. Frank B. Willis, acclaimed  
"the champion of a common human-  
ity because he barred 'The Birth of  
a Nation' from Ohio motion picture  
theaters," was the chief speaker at  
last night's Emancipation Day exer-  
cises at Luna park.

"A race that produced Blanche K.  
Bruce, Senator Revels, Frederick  
Douglas and Paul Lawrence Dunbar,  
that can inspire a nation with faith is  
too great, too patriotic and too digni-  
fied to be insulted by a cheap pic-  
ture show," Gov. Willis declared.

"Some people may forget the  
mighty men of history, but there is  
one people that will always remember  
the tall, gaunt figure of the man from  
Illinois who wrote the message that  
made this people free—Abraham Lin-  
coln.

"The time is at hand when there  
shall be meted out everywhere in this  
country, east as well as west, north  
as well as south, even-handed justice  
to every man and woman without re-  
gard to sex, race or previous condi-  
tion of servitude.

"From the beginning of the history  
of this country black men have been  
doing more than their full share for  
the white men of the nation.

"At the beginning of history, out  
there on Boston common, the first  
man that shed his blood to make  
America was a black man.

"In the revolutionary army that  
fought under Washington there was  
scarcely a regiment but what had in  
it at least a hundred black men fight-  
ing shoulder to shoulder with white  
men to make America. They are as  
much American as I am."

After enumerating many achieve-  
ments of the race in agricultural,  
political, religious and artistic fields,  
Gov. Willis asserted it had earned its  
place as an integral part of the  
American nation.

"There never was a black man who  
was a traitor to his country," he

declared.

"As the latent value of the negroes  
as citizens is developed and made  
apparent, such prejudice as now ex-  
ists will be dispelled," Myron T. Her-  
rick said.

"With the ending of that prejudice  
will come the removal of those dis-  
abilities which still unfortunately  
survive in some states through the  
inability of the federal government  
to control altogether the policy of  
separate states.

"This nation is composed of many  
races. It must draw its strength  
from all of them and must extend to  
all equal rights and privileges with-  
out discrimination or distinction."

Mayor Harry L. Davis, on behalf  
of the Cleveland Association of Col-  
ored Men, presented G. A. and F. F.  
Morgan with medals for their rescue  
work after the recent water works  
tunnel explosion.

Other speakers were Charles A.  
Cottrill, Toledo, former revenue col-  
lector for the Hawaiian islands; Ja-  
cob S. Coxe, who took a number of  
former slaves to Luna Park, and J.  
Walter Willis, president of the Cleve-  
land Association of Colored Men.

More than 15,000 negroes took part  
in the picnic, features of which were  
an automobile parade in which Sun-  
day school children took part, a ball  
game and various sporting events.

### A DISSATISFIED DEMOCRAT.

The caption of this article is likely  
to arouse a feeling of doubt in the  
minds of some, because in our South-  
ern country, where a Democrat has  
everything to his liking, there ought  
not to be any such thing as a dissatis-  
fied disciple of the cause. But there  
is one. His name is Mr. J. Peter  
Holland of Norfolk, formerly of  
Southampton County. Mr. Holland  
ran in the recent Democratic primary  
for Congress and was defeated, very  
much so, by Mr. Edward E. Holland,  
the incumbent, who is related to Mr.  
J. Peter Holland by political ties but  
not by blood.

Mr. Holland does not like the way  
the Democratic primary does things,  
and he has issued a statement that  
makes mighty interesting reading as  
the expression of a leading Democrat.  
He declares that the law making the  
payment of the poll tax six months  
prior to an election a prerequisite to  
the use of the ballot should be re-  
pealed, adding that:

"This constitutional require-  
ment enables the great corpora-  
tions, the banks and the vested  
interests to pay the taxes of  
those who regard their suffrage  
lightly, while thousands of good  
and unpurchasable citizens are  
disfranchised by omitting to pay  
their own taxes.

"I favor a law requiring a ma-  
jority vote to nominate candi-  
dates for office, and if the Demo-  
cratic party does not take steps  
to this end, it will sooner or later

bring about serious consequences  
to itself."

All of which goes to show that as  
events which bring distress to lead-  
ing Democrats follow closely one up-  
on the other it becomes more and  
more apparent that the Democrats  
themselves are falling into the pit  
they dug for others. All of the things  
complained of by Mr. Holland were  
made into the election laws with Mr.  
Holland's knowledge and consent to  
keep colored men who constitute a  
large percentage of those "good and  
unpurchasable citizens" referred to by  
him from participating in the elec-  
tions, or, in other words to defeat the  
purposes of certain amendments to  
the constitution of the United States.

As a temporary expedient the  
"grandfather clause" served admir-  
ably to disfranchise Negroes without  
disfranchising white men, but when  
that and similar devices had spent  
their force and some other expedient  
was necessary the poll tax payment  
law was brought into effect. And  
this has disfranchised nearly all of  
the white men and made elections a  
mockery and a travesty upon true  
democratic form of government, per-  
mitting "great corporations, the  
banks and vested interests," to com-  
mit election frauds with impunity as  
well as keep good Democrats, like Mr.  
J. Peter Holland claims to be, out of  
Congress. Mr. Holland has a right  
to be dissatisfied.

### South Carolina Election Laws. VI.

The State has received, in reply to  
a request, the following "approxi-  
mate estimate," as of July 1, 1916,  
of the number of males and females  
21 years of age and over, by color,  
in South Carolina:

White males . . . . .	183,000
Colored males . . . . .	179,500
White females . . . . .	182,700
Colored females . . . . .	193,600

These estimates are based upon  
the returns of the twelfth and thir-  
teenth censuses and are not the re-  
sult of an enumeration. They may  
be safely accepted as substantially  
accurate. A number of interesting  
facts and inferences may be derived  
from them.

The white males of voting age out-  
number the negroes by 8,500.

The white males outnumber the

white females by 5,300 but the case in the country precincts especially,  
is reversed as to the other race, the do not ask to be paid for conducting  
negro females of voting age having an election. Hence they are unwill-  
ing to incur any expense, as taxpay-  
ers, for the protection of the elec-  
tions in other precincts. They fancy  
that because they are honest all oth-  
er voters are and the thought of an  
Australian ballot law, with its ex-  
pense and slight inconvenience, of-  
fends them. They are opposed to in-  
novation. Rather than submit to it,  
they are entirely willing to jog along  
and allow their votes to be canceled  
by some rotten precinct where heel-  
ers abound who see to it that  
fraudulent votes are cast or that hon-  
est votes are fraudulently counted.

Men who are themselves entirely  
honest will probably be found to be  
the chief obstacle in the legislature  
to the enactment of laws without  
which they will be the victims of  
windlers. These legislators will be  
afraid of their honest constituents  
failed to register and 20,000 more,  
back home—voters who will resent  
anything that interferes with the ease  
with which primaries and elections  
are now conducted. Strange to say,  
the citizens of a rural precinct in  
the Edgefield can not be convinced that  
the 100 ballots that they honestly  
cast may count for nothing if 100  
of the men and women registered  
votes may be dishonestly cast for  
another candidate in one of the heavy  
voting wards of a city where all the  
tricks of the election trade have been  
known and practiced when possible  
and the safety of our government de-  
pend in the main on them. The  
registration books should be brought  
up to date each election year. The  
exact number of white and colored  
voters in each county and in each  
precinct should be reported to the  
secretary of state's office. As the  
laws are now enforced, no one seems  
to know how many persons are reg-  
istered and who they are. There is  
no central office from which infor-  
mation about the registration may be  
had.

Without efficient administration of  
our registration laws to which some  
new legislation is perhaps a condi-  
tion precedent, there can be no per-  
manent security for good government  
under our present election system.  
During 40 years South Carolina has  
drifted along on the assumption that  
in elections all white men are hon-  
est, so far as white men are con-  
cerned, with the result that the way  
has been left open for dishonest white  
men to practice frauds with the

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## READERS' LETTERS.

Wilson and the Negro Vote.

Sioux City, Ia., Oct. 16, 1916.—To the  
Editor: "How Union Labor Will Vote"  
was the subject of a leading article in  
a recent issue of the Literary Digest. It  
was very interesting to note how the ma-  
jority of leaders claimed their followers  
would support Wilson. One is inclined  
to feel that the labor leaders' estimate  
would be followed on election day by the  
unions about like the great sympathetic  
strike was followed in New York recently,  
when we read that of five negro labor  
unions in Louisiana, comprising some 900  
members, some of whom (because of the  
disfranchisement laws of the south) had  
no vote, 75 per cent of those who could  
vote would cast their vote for Wilson.

It is interesting to contemplate a race  
of people voting for a democrat for presi-  
dent in November, when they are not  
allowed to vote the ticket at any other  
time. To be more explicit: A law pre-  
vails in most southern states to the effect  
that no one but registered white voters  
may vote in a democratic primary. Roose-  
velt was elected president in 1904 with  
the greatest popular vote that a president  
ever received before or since. He re-



ceived something like 2,700 from the state of Mississippi, with a population in 1914 of 1,799,000. It is quite apparent, therefore, that a nomination on the democratic ticket in the south for anything from the senate down is equivalent to an election. The negro is, therefore, in this way disfranchised. Could one suppose, then, that negroes who can vote in Louisiana should vote for Wilson?

But as this article is intended to set forth the negro vote on November 7, I will cite a few more facts in this connection.

While the negro, by virtue of the party ticket in a national election, does vote the ticket frequently in municipal and state elections over all the north. In Omaha a majority of the negroes always vote for Dahlman for mayor. In Illinois Dunne, the democratic nominee for governor, will receive an equal share—if not more, than will the republican nominee, Lowden. Indeed, if it was not a national election, with many fearing to risk spoiling their ballot by scratching, Dunne would get the majority of the negro vote. Moreover, negroes voted Cleveland the last time he served as president by thousands because they were convinced that he was fair to all citizens. Again, they voted for Wilson in 1912 because they were given by his promises to feel that he would protect their rights under the constitution. Which will go to prove that the negro as a race is not provincial. As a result of this—would we call it an attempt at progressivism?—he has been overruled in his one protective rate, the civil service. Under the republican administration he was holding twenty-seven federal and consular positions. He now holds two.

But getting back to the origin. The democratic party was the party of secession. By advocating an extensive states' rights policy, secession was indirectly encouraged. Under such a policy, the negro race might have been left longer in slavery. It is, at least, not the opinion of negro leaders that democratic legislation would have given the negro the ballot as a source of protection. It was the democratic party in the south that sought, and continues to seek, negro disfranchisement. It has been the democratic party in the south that has brought about disfranchisement by the states' rights method by devious ways. It has been when the democratic party was in absolute control in all states on the border of the north and south that Jim Crowism in railway travel, street car travel, the public schools, parks public accommodation—in fact, in general—has been brought about.

Under President Wilson almost every negro that could be reached, in positions of appointment as well as positions of merit, has been quietly let out. And since southerners control the majority of the prominent committees, this has been effected more easily. Segregation has become an order at Washington, notwithstanding that for two score years negroes have worked beside the whites without any conflict or agitation. It has only been since Burleson has been postmaster general that it has been necessary to separate the whites and blacks. The same applies to various other departments where southerners control. On the face of it, this may seem fair, perhaps, but the negro has lived to learn that segregation by sanction of the law leads ultimately to discrimination. President Wilson has sanctioned segregation. President Wilson has replaced all negro officeholders under Taft with "deserving white democrats." And wherever he has had the opportunity to do so, he has sanctioned the removal of all negroes from

office holding.

In view of these cold facts, how can any conscientious negro vote for the president in the coming election?

In a speech at Indianapolis last week, the president took issue with the opposition with regard to sectionalism, stating that any person who would arouse such an issue showed himself a provincial and unworthy of the confidence of the people. The opposition, in so far as I have observed, has only complained of the fact that the president has shown bias in appointing southerners to a majority of the committees, and cited that the south has not furnished her quota of guards at the border. In short, until recently almost no guards whatever on the border were from the south. In my opinion, I do not think the president can accuse the opposition of being very aggressive on this point when the facts are taken into consideration.

If the south has the right to disfranchise the majority of her voters it would seem in all fairness that her representation in proportion to other states should be adjusted likewise. The fact, therefore, that Mr. Hughes has made no reference to this has certainly been in the democrats' favor. Supposing, we will say, that Mr. Hughes should tell the voters of Iowa that Alabama not only controls a number of the various committees and has as many congressmen except one as Iowa, yet when Iowa was casting almost a half million votes in 1914 to get the same representation in congress as Alabama, Alabama only allowed 75,000 of her citizens to vote. And supposing he had told the people of Kansas that while Mississippi controlled a number of committees and had ten congressmen in Washington, along with ten congressmen from Kansas, Mississippi only allowed 37,000 of her citizens to vote in 1914, while Kansas permitted 382,000 voters to participate in the election. It wouldn't be very good flavor to tell ten prosperous farmers in Iowa—and prove it—that one "hill-billy" in Georgia's vote would count for as much as all theirs at Washington—and yet it does!

I do not like to appear provincial; but the average person out here in the free, enlightened west, where all states are doubtful, since the people seem to know how to scratch tickets, should know that Wilson is sure of 61 electoral votes from Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi and Louisiana, where only 182,000 people were allowed to vote in 1912, while Iowa alone, with only 13 electoral votes, cast 492,000. Think of Iowa alone casting 10,000 more votes than six old southern states! Yet these six states have more to do with the conduct of the government under Wilson through the various committees than all the states north of Oklahoma from the Mississippi to the Pacific coast.

These are facts that cannot be denied, and it would appear that Mr. Hughes is not such a mean man after all, since he has not taken the trouble to mention them.

The democratic party in the forthcoming election is depending largely on the ignorance of the voters to continue them in power. They accept Wilson's statements with regard to woman suffrage and his vote to signify that while he believes in woman suffrage as a state issue he does not favor it as a national amendment. President Wilson's favor in this respect is due, in the opinion of the negro at least, to the fact that being a southerner by birth, by association and sympathy, he feels, as all southerners feel, that to have national suffrage is to permit the negro woman to vote as well as the whites. And this would make certain conditions that prevail in the south as a custom very grave. They keep negro men from the polls by devious methods in Dixie. As an old negro man, a pros-

perous farmer, advised me while in the south getting color for a recent novel, that, "yes," he could vote, as well as many other negroes; but that going to the polls was very often "onhealthy." In this respect keeping the negro woman from the polls by the shotgun method might be practical, but would not make very pleasant advertising. The south to a unit is unalterably opposed to woman suffrage.

The Adamson bill and the way it was passed is an appeal to the ignorant labor vote. It needs only to be understood to realize that it was a poor piece of legislation, unbecoming of our national body to enact. The issue, played up conspicuously, "He kept us out of war," is an appeal to the descendants of the Tories of 1776, and the copperheads of 1860. We hear, moreover, Wilson likened unto Lincoln. In fact, I heard from an enthusiastic "He kept us out of war" recently that if Wilson had been president at the time Lincoln was there would have been no civil war! No doubt. But if that was put up to the negro race at this time there would have been an agreement. Wilson would have avoided the civil war catastrophe by granting secession and permitting the negro to continue in slavery.

It has been my privilege recently to visit every town in northeastern Nebraska, and I confess that for a time it appeared that Wilson had a chance. Then I turned to consultation with the voters. Herein I met surprises. I found a great many claiming themselves to be former republicans who declared with much ado that they were going to vote for Wilson. And then I found that the business and professional men, the men who read and understand, were for Hughes. I found that surprise when I talked with the Catholics and found that they were out of patience with the president because of his Mexican policy. But it was among the Germans, who constitute about 40 per cent of the farm population, that I found Wilson's quietus. If anyone estimates that the west is doubtful they should consider the great German element, and read the German papers. So when the great Catholic element, and the great German element, get through voting for Hughes November 7, I do not like to estimate which way the west is going.

Oscar Micheaux

Providence, R. I.

### A Natural Solution.

Among the evils which have grown up under our present system of measuring the power of the State in the Electoral College by the counting of heads in the population is the supremacy of the Solid South, where eleven States count the negro population in securing their electoral votes and then suppress the negro vote at the polls.

The inequalities resulting from that condition of affairs are too well known to need restatement, but for more than a generation the negro vote in the South, which is practically all Republican, has been suppressed, with the result that one Southern vote in Congress, representing frequently less

than two thousand voters, offsets the vote of two hundred thousand citizens in the North and West.

During the late campaign it was noted that a movement had been begun among the negro laborers of the South to go North, where their labor was greatly needed and would be better rewarded than at home and where they could vote and be counted. That this movement, if it were to become general, would furnish a solution of the inequitable condition above referred to is manifest, and therefore whatever bears with authority on that movement is of great interest and importance.

Statistics on this subject have been collected by Professor George E. Haynes of Fisk University, and the following is an extract from a letter written by Professor Haynes and printed recently in the New York Times:

The movement of negro laborers from the South in large numbers during the last few months has created considerable discussion in the public press, North and South, and not a little concern in parts of the South. A striking feature of most of this discussion is the absence of statements about the migration of negroes before the present movement. \* \* \* The indication of this movement since 1880 is shown by the percentage of increase of the negro population of the following nine Northern and border cities: Boston, Greater New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Evansville and Indianapolis, Ind.; Pittsburgh and St. Louis. The census figures for these nine cities showed that between 1880 and 1890 the negro population increased about 36.2 per cent.; from 1890 to 1900 it increased about 74.4 per cent.

Here is a movement that takes away from the Southern States something of the basis upon which their advantage in the Electoral College rests and transfers it to Northern and Eastern States where it must in time effect an increase of their electoral votes. With this natural and entirely legitimate equalization of the unjust differences existing now there may come some other changes that will be of moment hereafter. The South will replace its lost negro labor by importing foreign white labor of various nationalities, and that labor vote will be counted and cannot always be controlled. It will take some years to effect these changes, but they are going on and gradually will be brought about.

A new South will be created in time and it will be free from some of the worst evils left over from the old slavery régime, while the scattering of the negro population among the States

of the West, North and East, with their immensely superior white population, will not effect any noticeable changes in the social or political condition of those States, save that the augmented population will vote and be counted, in due proportion to its whole number.

ENQUIRER  
Cincinnati, O.

### STATISTICS ON FEMALES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ENQUIRER.

A news item in The Enquirer stated that the men of Kentucky feared for white supremacy if negro women were enfranchised.

The United States census bulletin for 1910 gives the number of white women over 21 years of age in Kentucky as 506,299 and the number of negro women as 73,413. These figures show that the number of white women exceeds the number of negro women by 432,886.

The total number of both white men and women in Kentucky is 1,033,960, while of negro men and women there are only 149,107. Kentucky is one of the group of East South Central States in which the per cent of negroes over 21 to the entire adult population is 30.6, the per cent of white adults being 63.8. The number of white women in Kentucky exceeds the number of both negro men and women by 357,192. The total number of white women in the United States is 22,059,236, or 89.8 per cent, while the total number of negro women is 2,427,742, or 9.9 per cent.

In only two states, Mississippi and South Carolina, do the number of negro women exceed the number of white women; in these states negro men exceed white men.

There are 6,000,000 more white women south of Mason and Dixon's line

than there are negro women, and there are 2,000,000 more white women than negro men and women combined. The Federal amendment would not take from the states the right to make restrictions concerning property and educational qualifications.

Viola Kaufman.

417 G street, N. W., Washington, D. C.  
paper Cutting Bureau in the World

### NEGROES INDORSE HUGHES.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 25.—The Negro National Educational Congress, holding its annual meeting here, last night

adopted a resolution indorsing the candidacy of Charles E. Hughes, after an all-day debate, in which a minority objected to injecting politics into the organization.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH FLORIDA?

West Florida? A statistical summary of possibilities here would read like the perfervid raving of land prospectuses. But other States with half our advantages have accomplished twice the results. There are many reasons; the credit system is one, but the main reason is that we simply have never been told what we can do. We have been too busy plowing the sea to plow the land. We have been too busy cutting timber to harvest corn. We have been too busy picking up the obvious wealth to develop our more productive resources.

\* \* \* 6-17-16

Better markets, better farms, better roads, more acres opened to settlement, and the development of a tourist traffic to a country that has no superior in the United States—these are the planks in The Journal's preparedness platform for West Florida.—Pensacola Journal.

The Journal gives a correct analysis of the troubles and suggests the needs of not only West Florida but of the whole of Florida—that is, what it says is fine as far as it goes. But we wish to speak as an interested on-looker and an admirer of Florida, and add that which we think is one of the vital troubles with Florida, not mentioned by The Journal. We are going to say it because whatever is good for Florida is good for other States. We have made a record for the condemning of evil influences in Alabama. We shall continue to condemn those evil influences wherever they appear to distort the vision of our people and subvert the functions of citizenship to erratic and vicious uses.

Florida, like Alabama, is cursed and gorged with politics. Florida, unlike Alabama, is unable to repel the advances of false and seductive leaders. The need of the hour in Florida is masterly and lofty political leadership, and that thing Florida does not have.

We have just witnessed a weird phenomenon in Florida politics. Two men have been lifted to exalted station because they appealed to the sentimental, the emotional and the weaker traits in humanity, and not because they in any worthy degree appealed to the reason of sovereign voters.

A United States Senator and a Governor were chosen because of their religious affiliations and their relations to religious elements with which they are personally out of sympathy. Their claims were enriched by their espousal of national prohibition, and their chances brightened because of the financial and political support of the heavily endowed Anti-Saloon League of America. In

addition, they were the beneficiaries of a compact and powerful secret political organization designed to combat a Christian church—an organization which the successful candidate for Governor had built up for his own uses during the less than four years which he had spent in Florida.

The candidate for Governor denounced the Roman Catholic Church from every stump. He said he would not appoint any Roman Catholic to office. He said he would try to put Roman Catholics out of office. He will fight that church in whatever manner he can. He is a Protestant minister.

The candidate for the United States Senate worked in harmony with the candidate for Governor. Both ran as anti-Catholics. Both said on the stump they were opposed to the use of tobacco; they wept at the thought of any man taking a drink. They said they were for all forms of prohibition. They may have said other things, but these are the declarations which gave Governor Park Trammell an abnormal and undeserved vote for United States Senator and Sidney J. Catts the surprising vote which he received for Governor. They were not chosen because of their intellectual ability. Of course they are bright men, but neither has ever done anything to cause one to rate him higher than mediocre, when compared with either of the men who opposed them.

What a travesty on Democratic government in America that two men can go so high by grace of popular suffrage because they belong to one church and are openly opposed to another church! If they know anything of the history of their country, of the genesis of our freedom and the majesty of our system, they care nothing about it; they do not respect the ancient traditions of America that church and State shall be separate, that a man's religious views are not properly an issue before American voters. They saw their chance to cash in on a manufactured prejudice that is in the hearts of an indiscriminating constituency.

It all reminds us of two dark chapters in the world's history, two chapters dealing with religious intolerance and the wreck which is ahead of those whose fanaticism leads them to wild extremes in the furtherance of their personal religious views.

First we think of the Crusades. Back in the early days of Christianity, before the Reformation, before America, Europe felt that it was a "shameful thing that Jerusalem should remain in the hands of unbelievers." Peter the Hermit thought he had a direct message from on high to organize Christians to take by force the Holy Sepulchre from the metropolis of Palestine. He fired the zeal of the serfs and they were eager to die in the cause he led.

"Many serfs took the cross," we read from

Florence Ashton, "for in this way they might gain freedom from cruel lords and debtors saw in the expedition a means of leaving their burdens behind them.

"Enthusiasm at length became fanaticism and signs and wonders abounded throughout the whole of France. Stones fell from heaven, comets and Northern lights appeared; one man saw a great city in the sky, another a long road leading eastward and another a sea of blood. A priest discerned a sword in the heavens, another an army and a third found warriors fighting with crosses in their hands. It was even rumored that the great Charlemagne had risen from the dead to lead the band in person, and a fever which was devastating the country at the time was accepted as punishment for delay in setting out."

Such was the state of mind of the Crusaders when they followed Peter the Hermit to the first great slaughter at the hands of Turks and Arabs—one hundred and twelve thousand Christians were butchered in the first campaign. The Holy Sepulchre still remained in the hands of the pagan.

The Godfrey of Bouillon organized a picked army of 600,000 men from the first classes of Europe. After a bloody struggle Godfrey occupied Jerusalem and declined to wear a crown of gold in the city where the Savior had worn a crown of thorns. He bore the simple title of Protector of the Holy City. He died and the city was retaken. Then Conrad III led a crusade, with terrible disaster for his reward.

Finally the shepherd French boy organized a body of 37,000 children, boys and girls. He said he had a message from Christ telling him that only "innocent children" could save the Holy City. The children were murdered by Pirates on the Adriatic Coast—that is, those were butchered who were not drowned or made slaves.

The Holy Sepulchre is still at Jerusalem.

The other chapter concerns events on this side of the sea, during the Seventeenth Century. Woodrow Wilson writes in his "History of the American People":

The Bay (Massachusetts) government was not a comfortable government for any man to live under who was not a Puritan. The magistrates stood behind the ministers of the congregation to enforce their judgments in matters of morals, as well as to enforce the law's command in every ordinary matter of government. \* \* \* The weak and the sensitive suffered very keenly under their rigor, and those who were naturally gay and of high spirits, found it very irksome and painful to be always on their guard not to jest too often or amuse themselves overmuch. Sometimes the reason of the high-wrought nature here and there would break down under the burden of stern doctrine and colorless living put

upon it by church and State.

\* \* \* In 1648 they drew more sharply than ever the lines of the church's right to rule, in a formal platform, adopted at Cambridge. The authority of the clergy was given clear definition of law; the power of magistrates to coerce all churches which should "walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own," was affirmed more definitely than ever and the ecclesiastical polity of the New England churches was declared to be a "Congregational" establishment as should in no wise be confounded with any of "those corrupt sects and heresies which showed themselves under the vast title of Independency." \* \* \* Henceforth no man need doubt what compulsion of worship and belief he must live under there."

And so it goes, until we come to the time when the Colonies wrenched themselves free from old world superstitions and restraint and fanaticism, and set up a mountain of stone between religion and politics. The men who drew up our charter of liberty wrote their contempt across the chapter the Puritans had made.

And so it has been handed down to us. It is an evil thing, we submit, for any man to be elected to office because of his religious affiliations. It is an evil day for any commonwealth when a majority of its people measure the capacity and character of men by the clerical rod. It is an evil day for advanced America when a political leader asks for the favor of sovereigns on the ground that he is a Catholic, a Jew, a Baptist, a Methodist, a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, or a Congregationalist. Such a spectacle is mockery of our ideals and traditions. When in alliance with extreme prohibitionists, or any other one-ideaed cult, it appeals to the baser impulses; it stirs the passions and addles the reasoning faculties of man. It substitutes hate and fury for research and reflection. It corrupts government, and makes government inefficient, partial, biased and vindictive. Its outlook does not contemplate the welfare of all of the people, but the exaltation of one class of people at the expense of another class of people. It is the greatest error that ever came into American politics to hold that these things are to be considered in America in connection with political needs.

We say this to Florida because it is the first American State in the dawn of this new day that has abased itself before the teachers of Intolerance, Bigotry, Demagoguery and Hickism. It is the first State to go to the extreme limit.

Other States may follow suit. In Florida, after a taste of this, uncanny brew, there may be—indeed we have no doubt that there will be—a reaction, a revulsion of popular sentiment against this sort of thing.

Florida is potentially a wonderful State.



The need of the hour in Florida is a master leader whose mind's eye sees farther than the tip of his nose. Florida cannot be a great State until it has great leaders. And the men it has just exalted are not great leaders and cannot be great leaders because they are not strong enough to lift themselves above their environment. They cannot be of the highest service to their State because they are opposed to one class in that State.

We fear that Florida has set other States a bad example. We fear it is out of sympathy with an essential and time-honored principle, the principle which insures Americans free thought and religious freedom.

NEWS

Star

SS

# PARKERISM IS LOSING GROUND

DEMOCRATIC SENTIMENT IS ALMOST UNANIMOUS OVER THE ENTIRE STATE.

## MANY NEGROES QUALIFY

Prominent Vernon Parish Man Says Negroes Are Preparing to Vote—Leading Parker Supporter Changes to Pleasant—Tangipahoa Moosers Paralyzed by Announcement,

Special to News-Star.

New Orleans, April 7.—From every section of Louisiana Democratic campaign headquarters in this city Friday received assurances that Parkerism is waning and Democratic sentiment is developing strongly in every section of the State.

"We received over six hundred letters in the mails today and over two hundred telegrams from prominent Democrats, covering practically every

parish in the State," said John Marshall, manager of Democratic headquarters, Thursday evening. "That the opposition to the Democracy of this State is going to be buried in an avalanche of votes in every district of the State, with possibly one exception, is borne out by these communications. Hundreds of visitors to headquarters confirm the news that we are receiving by wire and mail. The exaggerated claims of the Republican-Progressive headquarters as to supposed gains of Mr. Parker are only what is to be expected in the closing hours of a campaign when they see their cause and candidate hopelessly defeated."

### Bailey For Pleasant.

A special to the Shreveport Times, dated New Orleans, April 7, says: "I thought Parker was a Democrat; when I found he is a registered Progressive I am no longer with him." Grover A. Bailey of Uneddas, Tangipahoa parish, who has often been quoted by the Parker press agents as a prominent supporter in that section, has changed front and left the Parker camp. He authorized this statement today.

Congressman L. Lazaro, seventh Louisiana district, arrived from Washington today and joined the Democratic forces.

"In Washington," he said, "they look upon this contest in Louisiana as a clear-cut fight between the Democratic and Progressive parties."

Dr. Lazaro left tonight for Acadia parish, where he will spend two days, as follows: Saturday, April 8, at Egan, Mermentau, Henry School, Morse and Estherwood; Sunday, April 9, at Church Point, Castelle, Branch and Iota.

Monday Congressman Lazaro will enter St. Landry, Evangeline and parishes of southwest Louisiana. Judge Coco and L. Austin Fontenot will make a part of this itinerary.

This makes three Louisiana congressmen who are now in the State, and will help wind up the campaign. Aswell and Watkins already being here. Dr. Aswell was in Washington and Tangipahoa parishes today.

Colonel Pleasant and J. H. Overton struck into Avoyelles early this morning, covering the trail of the Parker hybrids with good Democratic speeches.

Tomorrow will be a big day in De-

Soto parish, where Pleasant, Barret and Watkins will join hands at Mansfield, April 8 being the anniversary of the battle of Mansfield.

D. W. Breazeale of Natchitoches wired his brother, Ross Breazeale this morning that the Parker tour of the "triumphal march" depicted in the Progressive-Republican newspapers. "It was a frost," was the message, "75 gathered at Marthaville, three at Chestnut and 100 at Campiti."

Despite regular daily denials from John M. Parker and his Republican allies that they do not want negro votes, reports are just as persistent that not since 1896 has there been so much activity among negroes to register and qualify.

C. K. Powell of Leesville, at headquarters today, made the statement that in Vernon parish Parker's supporters were earnestly to qualify negroes.

"In the past four months," said Mr. Powell, "more negroes have registered in Vernon than in the same length of time in many years past. If Parker is a white man's candidate, why are his workers striving so hard to qualify negroes?"

John M. Parker was at Washington and Opelousas, in St. Landry, today. A great flurry was created in his Orleans camp when word was circulated in Rapides that prohibitionists of Bernice and Cheneyville were supporting Parker because of a statement of the Bull Moose candidate in Bentley Hotel in Alexandria, where he is quoted as having declared "that if elected he would make it his business to see that the Gay-Shattuck law was strictly enforced."

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Tomorrow will be a big day in De-

An Address to a White Audience and Attacking the Present Mayor in the Interest of An Opposition Ticket—The Old Spirit of KuKluxism Invoked.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.

NORFOLK, Va.—This city has just emerged from the throes of an exciting municipal primary campaign. The present mayor, Wyndham R. Mayo, was opposed for reelection by the Citizens' Party, which made an active canvass against him. In the course of the campaign it appears that the Rev. Charles Satchell Morris, pastor of the Bank Street Baptist Church, and well known to many New Yorkers, made an address at the Majestic Theatre. His utterances evidently did not please the supporters of the present mayor, and instead of trying to refute them by proper evidence and argument, recourse was had to the old dodge of appealing to race prejudice. This revival of the spirit of Ku-Kluxism took the more modern shape of a newspaper advertisement. The weakness of the cause advocated may be gauged by the venom apparent in this appeal. It follows, with all the emphasis that headlines in capitals can give:

WHITE MEN OF NORFOLK!

SHALL WE RETURN TO THE "RECONSTRUCTION DAYS?"

SHALL A NEGRO PREACHER DIRECT WHITE MEN HOW TO VOTE?"

ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON IN THE CITY OF NORFOLK, AN OCCURRENCE TOOK PLACE THAT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN COUNTENANCED IN ANY OTHER CITY IN OUR SOUTHERN COUNTRY.

So anxious are the supporters—the ill-advised supporters of the Citizens Party for success, that they hark back to the "dark days" and, from the stage of a certain theatre in this city there comes forward a NEGRO PREACHER, who, in spite of his apparently sacred calling, has sought to mix religion with politics, and this NEGRO stands before an audience of WHITE MEN, many of whom call themselves Democrats, and this Negro united with them in their meeting, advises with them, and by verbal innuendo, reflects upon the honor, the integrity, and the ability of WYNDHAM R. MAYO, the

present Mayor of the city of Norfolk, a Virginian, and a gentleman.

A circular is already being spread throughout the city, signed by Messrs. Steele and Derring, disclaiming any knowledge of C. S. Morris, or of any control over the meeting at which C. S. Morris spoke.

We make the following statement without fear of successful contradiction:

First: C. S. Morris, a Negro preacher, did address (sitting on the stage with other speakers) a white audience at the Majestic Theatre on April 2nd, 1916.

Second: He did not speak under the auspices of the Mayo and Hannan Committee.

Third: He attacked Mayor Mayo and he did not attack either Mr. Steele or Mr. Derring.

Fourth: No sane man could construe his remarks other than an appeal for Leon C. Steele and his ticket.

Therefore we ask in whose behalf was this meeting held at the Majestic Theatre? MAYO AND HANNAN COMMITTEE.

Commenting on this occurrence the *Journal and Guide*, a weekly paper published in Norfolk, said:

It is unfortunate that the Negro is placed in such a situation politically that he cannot honestly and decently protest against civic unrighteousness without having political opportunists seize upon such protests as a occasion for making political capital. It is unfortunate that without having the power to cast a single ballot to determine in the slightest degree the issues or control of the Democratic party the race is stigmatized in its factional and general campaigns and used as an instrument for stirring the baser passions of impressionable minds to the debasement of the Negro race and the elevation of political opportunists.

In the efforts of the Democrats to deprive the Negro of the benefits of the ballot they have disenfranchised nearly half of the white men in the State and established a government by the minority. In their efforts to regulate corporate interests they have precipitated an endless conflict between the legislative and judicial branches of the government; the state is no longer able to exist without taxing the income of private citizens and taxation is no longer common. These conditions are fomenting revolutionary tendencies, that like a smouldering volcano, threaten the social and political structure.

RABID ADVERTISING IN NORFOLK PAPER The New York Age Municipal Campaign Calls Forth Sensational Appeal to Race Prejudice

REV. C. S. MORRIS THE ISSUE

Baptist Preacher Charged With Making



Suffrage

## RALLY AGAINST SUFFRAGE MOV

**Southern Democrats Deter-  
mined Party Shall Not Fol-  
low in Hughes' Steps.**

**DON'T WANT NEGRO  
WOMEN TO GET VOTE**

**See Real Danger of It in  
Amendment Supported by  
Republican Nominee,  
None Otherwise.**

LEDGER BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D. C., Aug. 12.—Democratic leaders from the Southern states are massing their opposition against the proposed federal amendment granting the right of suffrage to the women of the country.

It is safe to say that the democratic party will not be committed to that reform if the great body of democratic leaders in Southern states, all pulling together, can prevent it.

The declaration of Charles E. Hughes in favor of the national suffrage amendment came as a surprise to these Southern leaders, who immediately became alert to the possibility that a very formidable effort might be made to swing the democratic party to the same position as that occupied by the republican candidate.

No sooner had Mr. Hughes taken his stand for national suffrage than Southern politicians became anxious to know whether the conversion of the republican candidate would make any change in the position of President Wilson, who has held that while woman suffrage may be desirable, it is a matter for each state to decide for itself.

### Why Southerners Balk.

The Southern democratic leaders do not want woman suffrage for the simple reason that it would arm the negro women with the ballot. The state of Kentucky is cited as an example of the "mischief" that might be caused, speaking from the democratic viewpoint. It is estimated that there are 70,000 negro women in Kentucky who would be eligible to vote if the Susan B. Anthony amendment is written into the federal constitution. It is safe, also, to say

that nearly all of these 70,000 negro women, if left to their own inclination, would vote the republican ticket.

It can easily be seen what this would mean as affecting the political complexion of Kentucky. In other words, it would transfer Kentucky from the democratic to the republican political column.

In states farther South, notably those in the "black belt," the powers that be have a way of handling the negro problem which probably would enable them to control the negro women voters just as the negro men voters are managed, but even there the enfranchisement of so many thousands of women voters would add to the perplexity of the authorities and the difficulties of controlling the situation. Of course the same federal amendment that would enfranchise the negro women also would enfranchise the white women, but in some places the negro women outnumber the white women 10 to 1. Furthermore, it is considered doubtful whether the white women would go to the polls and mingle with the negro women, while the latter, stimulated perhaps by inducements offered by rival politicians, would turn out en masse.

### Think It Should Move.

Democratic leaders are giving Justice Hughes credit for a great deal of shrewdness in coming out for the national suffrage amendment. They can see that if the national suffrage movement succeeds, a long step will have been taken toward building up a virile republican party in the South. The republicans are making a big drive to put Kentucky permanently in the republican column and the same conditions apply in other Southern border states. Thus Justice Hughes makes a strong plea for the votes of the 4,000,000 enfranchised women in the eight suffrage states and at the same time initiates a movement which, if it were to succeed, would put the republican party in immeasurably stronger position in the South.

If President Wilson were to show the least sign of capitulating to the demand of the suffragists that he come out for national suffrage, he would soon find democratic senators and representatives camping at the White House armed with arguments to show him how national suffrage would be positively ruinous to democratic interests and fatal to the democratic states rights theory, as opposed to a centralized, federalized government. Apparently the President needs no persuasion, for he is as strongly opposed to national suffrage as any of the timorous statesmen on Capitol Hill.

*Kansas City, Sun 7/29/16*  
Nexts week the Democrats of Oklahoma will make another effort to disfranchise the colored taxpayers of the state. The highest courts having declared the old "Grandfather Law" to be unconstitutional, another provision in different form but with the same intent is to be put through.

This latter plan embraces a literacy test and excludes all who or whose ancestors ever engaged in any war in the United States. This must be proved satisfactorily to the election officials and will naturally have the desired result of denying the ballot even to those colored men whose fathers fought and died to preserve the integrity of the Union while it favors the sons of those who sought to destroy the nation.

It is said that the present bill is drawn with great adroitness and that it is expected to stand the tests of

the courts. The present election is being conducted so as to deceive the ignorant voters by the use of misleading methods of balloting and there is little doubt as to the result.

### WHY SINGLE OUT THE NEGRO?

In his Decoration day address at Baraboo Governor Philipp declared that the ignorant Negro should not be permitted to vote, that he favored a literacy test on all Negroes who desire to exercise the citizens' right of franchise. The Governor, declaring that the Negro does not know how to use the ballot intelligently, said: "When the Negro advances in education (if he ever shall) to the point where he possesses those qualifications that every American voter should possess, he will be in a position to demand his rights and get them."

Observe the modifying parenthetical remark, "if he ever shall." Apparently the Governor doubts it. Let his doubt stand without comment, but let us ask the Governor why he limits the literacy test to the Negro. To do so is race discrimination; it is the repudiation of every principle that brought the republican party into being. It is class discrimination. It is the repudiation of the life labor of Abraham Lincoln. And yet Governor Philipp asks the voters of Wisconsin to recognize him as a Republican.

There is wisdom in the demand for a literacy test for those who seek to vote. We agree with the Governor that it is a physical impossibility for the ignorant to vote intelligently. We believe in a literacy test. But we do not believe in a literacy test against any single class, no matter how young or old, by race, color, creed or property claim. If he is to apply the literacy test either here or in Mississippi, let him apply it to everybody of American citizenship, be he black or white or some sunburnt shade in between.—let him give the ballot to every American who can pass the literacy test, whether that American be man or woman. It is the votes of the intelligent Americans we want, not the vote of one race or of one sex.—Madison State Journal.

### THE NEGRO MIND.

The attitude of the first Wilson administration toward our negro fellow citizens was in no wise satisfactory to the negroes themselves, however agreeable it may have been to our citizens of lighter complexions. What attitude toward our negro citizens the second Wilson administration will take is naturally a matter

of speculation.

The "New York Age," which with good reason describes itself as "the national negro weekly," is disposed to give President Wilson a fair chance in his new term of office. James W. Johnson, one of its editors who secured a prize in the "Philadelphia Public Ledger's" editorial contest of a few weeks ago, says that Mr. Wilson has intimated that he was prevented by forces beyond his control during his first term from carrying out his fair intentions toward the negro. "That is to say," Mr. Johnson explains, "he (the President) had certain legislation which he wanted put through and he had to look to his reelection, and he could not achieve these things if he made any attempt to include the negro in his scheme of humanity." Mr. Johnson bluntly declares that "these intimations deserve no faith," his reason being the dismissal of colored men who were in office and the "Jim Crow policy" that was set up in the departments at Washington. But Mr. Wilson is now facing new conditions, as thus:—

When Mr. Wilson begins his second term he will not be handicapped by any of the reasons he has heretofore assigned for his attitude on the negro. He has put through the major portion of his legislative program, he has not to look forward to reelection, he is the complete master of his party; so if he has fair intentions toward the colored people, he will be absolutely free to carry them out. If Mr. Wilson should do this, nobody would be happier to see it and nobody would be ready to give him more credit for what he may do than the "Age." We shall indulge in watchful waiting, but our hopes are very weak.

Mr. Johnson incidentally observes, in his specific comments on the election, that in his opinion "Mr. Hughes counted President Wilson's 'humanity' by not making a strong statement on the civil and political rights of the American negro over against those of the peons of Mexico." It may be said that the Chicago convention gave Mr. Hughes no guidance nor authority on this question.

Other writers in the "Age" of last week speak more curtly than Mr. Johnson. The democratic charge that negroes were colonized in Indiana leads to the remark that this is "an old and false accusation used by the democrats for years," and to the following:—

As the negro issue will not down the republican leaders can charge that every United States senator from the South is illegally holding office because of fraud. As to congressmen from the South, all come to Washington representing half a vote. If the democratic party is opposed to fraud, as it would have the coun-

try believe, let it begin to stand for real honest elections in the South.

In another article the democrats are treated to a second quid pro quo on their charge of fraud:—

We wonder if he (the President) believes deep down in his heart that he secured his reelection by fair means and that no cloud rests on the Presidency?

Last week when the result of the election was in doubt the cry of fraud was raised by some of Mr. Wilson's campaign managers. But what other method than fraud is used to secure the electoral votes of the South for the democratic party? . . . . . Aside from the race issue involved, the North is not going to stand much longer for the irregular and unlawful voting methods of the South. The South is wrong and it knows it is wrong, and it cannot make right out of wrong. And why, for instance, should it take as many votes to elect one congressman from New York city as it does to elect four from Mississippi.

This is old stuff, but it is forward looking in regard to those ideals of justice and equity for which we may assume that this country wishes to stand.

Another article picks up President Wilson's little speech at Williams-town, Mass., the morning after, when, among other things he said, "Let us forget all our differences and unite for common service," and makes the following comment:—

We are willing to call these sentiments our own, if President Wilson will only make us feel that he means us too.

Even verse is made use of to express this common sentiment—a sentiment that is truly democratic, not in the party sense, but in the sense and intention of the democratic basis upon which this country is organized. Here are a dozen lines of it:—

Oh, sun, eternal wonder light,  
Eternal stars and planets bright,  
Supernal moon, queen of the night,  
Give light, give light  
To my Southland.  
Light out the wrong, light in the Right.  
We're stumbling backward thru' the Night.  
'Tis light we need,  
Southland take heed.

God gets tired now and then,  
And God is getting tired again.  
Look up Southland, and pray,  
Throw the doors of your soul open Wide  
And let God's good reason get inside,  
But hurry Southland, do it today.

With all this the "Age" has the grit and the manliness to take things as they are. It has to do this in any event, but it does not lack the grace and courtesy of good will in doing so. It formally says:—

The "Age," mindful of the pledges made by Mr. Woodrow Wilson four year ago relative to giving the negro justice, pledges which have never been kept, wishes him success



throughout his new administration. We hope he will be a President of all the people, not nine-tenths of the people, which he can be by carrying out his humanity propaganda to cover the colored man as well as the white man.

This puts it up to Mr. Wilson. We have no doubt that the negro mind of the United States is accurately revealed in the foregoing citations. There were 9,827,000 negroes in this country when the census of 1910 was taken, and, as a South Carolina negro once bitterly said for all of them:

"We are all human beings, and with as much right as anybody to say, in the words of the Bible, that God created us 'in his own image.'" What is more, the mind of the American negro has both grown and will continue to grow. He can now easily pass the test of owning real estate, or the test of education, or the test of knowing a trade. Slowly, systematically, methodically, but solidly, he is learning how to take care of himself. All he asks is a fair and legal chance in this work of self-improvement. He does not ask for favors; he has the confidence of successful experience that he can work out his own salvation, as salvation is reckoned in ordinary social terms; but he does protest against being put upon because his skin is black. He is making his qualities as good as those of our varied mixed racial breeds, and he simply asks that his proved qualities shall count the same as those of his neighbors. He does not ask for extra standing room, or for special standing room, but only for similar standing room to that which this country was organized to give to all men of sober lives and industrious habits.

This is not asking a great deal on his part, but it is depriving him of a good deal if he does not get what he asks for. This is the sense and the purport of these passages which we have copied from the "New York Age." It is not a political wrong in itself that disturbs the negro, but the social wrong of living in a country where he has no equal place to stand for himself and by himself. All other citizens have this place for themselves and by themselves, and he, being after all a human being, knows perfectly well that his right to such a place for himself is uncontested. In a free land, where public rights are the main thing, he is shut out from his right to a fair and equal chance to make of himself what he can.

The election is over, and political controversy in the active sense is laid on the shelf. But the negro mind remains, and we have tried to show the nature and tendency of the

thoughts that are in it. In these days of abnormal prosperity the thoughts in that mind may not be reckoned so important as dollars, but it is still worth while to remember that questions of rights and wrongs go very deep and have the lasting quality.

## PUBLIC LEDGER

Philadelphia, Pa.

## NEGRO VOTE AGAIN DISCUSSED IN SOUTH

### Parker, Candidate for Governor in Louisiana, Would Abolish White Primary

By a Staff Correspondent

ATLANTA, Ga., March 27.—Louisiana is agitated over the negro voting question again. The whole situation is obtaining through airing in and around the campaign of John M. Parker for Governor, and is rapidly becoming the centre of one of the warmest political fights Louisiana has had in many years.

Mr. Parker is a Progressive, supported by a combination of Progressives and Republicans. One of the things which Mr. Parker proposes to do, if elected, is to abolish the white primary statute of Louisiana, thus making the negro a potent factor in politics.

The objection to the negro vote is not merely that whites object to a negro voting or that the whites fear to any great extent a negro dominance in governmental affairs, but Southern leaders assert the danger lies in the ease with which the negro vote lends itself to manipulation.

The New Orleans States, which is supporting Colonel Pleasant for Governor against Mr. Parker, comments upon the situation as follows:

"The organization of the Indiana negro clubs supplies the strongest argument that could be offered of the danger involved in the destruction of the white primary which Mr. Parker is advocating. It is a warning of what is likely again to happen here if the white people split into two factions and thereby invite the negro to re-enter the electorate.

"In Indiana the whites are pretty evenly divided between the Republican-Progressive and Democratic factions. There is a considerable negro voting population, much of it venal and purchasable. Massed on one side it constitutes a balance of power sufficient to give victory to that side. What is the result? Simply that both sides struggle for the negro vote, and that side usually gets it which has the longest purse."

"Just as long as the white primary remains on the statute books, the negro vote in Louisiana isn't worth a song. But abolish the primary and the negro instantly will become a potent factor, for in his following are many real and near-Republicans who believe in the political rights of the negro, and some ex-Democratic officeholders who, to keep themselves in power, would not scruple to use

the black brother, and it would not be long before the ice would be broken and there would be enough negroes qualified to vote to swing the State and local elections."

J. D. G.

STAR

St. Louis

## 96 NEGROES, HELD ON VOTE CHARGES, FREED BY MILLER

### Men Discharged Before Court Learns if All Defendants Are Present.

Judge Calvin N. Miller of the Court of Criminal Correction discharged ninety-six negroes, charged with fraudulent voting or attempting to vote fraudulently in the election Tuesday, in his court this morning without trial.

His action followed a meeting between Chauncey Krueger, Judge-elect, to succeed Judge Ben F. Clark, John Schmoll, Republican city chairman, other Republican politicians and the negroes, held in a vacant courtroom across the hall from Judge Miller's Court. The action was taken over the protest of Assistant Circuit Attorney Thomas.

Prosecuting Attorney Sidener examined sixty of the ninety-six negroes and said he found none had criminal records. They were rejected at the polls on the ground that they had been convicted of crime.

One of the sixty admitted he was arrested once for shooting craps.

Sidener said that where he found the votes of qualified voters were not counted, he would issue warrants charging intimidation of voters. If he finds voters were arrested after voting, he will issue warrants against the police charging oppression in office, he says.

After freeing the negroes, Judge Miller went to the pressroom in the Municipal Courts Building and told the reporters he had taken the action because there was no evidence against the prisoners.

"I understand you boys are going to write me up," he said.

"Is it not customary to continue the bonds in such cases when it is requested by the Circuit Attorney?" he was asked.

"I don't care whether it is customary or not," he replied, "I am not going to let them get away with this dirty, thieving proposition." Judge Miller did not require that

the cases be called to see if the defendants were present to answer on their common law bonds. William E. Fish, attorney, was employed by the Republican City Committee to represent the arrested men, but had no opportunity to do so, as Judge Miller acted so quickly. Krueger, who was in the courtroom calling the names of the negro defendants, said his interest was aroused because the men were being "persecuted."

Reporters found the negroes corraled in the vacant courtroom. The presence of newspapermen in the room was vigorously protested.

"Do you know whether the ninety-six defendants were in the courtroom to answer to their bonds?" a reporter for The Star asked Judge Miller.

"No, and neither do you," he replied.

"You can just say in your newspaper that Judge Miller discharged them," he added.

Assistant Circuit Attorney Thomas told reporters that all of the cases would be investigated and information issued in some, or probably the matter would be referred to the Grand Jury.

When Judge Miller was handed the stack of papers representing the cases of the ninety-six men, he glanced at two or three papers on the top and then said:

"Discharge these men, Mr. Clerk." Thomas jumped to his feet and asked if the cases referred to were the fraudulent voting cases. Judge Miller answered in the affirmative.

Fish is assisted in an investigation of the negro cases by two assistant prosecuting attorneys, I. Joel Wilson and Ray Weinberger.

Journal

Wilmington, Del.

## PHANTOM MEETING VOICES "PROTEST"

Leading colored Republicans of Wilmington yesterday refuted an article which appeared in yesterday's issue of The Morning News, stating, "that 350 Negroes from various parts of the city assembled at 306 East Taylor street Sunday to register their protest against the re-election of Senator Henry A. du Pont." The article stated that the meeting was held under the auspices of a branch of the Burton-Bradford Independent Republican Colored Club and that Richard Garrett, president of the branch, was a speaker.

It was learned yesterday no such meeting was held. In the first place

the house where the meeting is reported to have been held is a small, two-story structure and will not hold fifty men.

Richard Garrett, the alleged president of the organization, is not known among the colored voters in this city, as he lives in Philadelphia and was never seen here until the last day or so.

One prominent colored resident in discussing the matter yesterday stated he had learned that Garrett was at the Taylor street house yesterday with about six other colored men, but that no large number congregated there.

"These men with Garrett," he said, "are no doubt looking for money from the leaders of the so-called independent movement, but they have no following and Garrett is not even a voter and is not known here."

The story in The Morning News is pointed out as a sample of the misrepresentations and misstatements made in the organ of the Party Wreckers during the campaign.

## FOR SIXTEEN YEARS HAS FOUGHT FOR CONGRESS

Aaron P. Prioleau of Eutawville, S. C., is in the city. Mr. Prioleau for sixteen years has been fighting to establish his right to a seat in the Congress of the United States. He was a candidate for Congress from the First Congressional District of South Carolina at each election during the past sixteen years, the district having a large majority of Negro residents.

Each time the democratic election managers have counted him out and each time he has instituted a contest. He has a contest pending now for his right to a seat in the 64th Congress. This contest was argued last March, and the committee on contests has reported against Mr. Prioleau, but final action has not been taken.

Although Congress appropriated the sum of \$2,000 for expenses contracted by a contestant, Mr. Prioleau has not been able to secure the payment of this sum from the 62d and 63d Congresses. He claims that because of the holding up of his claims he has had to mortgage his farm lands in Berkeley County and his home and farm lands in Eutawville to the extent of \$4,000 to meet the expense attaching to his contests.

Mr. Prioleau declares that in the campaign this year an effort will be made to have the Republican party represented by a white man who is friendly to the race, but if that is not possible he will again be a candidate, as he will not consent that the party should not be recorded as making a fight for representation. He is delivering lectures at various points around New York.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

Times

From

Address:

Date

## FRELINGHUYSEN TO STICK BY NEGRO

### United States Senatorial Candidate Sees No Reason For Race Distinction

In reply to nine questions submitted to Senator Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, who is a candidate for the Senate seat now held by Senator Martine, an answer has been received by the Federation of Colored Organizations of New Jersey, explaining his attitude on the Negro question.

The first question was as follows:

Under the present Democratic administration restrictions are placed upon Negroes employed in certain departments of the Federal government at Washington. It is alleged that these are prohibited from using the toilets, washrooms, etc., used by their fellow workers, and that in certain instances separate rooms are provided in which colored employees are segregated in the performance of their duties. Federal employees of both races have worked together for years without harm to either race and the above restrictions were effected by the present administration without adequate cause. Such restrictions are at variance with the American spirit and are the results of an unjust prejudice. Could you favor the removal of these restrictions and the adoption of uniform facilities for all Federal employees?

The reply to this and the other questions was as follows:

#### SENATOR'S REPLY.

I see no reason why any distinction should be drawn between, not only members of your race, but any other, classes of American citizens. Should I be elected to the United States Senate from New Jersey it would be as a Republican. When in power the Republican party never has subjected colored governmental employees to such indignities as you refer to in your first question, and I feel certain that with the return of the Republican party in power, discrimination against any people because of race or color will cease.

I shall take the trouble to answer specifically the third question submitted by you, and that is that I think there is not so much need of a commission to investigate lynching, but rather that the law as it now stands upon the statute books of the United States should be strictly enforced by all persons being apprehended and punished in accordance with law.

I fully appreciate the fact that there are 100,000 colored citizens in

the State of New Jersey, of which about 40,000 exercise the right of franchise. They have my sympathy in every proper movement for their advancement. They have a right to vote and to be voted for.

I cannot see why there should be any distinction to election of offices of trust and emolument if their fellow citizens have confidence in them to the extent of electing them to office of responsibility and trust.

As to my views on franchisement, I believe every man should have every right guaranteed to him in and by virtue of the Constitution of the United States.

I fully appreciate the effort made in the last session of the Legislature against motion pictures or theatricals which are for no other purpose than instigating race hatred. I agree with you that no race gains by the advocating of such race prejudice, and like you, it cannot materially hurt your race very long. I do not believe anything should be permitted that tends to create race hatred.

My attitude toward Bordentown Institute can best be ascertained by looking to my record since in public life and especially during the fight made for the Bordentown Institute when threatened by hostile legislation.

As for the Civil Rights Bill, I feel that there is not so much necessity for additional laws to remedy any evils which might exist, as there is for the strict enforcement of the laws now on the statute books.

You will believe me when I say I believe in an absolute square deal for all citizens, irrespective of race, creed or color. I shall draw no lines as United States Senator from the great State of New Jersey, but will in every possible way be the representative of all the people, helping the weak as well as the strong.

The relation existing between the white and colored citizens of New Jersey are friendly. Let us keep them so. Your race has made wonderful progress. You have splendid representatives in law and medicine. You have some of the best homes in the State. You are taking advantage of the excellent educational facilities and you are loyal citizens. I pledge you my co-operation in all honorable undertakings. My public record, I feel, is sufficient guarantee.

#### MR. WILSON'S TITLE TO OFFICE

*Alafite Independent*

If there are reputable and learned citizens who sincerely believe that President Wilson will have no law, and term next March, because of political conditions in the South, they should be able to test their contention in the federal courts before that date. In case of such gravity the United States supreme court would sidetrack all other business in order to reach an early decision regarding Mr. Wilson's title. The Boston lawyer, Albert E. Pillsbury, former attorney-general of Massachusetts, should be well equipped to carry to the courts the question he has raised in an article published in the Boston Herald. He declares that the president cannot claim to have been lawfully elected on the basis of his vote in the electoral college, and so Mr. Pillsbury is obviously the man to begin the legal proceedings which neither Mr. Hughes nor the chairman of the republican national committee has

thought to be in the least worth while. Mr. Pillsbury's argument is substantially the same as the one urged recently by ex-Senator William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, in his effort to have Mr. Wilson's re-election contested. Mr. Pillsbury holds that Mr. Wilson would lose about 36 electoral votes and the presidency if that part of the 14th amendment were enforced which says—

"when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for president and vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male members of such state being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for the participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

It is notorious that the Negro citizens of the Southern states are denied the right to vote; the representation of the Southern states in the electoral college is therefore reduced in proportion to such disfranchisement—reduced automatically. If any lawyer can successfully uphold that argument before the United States supreme court, obviously the time has come to make the effort for Mr. Wilson now has all the electoral votes of the Southern states and their representation in the electoral college has not been reduced in accordance with the second section of the 14th amendment.

The Republican believes that the United States supreme court would sustain the title of Mr. Wilson and it believes that the court would be right in its position, notwithstanding the argument referred to. It is absurd to assume that no legislation by Congress is required in order to enforce the second part of the 14th amendment. For that is the substitute for the original provision concerning the apportionment of representatives in Congress contained in section 2 of article 1. Before the civil war, the constitution provided in effect that three-fifths of the slaves would be counted in determining the basis of representation; after the abolition of slavery by the 13th amendment, it was necessary, in the 14th amendment to provide for a new basis. The second part of the 14th amendment begins, consequently, as follows: "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting

the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed." And that provision has controlled Congress since 1868, in making its decennial apportionment according to the federal census.

It would be impossible to carry into effect the rest of the section, limiting a state's representation on account of the denial of the suffrage to any class of male inhabitants, unless Congress should legislate on the question. For if this provision were to be enforced at all, it would be necessary to enforce it against states that denied the suffrage to classes of males other than Negroes. It would be necessary to enforce it against Massachusetts, for example, on account of the denial of the franchise to illiterate citizens. Such a provision could not possibly be carried into effect without accurate statistics as to the number of male citizens, white or black, actually disfranchised in the several states under state laws, in all parts of the Union, without bringing a chaos in Congress itself. One might as well insist that the decennial reapportionment of state delegations in the national House is automatic as to insist that the enforcement of the whole second part of the 14th amendment is automatic.

But there is another point to consider. When this constitutional threat in the 14th amendment against states denying the suffrage to any male citizens, except rebels or criminals, was adopted, there was no 15th amendment declaring that no state should deny the suffrage to any class of citizens "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." Is it not true that the punitive clauses of the 14th amendment, in so far as they contemplated the lawful suppression of the Negro vote by the states, was superseded by the 15th amendment, which made unconstitutional the denial of franchise to Negroes as such? It has been up to Congress since 1870, to enforce the 15th amendment; but Congress can not enforce the 14th amendment without acquiescing officially in the nullification of the 15th amendment.

The final dilemma consists in the fact that it would be impossible to declare Mr. Wilson's title invalid on such grounds as the Chandlers and the Pillsbury suggest, without nullifying by law an amendment to the constitution which was adopted later than the other which they seem to think, curiously enough, enforces itself.—Springfield Republican.

From JOURNAL

Address: Providence, R. I.

Date AUG 16 1916

Mr. Hughes and the South

The emphasis put by Mr. Hughes on the declaration in his Butte, Montana, speech, that he is not a sectionalist, and that if elected he will do everything in his power to build up the South and appoint worthy men from that section to office, will arrest attention.

Sectionalism should have died with the Civil War. It is a lamentable fact that it did not die. It was a bitter pill the South had to swallow after the war, and the death of Abraham Lincoln. A few radicals in Congress were able to overthrow the late President's wise policy for the reestablishment of order and of civil Government in the seceded States. But, in time, the intelligent classes of Southerners were able to exert themselves, and the great wrong imposed upon them by radicals would have died out had it not been kept alive by the cheap politicians.

The North has its share in the blame, too, for it has in many ways refused to understand the South. While large sums have been and are constantly devoted for the education of the negro—who is really well able to take care of himself when left alone—comparatively little or no attention has been paid to that class of very poor and ignorant people in the South whom the negro looks upon as his inferior, and derisively calls "poor white trash." This element has no vote in the South, or if it has, rarely exercises it. Accordingly, the politician does not interest himself in its betterment or welfare.

It has remained for the manufacturers to gather these people into the villages where they have built up industries for the most part with Northern capital, and have given the people employment, and with it better housing conditions, schools, libraries, Christian Associations, playgrounds and parks to improve their social conditions. In some respects the cheap politician fears these manufacturing centres more than anything else, for it is only a question of time when these



people will throw off the shackles of ignorance, form their own political opinions, and go to the polls and exert themselves politically.

The South is being built up, but not by its politicians. There are able men in the South, but they are not to be found either in Sampson or Pender Counties, N. C., where they have neither schools of any consequence, nor a single manufacturing industry, unless an occasional illicit still for the manufacture of "moonshine."

Mr. Hughes may be able to appoint some capable men to office from the South, when he is elected, but in doing so he will be obliged to eliminate the ordinary politician. The capable men of the South have been busy during the past thirty or forty years building up the South's industries, giving employment to the poor, bettering their educational facilities, and putting them on a higher plane of intelligence than they ever were before. We of the North should take as much pride in the advancement of that section of our country as of any other part.

**MO. REPUBLICANS**  
**DRAW COLOR LINE**

*Chicago Defender*  
11-11-16  
**Members of the Race Work**  
**With Front Door Locked**  
**and Windows Darkened**  
**Without Protest**

**ST. LOUIS PRESS IS MUM**  
**Protest From Either Workers**  
**or Citizens, Especially at This**  
**Time, Would Have Rem-**  
**edied the Situation**

**BY A STAFF CORRESPONDENT**  
St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 10.—Now that the election is over and everybody is satisfied they did their best for their favorites, it is interesting to notice the

inconsistency of politicians in their conduct of campaign. All during the past campaign we have heard a great deal of criticism about the segregation of colored employes in various departments at Washington by the present administration, and there have been speakers going over the country making much of that situation; naturally our men as a rule resent such conditions when they are brought to their attention. However, right here in St. Louis this very same proscription was winked at by leading members of the Race, who were active in furthering Hughes' candidacy, yet there was not a word of protest against it by those who had to endure it daily, nor did the papers of the Race of this city take it up and seek to have it corrected.

During the heat of the campaign, a staff correspondent for this paper visited the Negro Republican headquarters in the International Life building, Eighth and Chestnut streets, looking for a story, little thinking that there was to be found there above all other places in St. Louis, a condition which was repellant to the more refined senses of the average man, yet such was the case.

#### Finds "Jim Crow" Bureau

After passing down Chestnut street and noticing a room in which the front window and door were entirely covered with some white material so as to make a view of the interior impossible, I made inquiry on the Eighth street side of the building as to the location of the "Colored bureau." I was informed to enter a door to the east of the elevator, turn to the left, etc., and there I would find the object of my inquiry. The following was the case:

The "Colored headquarters" for the great State of Missouri was located on the ground floor in a front room, the front door of which was fastened and the window and door darkened as noted above. In this room were several of the fairest type of young ladies of the Race doing clerical work, under the direction of our men; adjoining this room was another several times as large housing at least the greater portion of the clerical force representing the white organization. There were perhaps 50 young white ladies in this department, who impressed me as being of no higher type as to refinement, intellectual capacity, etc., than their sisters of color. When I tried to leave by the front door I found it fastened and was informed I would have to go out by the side entrance as the front door of the room was kept locked for privacy. The truth of the matter is that the white men who did the same work as their darker brothers occupied quarters easily accessible to the public and there was a steady flow of persons through them. I could make nothing of this separation of the races in the same building with rooms adjoining save a clear case of "Jim Crow."

There is no question in my mind that if these men had protested and refused to serve the Republican State Committee under prescribed conditions, that there would have been no color line in evidence; but they served and did so gladly, while their agents went about the city and state preaching about the very condition which they suffered in silence. One thing to the credit of this city, however, is that citizen of the Race in St. Louis, so far as I have been able to learn, had any official connection with the management of this bureau. When our men refuse to take a few lousy dollars for their manhood, we will be able to command the respect of all political parties.

#### South Carolina Election Laws. VIII.

The constitution of 1895 intends that in registration there shall be no race discrimination, that all whites and all blacks unable to read and write the constitution or not owning and paying taxes on property assessed at \$300 or more shall be disfranchised. That is the law. The white people can not be honest to themselves and dishonest to the negroes at the same time. A people practicing dishonesty towards any other people sear their own consciences, infest themselves with corruption, commit moral suicide.

Efficient, impartial and strict enforcement of the registration laws is essential to honest elections and good government.

Wherein the Australian ballot system necessarily proves weakest in its design to compel honest voting is in the matter of assistance to the illiterate (or physically incapacitated) voter and, therefore, the larger the number of illiterates the more difficult the problem. Voting a printed or written ballot presupposes literacy; when one man is called in to read or write another man's ballot, the door to fraud is opened in some degree. To

reduce that degree to a minimum is the task.

In South Carolina the illiterates qualified to vote are confined to two classes.

The first is composed of men who before January 1, 1898, were given registration certificates upon constructing a part of the constitution. This class is now small. The majority of its members were middle aged or old men 19 years ago. Probably it numbers not more than 3,000 or 4,000; possibly not so many.

The second class is composed of illiterates who obtain registration certificates as property owners. Nearly all white property owners can read and write, so there are few white illiterate electors of this class. The number of illiterate negro electors, as we have heretofore pointed out, would be larger if the negro property owners should seek registration.

Inability of a man offering to vote whose receipts did not show taxes paid on \$300 worth of property or more and who was not 21 years old before January 1, 1898, to prepare his ballot without assistance would be strong prima facie evidence that his registration certificate was obtained through

fraud and that he was not lawfully voting can be protected from evil entitled to it. Illiterates not sure that white influences it is likely to do no they had lawfully qualified as electors great harm even though two white would be cautious about trying to parties arise.

Not the slightest excuse can be brought forward for cheating the negro out of his right to vote if the whites will protect themselves and the negroes from the corruption of the Australian ballot plan, fortifying the registration laws, offers the way and its adoption would indefinitely postpone any possible menace to good government from a division of the white people.

In a regular election the Australian ballot system could not disfranchise more than a few whites, even if no assistance were allowed the voter. Nearly all the white illiterates are ALREADY DISFRANCHISED. The State does not contend that assistance should be denied the illiterate elector but the assistance should be carefully defined and restricted. In all cases the illiterate should be required to show by oath or other evidence his need of assistance. In some States the law allows the illiterate (or physically incapacitated) to call an outsider to help him prepare his ballot and that permission makes fraud easy. It gives the heeler his opportunity. In other States the better plan prevails of allowing a manager or managers of election to assist him. They are under oath and if they impose upon him they may be detected and punished.

The aim of the Australian ballot system to protect the honesty of elections may be almost destroyed by loose "assistance" provisions.

The purpose in this State being to prolong and perpetuate control by the whites, there should be no objection to rigid safeguards about the assistance feature.

The next question is, Why is the Australian ballot needed in regular elections?

It is needed to forestall danger in the event of a split in the white party and an appeal to the negro vote. The registration being properly guarded, the negroes would not menace seriously the purity of elections so long as each one were required to vote by the Australian ballot—to go alone into the election booth and prepare his ballot. Healers would not be able to vote them in herds. Healers could not approach the booth. If they bought a negro's vote they could never KNOW THAT THE GOODS WERE DELIVERED.

Under the existing voting system, were 50,000 negroes qualified to vote, thousands of them could be influenced by money or whiskey and escorted to the ballot box and voted as though they were so many cattle.

The negro men are now a minority in the State and the signs are that a majority of white men will steadily and rapidly increase. The qualified negro voters are a very small minority and it is assured that they will remain a minority. The danger and the only danger from the negro vote is its corruption by depraved white men—and they are to be found in all parties and factions. If a minority of negroes

#### EVENING GLOBE

: New York City

#### No Negro Ballots for Wilson.

To the Editor of The Globe—What is to become of the poor colored people in this country when there is no law and no provision in the constitution of the United States to prevent lynching and wholesale murders? There is not a Negro in America who should have the heart to stand up and advise Negroes to cast a ballot for a party that has had the power to force an eight-hour law for 400,000 trainmen in the United States, yet ignores such injustices as are now going on without a word.

There are to-day thousands of poor, innocent Negroes fleeing from the South to the north and anywhere they see a living chance. With the many southern white men in congress who have the power to force some action in these people's behalf not a word do we hear, only certain states passing laws to keep the Negroes in these states. There are to-day hundreds of thousands of Negro hearts bleeding for their race under such conditions.

Votes for a Democratic president like Wilson, and men like Burleson, Daniels, and some of those others too many to mention are just that many ropes around a helpless race's neck. There never were so many injustices under any president as under the present one.

Any Negro supporting that ticket this year after what has been done and said during the last four years is not worthy of the franchise. Such a person is not one who can be safely trusted by the white people of the country to help elevate his own race. Not that I am selfish and want special things for my race, but I want justice—nothing more or less. I would not vote against a principle if mine were the only vote on the other side in America. And while I am a Negro I am an American through and through.

SANFORD SMITH.  
Newark, N. J., Oct. 24.



Political - 1916

Suffrage  
CALL

ess: New York City

## Two Motley Crews

**P**RESIDENT WILSON, in his now famous Shadow Lawn speech, the other day, referred to the elements that are supporting Candidate Hughes as a "motley crew." He was right, and his characterization of the nondescript, tag-rag and bobtail of heterogeneous elements who are shouting for the One Hundred Per Cent Capitalist Candidate will go down as one of the classics of political thought.

But Candidate Hughes can with equal truth refer to the Wilson elements as a "motley crew," and we expect that he will so characterize them.

Wilson spoke in Omaha the other day, and to a crowd yelling praises of him for "keeping us out of war" he expounded a militarist philosophy. The Hughes Woman's Special has been meeting with opposition in various places, and banners asking "How about the Danbury hatters?" have been used to make propaganda for Wilson, who is supported by the most vicious anti-labor elements in the country.

How a party can keep discordant, jangling elements together, such as are present in the parties of Wilson and Hughes, passeth all understanding, unless you accept the Socialist explanation of the cohering force of the capitalist control of those parties.

Wilson is supported by the professional pacifists; and he is directly responsible for the most colossal military expenditures in the history of the nation. Wilson is supposed to be a friend of the workers, and the bulk of his party comes from the Southern union-bating, labor-skinning, child-slavery, Negro-lynching States, and his electoral votes must come from those States. Wilson is supposed to represent the best elements in political life, and he is supported by Tammany and similar machines in all the great cities.

Munitions makers, bankers, labor skinners, Negro lynchers, alleged labor leaders, pacifists, war shouters, gangsters, good-hearted reformers, are pulling hard for Wilson.

And Hughes? For him we find the big bankers, although Wilson is not at all neglected by the bankers. We find the big labor skinners; we find Wall Street; we find the professional suffragist, who would rather campaign for a triple riveted capitalist candidate who gives lip service to suffrage than for the working class party whose devotion to suffrage is real and is whole hearted. We find the munitions makers, the British-American and the German-American hyphenate. We find every element in political life that is for war and for exploitation, and for capitalism, and that thinks that it is for labor; we find the professional anti-suffragist; we find Theodore Roosevelt, and Elihu Root, and the sorry Barnes, and Wickersham, and all the rest of that motley crew.

The one coherent force is the desire of capitalism to get what it wants, and the desire of the members of the two parties to get in on

the ground floor.

And the Socialist party, and its ticket of Benson and Kirkpatrick, are supported by nobody but workers who hate capitalism and militarism and war, who have no patience to waste time on frauds and fakes, but who are going to invade Congress, who are going to fight against the evils of capitalism with the greatest weapon at hand, their votes, and who are going to roll up a vote for Socialism that will stagger the world.

The worker who votes with Taggart and Murphy and Overman and Lunn and Seabury and the Sullivans, and all the rest of them, is a pitiable fool. The worker who votes with Barnes and Lorimer and Roosevelt and Taft and Morgan is equally foolish and pitiable.

There is no vote that the worker can cast that is not a vote against himself, except a vote for Benson and Kirkpatrick and the whole Socialist ticket!



CHARLES F. HUGHES.

Of New York—National Republican Presidential Nominee who has now and heretofore declared positively against discrimination among citizens based on race or color.

*The Guardian*  
10/21/16



HON. CHARLES W. ANDERSON

Of New York City—Chairman on Speakers and Director of Staff, for the Colored Advisory Committee of the Republican National Committee.

ess.

MAUON, GA.

SOME QUEER THINGS.

One of the queer political moves was for government control and ownership of railroads. Years ago Mr. Bryan insisted it be a Democratic party creed.

Another, following that, was to make the initiative, referendum and recall of judges a Democratic party measure. Senator John W. Daniels and Governor, now Senator, Swanson of Virginia, and John Sharp Williams defeated Mr. Bryan at the Denver convention on this proposition.

Then the proposition to elect Presidents by a direct vote of the people, and granting universal suffrage came next. The Alabama man, Hobson, who thinks he is a statesman, backed Bryan on these measures.

Now New York polled in 1912 in the presidential election more votes than all the Southern States combined. Illinois alone nearly outnumbers all the Southern vote. Massachusetts alone has more votes than any four Southern States, while California has over 200,000 more votes than Massachusetts. Ohio and little Delaware have more votes than all the Southern States put together.

Where then would the South appear under Bryan and Hobson's demand of electing Presidents by popular vote?

Then, this direct election plan will put a premium on the negro voter. His vote becomes of value, whether a male or a female. When a value is attached enforcement will follow.

Looking to this negro vote and the possible additions of the negro woman's vote is why the Republicans attached the Bristow amendment to the resolution for election of Senators by the people, instead of the old plan by Legislatures—a measure which enlarged the powers of Congress in the control of elections. Senator Root in his debate with Senator Bacon put us on notice of these added powers, even declaring that under them Congress could ANNUL the disfranchisement acts of the Southern States. As to Georgia, these acts are no good. Almost any man can register under them, be his color what it may.

These are queer things, but they place no check upon those who would degrade the South by adding the negro woman's vote, as contemplated by the Anthony amendment. All the suffragette associations have centered and united on the Susan Anthony measure.

They discard the old doctrine that other States have no right to force an undesirable measure on another State without its consent. Suffrage is eminently a State matter. It is the very foundation of State integrity, State dignity and State sovereignty.

In a letter from one of the most eminent men in the State, a man of large learning and experience, one of the great thinkers of America, received yesterday, he says: "Keep up your fight for the rights of the States. The peril which threatens Southern civilization is great and eminent; but let us trust in God and do our duty as it arises from day to day. We cannot afford to surrender the rich inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers, and we will not." While the letter is not marked "personal," yet I so regard it; otherwise would give name.



## THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.

Agitation for the abolition of the electoral college and the election of a President by direct vote, has been begun in the East, especially by the New York World, which feared for a time that the majority vote of the people, given to Wilson, might be upset by the electoral vote. Only one or two Presidents having the greatest popular vote, have failed to be elected by the electoral college. Perhaps in only one case, has the electoral system worked an injustice, and that might have occurred even under popular vote.

The electors are mere functionaries now, it is true, and their voting is a mere form, but the system under which they are elected is a recognition of the states as units. If it were abolished, the great populous states of the East would nearly control presidential elections, unless the South enfranchised the negroes it now disfranchises. The voice of the sparsely settled states would be drowned in the roar from the great cities and the great states, and the West would never decide a national contest as it has decided the one recently closing.

The electoral system counts both population and states. It gives one vote in the electoral college for each Representative in Congress—and Representatives are based on population—and two votes additional to each state. If the electoral college should be abolished, why not wipe out state lines altogether and abolish the Senate also? It owes its existence to the recognition of states as units of the nation. If the merger of states into population is to be the basis of presidential elections, it might as well be the basis of Congress to the extinction of the Senate. And if that position be conceded, why not abolish state governments, too? The electoral college system serves a purpose, though its members are mere messengers.

# Republican Negroes Meet

*The Kansas City Sun*

## A Representative Meeting of Colored Men of Five Western States Meet in Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 22nd.

2/26/16.

Issue Splendid Address to the American People on the Rights of the American Negro.

## Work to be Kept Up Until After the Election.

The Western States Negro Republican Conference convened in the assembly room of the Kansas City Sun, 1803 E. 18th St., Kansas City, Mo., in pursuance to call issued by the chairman, Tuesday, February 22 at 10 a. m. Chairman E. T. Barbour of El Reno, Okla., called the meeting to order and outlined some of the things to be considered by the conference.

On motion of I. H. Bradbury of St. Louis, Mo., Geo. W. Love was named as temporary secretary.

Nelson C. Crews of Kansas City stated that owing to the fact that any number of persons were of the opinion that the meeting would be held in the afternoon it would be better to adjourn until 3 p. m. this afternoon. On motion the meeting was adjourned until 3 p. m.

Mr. Crews presented to the conference badges for the delegates.

### Afternoon Session.

The afternoon session was called to order by Chairman Barbour.

Song—"My Country."

Prayer—Rev. Wm. H. Thomas.

The minutes of the morning session were read and approved.

Chairman Barbour stated the object of the meeting and asked for united support by the Negroes of the Western States in bettering their conditions politically.

Motion by John G. Pegg of Omaha, Neb., that the chair appoint a committee of five (5) on permanent organization. The chair appointed the following on Committee on Permanent Organization:

John G. Pegg, Neb., Chairman;  
I. H. Bradbury, Mo.;  
F. J. McNeil, Okla.;  
Jesse A. Graves, Iowa;  
Jas. H. Guy, Kansas.

While waiting upon the report of committee Mr. J. Silas Harris of Kansas City, addressed the convention on the outlook.

The Committee on Permanent Organization reported as follows:

Kansas City, Mo., Feb. 22, 1916.

The Committee on Permanent Organization met and elected Mr. John Pegg chairman and I. H. Bradbury secretary. It was moved by J. A. Guy and seconded by F. H. McNeil that the temporary organization be made permanent.

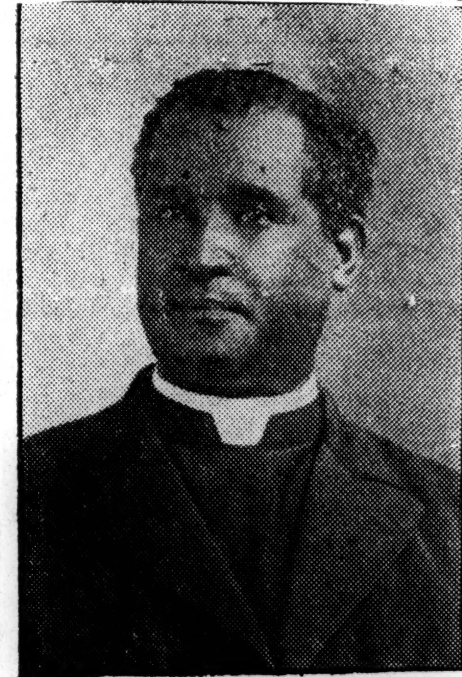
John G. Pegg, Chr.  
I. H. Bradbury, Sec.  
J. A. Graves,  
Jas. H. Guy,  
F. H. McNeil.

Kansas was called for and H. I. Monroe, candidate for County Clerk of Shawnee County, Topeka, Kas., responded.

Nelson C. Crews requested that Dr. Wm. H. Thomas of Allen Chapel, A. M. E. church make a few remarks. Dr. Thomas spoke words of encouragement and complimented the conference upon its high aims and wished them success.

Brief remarks were made by John G. Jegg of Omaha, F. H. McNeil of Okla., and I. H. Bradbury of St. Louis, Mo.

F. W. Dabney of Kansas City motioned that the chair appoint a committee on resolutions. Mr. Crews moved to amend the motion by having



**BISHOP J. ALBERT JOHNSON**  
Of South Africa, the most eloquent bishop of the great African Methodist Episcopal Church, will preach at Allen Chapel Sunday morning and lecture Wednesday evening.

**CHICAGO WOMEN TO HELP HUGHES WIN**  
(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

CHICAGO, Ill.—There has been opened in Chicago, Ill., the Colored Women's Hughes Republican headquarters to aid the National Committee in reaching the sixty thousand colored women in the suffrage States who can cast their votes for President.

These headquarters are in charge of the following well-known colored women: Chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth Lindsay Davis; vice-chairman, Mrs. Irene Goins; chairman of Bureau of Publicity, Mrs. Fannie Barrier Williams; secretary, Mrs. Ada McKinley; organizer, Miss Ella G. Berry; speaker, Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett.

## LOCAL POLITICS.

The Citizens Party, the progressive and reform element of the Democratic party in Norfolk, have held their city convention and nominated candidates for Mayor, City Council and one member of the Board of Control, offices to be filled at the general election in June. The recent action of the City Council in reducing the membership of that body from forty to twenty-five eliminated several good men, among them Mr. John J. Pitt from Washington Ward. Mr. Pitt's career in the Council has been marked by some very conspicuous and praiseworthy endeavors in behalf of Norfolk citizens, irrespective of party affiliation, race or color. 2/5/16.

The Citizens Party convention nominated for Mayor a very strong and able man. Mr. Leon C. Steele is an exponent of clean, efficient, scientific city government. He is committed to the commission form of government. Mr. Steele will probably command more votes than any candidate that his party could have named for the office of Mayor.

Mr. Derring won over Mr. Butler in the contest for the Board of Control. We do not know much of either Mr. Derring or Mr. Butler, except that both are good Democrats. We know that Mr. Derring has convictions and the courage to support them, as was demonstrated last September when he lead the opposition in the Board of Aldermen to the appearance here of the notorious photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation." Mr. Butler voted against the ordinance that would have barred the play from Norfolk. The "Organization" faction of the Democratic party will have to put forward a very strong man to defeat Mr. Derring in the April primary.

As the Republicans do not make any effort to become a factor in municipal elections, the election of city officials will be settled in the Democratic primary which will be held prior to the date for the general election.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE MUNICIPAL PRIMARY.

*Journal and Guide*

The Democrats held their primary Tuesday for the election of a mayor, one member of the Board of Control and a full membership in both branches of the council. The party here is divided into two factions—Citizens-Democratic and Organization. The Organization forces won a complete victory, re-electing Mayor Mayo and Controller Hannan, incumbents, and practically getting complete control of the city council. 4/8/16

In the closing days of the campaign, when the result was in doubt, the Organization campaign committee, taking advantage of a mere incident, trotted out the race issue. This issue never fails to put the Democrat on fighting edge when all else has failed. It probably did its work in Tuesday's primary, although it is hard to conceive how such could be the case in an election in which no Negroes at all participated.

The incident that gave the Organization candidates an opportunity to raise the race issue was the appearance Sunday afternoon of Rev. C. S. Morris at a meeting held at the Majestic Theatre. He was invited to make some remarks and embraced the opportunity to make an appeal for better living conditions for his race in this city, calling particular attention to the vice situation. The mayor's friends claimed to have seen in this appeal of a Negro minister for better living conditions for his race "inuendoes" reflections upon Mayor Wyndham R. Mayo, a Virginian and a gentleman," and in Monday afternoon and Tuesday morning's papers there appeared an advertisement in flaming type addressed to the "White Men Of Norfolk," "Shall we return to reconstruction days," "Shall a Negro Preacher direct white men how to vote." The advertisement then took an incendiary turn and said that "On Sunday afternoon in the city of Norfolk, an occurrence took place that would not have been countenanced in any other city in our Southern country."

The advertisement was answered by Mr. Steele, the mayor's alty candidate on the Citizens ticket, who disclaimed any knowledge of the meeting or any connection with it and regarded the connection of his candidacy with the incident as a "political slander." In truth the whole thing was a discredit to the promoters of the Mayo-Hannan campaign and an insult to the colored people of Norfolk.

It is unfortunate that the Negro is placed in such a situation politically that he cannot honestly and decently protest against civic unrighteousness without having political opportunists seize upon such protests as an occasion for making political capital. It is unfortunate that without having the power to cast a single ballot to determine in the slightest degree the issues or control of the Democratic party the race is stigmatized in its factional and general campaigns and used as an instrument for stirring the baser passions of impressionable minds to the debasement of the Negro race and the elevation of political opportunists.

No other racial group on earth would stand the insults that are heaped wholesale upon the Negro race, and it is high time that the Negroes were finding some effective way to resent them.

The political oligarchy that rules the South is riding for a fall. No, we are not "going back to reconstruction days," but we are going forward to a new revolution, out of which will come a readjustment of conditions that now exist. The oligarchy will encompass its own destruction. The Citizens Party in Norfolk has already destroyed itself. It was born to accomplish reform in local politics, and operating at first upon a truly democratic basis it was in a fair way to bring about certain needed reforms. But, flushed with its first great victory and drunk with power, in its efforts to eliminate the Negro from any participation in local elections it formed a compact with the very political organization it was created to destroy. It changed its constitution and went into the Democratic primary and in due season was torn asunder by factional differences. Its defeat and absorption by the ring followed.

In the efforts of the Democrats to deprive the Negro of the benefits of the ballot they have disenfranchised nearly half of the white men in the State and established a government by the minority. In their efforts to regulate corporate interests they have precipitated an endless conflict between the legislative and judicial branches of the government; the state is no longer able to exist without taxing the income of private citizens and taxation is no longer common. These conditions are fomenting revolutionary tendencies, that like a smouldering volcano, threaten the social and political structure.

And that is not all. The insistent efforts of politicians to perpetuate themselves in power by the persecution of a temporarily disadvantaged race will ultimately react upon their own heads. If any modern precedent for this is needed we only have to point to the European war. There the white nations, welded out of varying types of one blood, who have builded great empires by conquest and ravage and pillage of disadvantaged nations and races, obsessed with a consciousness of power and dominion and greed for more, have forgotten all ties of blood and abrogated all treaties and conventions and are tearing and slashing at each others throats, Teuton against Slav, Celt against Saxon, feeding the flower of their own flesh and blood to cannon and sword, annihilating their manhood, starving their women, destroying their commerce and evidences of a civilization of a thousand years. Why? because it is written, "Thine iniquities will I visit upon thee."

COLORED WOMEN ON HUGHES' RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Denver, Col., Aug. 26.—Mrs. Isabelle Stewart, president of the Colored Woman's Republican League and Mrs. Partheina George were named on the reception committee for making arrangements for the reception which was given of the Hon. Charles E. Hughes on Saturday, Aug. 26.

Recognition was given these wo-

men for their faithful and loyal services to the Republican party before and since they possessed the franchise.

GREEN ELECTED DELEGATE.

Chicago Defender Tallulah, La., April 28.—At a convention of the Republicans of the Fifth congressional district of Louisiana held here today, Hon. S. W. Green, Supreme Chancellor, Knights of Pythias, East Carroll parish was elected to the Chicago convention for June next and J. W. Cooke was elected alternate. The delegate goes uninstructed.

OUR POLITICAL STATUS.

*Journal and Guide 2/16/16.*  
We were asked a few days ago to write in these columns an editorial opinion as to what course the colored citizens should pursue to obtain political recognition or political status. Our opinion may be expressed in a very few words. The Negro citizen must abide his time. Those who have met the property test and the literacy test are confronted with some other subterfuge, which they in time will overcome, only to be confronted by another. Had not these restrictions been placed upon us we probably would not have acquired property and education in the measure that we have acquired them, so we are vastly better off in that respect. We should continue to prepare to vote and present ourselves at the polls at every general election. It is a good habit to cultivate. The nation was founded upon the principles of true democracy, and even though the nation has temporarily strayed away from these principles, it must surely return to them or the nation will not endure. Be ye ready to answer the call of democracy.

GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

TWO NEGROES ACCUSED OF ATTEMPTED ILLEGAL VOTING

Frank Edge, 3404 Lawton avenue, and Raymond Green, 1533 North Sixteenth street, both negroes, were charged with attempted illegal voting in bench warrants issued yesterday by Judge Karl Kimmel at the request of the December grand jury. The negroes had been arrested several days ago by order of Circuit Attorney Harvey.

The arrests resulted from an investigation of the charges and counter charges of fraud at the recent general election November 7. Three indictments were returned by the October grand jury in its probe of the election frauds, and the two yesterday are the first from the December grand jury which took up the investigation where the October grand jury quit.



# THE MAYORALTY ELECTION—A FINAL WORD TO

COLORED VOTERS.

*The Journal & Guide*  
10/10/16

In our last issue we called attention to the election for Mayor, which occurs Tuesday, June 13th, and urged the colored voters of the city to cast their ballots for Dr. James G. Riddick, the independent candidate. We want to repeat our admonition of last week and continue in this editorial a recapitulation of reasons why the colored vote of the city, along with the entire independent vote, should be cast *against* Mayor Mayo.

If there were any reasons why the colored voters of Norfolk should support the present incumbent of the Mayor's office this paper would be glad to accord him its support. But as we stated last week, there has not been one official or unofficial act upon the part of Mayor Mayo during his whole administration that would indicate even a perfunctory interest in the material welfare of the thirty-five thousand colored inhabitants of Norfolk. In view of this fact it is reasonable to assume that if any situation arose affecting the interests of the colored citizens of the city, the weight of the Mayor's influence would be thrown against the colored citizens.

When the chief executive of a progressive city exhibits throughout his whole administration, a marked disinterestedness and a hostile attitude toward forty per cent. of the city's population something is certainly wrong with the chief executive's heart, and it is only natural that the voters of that ill-treated and neglected element should feel and exercise some resentment when election time arrives.

In our recapitulation of the Mayor's record last week we referred to his veto of the appropriation for colored Elks, and his refusal to give his official sanction to the meeting here of the national organization. We did not state then, and wish to call attention now to the additional fact that when the Mayor was invited to welcome the convention it is reported that he consulted the white Elks as to whether it would be agreeable with them for the National Organization of Negro Elks to hold their

convention in this city! We suppose that if the white Elks had demurred the Mayor would have found some way to embarrass the colored Elks if not to prevent their meeting here altogether.

But the Mayor carried his policy of contempt and hatred to absurd proportions during the closing days of the Democratic primary held in April. Fearful of defeat in an honestly conducted "white man's primary" in a race with an honest opponent, he seized upon the hope and adopted the methods that have given political life and official careers to such men as Tillman, Vardaman, Cole Blease and others, especially the unspeakable Blease. On the eve of the primary, when the stage setting for its dramatic entrance was most ideal, the Mayor, the one man above all others in this city, bound by oath to uphold the law and promote peace, himself directed a most vicious attack upon the motives and character of Rev. Dr. Chas. S. Morris, in an effort to incite race hatred and blind the white voters of the city to the real issues of the primary and continue himself in office. His effort was characterized by inflammatory statements published in the city papers in flaming type as paid advertisements, appealing to the baser passions of white men, because Dr. Morris had been invited quite incidentally, to address a meeting that had no political significance whatever, on the vice situation as it pertained to the closing of the "red light" districts in Norfolk. Dr. Morris made no reference to the Mayor or his administration, and had no thought of making a political speech, but the Mayor saw a chance to make political capital out of it and tortured it into a "political" attack upon a "Virginia gentleman." Ten years ago such newspaper publications as were directed against Dr. Morris and the colored citizens of Norfolk by the Mayor and his campaign committee would have caused a race riot that would have made the streets of Norfolk to run red with the blood of innocent people. But thanks to the good sense of Norfolk people, white and colored such trouble was averted.

Is any further evidence needed that the Mayor is the bitter enemy of all colored citizens, no matter how good and useful and valuable as social and economic assets that may be? The Mayor's

Ernest Williams has capped a session of the Legislature in Oklahoma, to convene January 1916. The annulling of the "grandfather clause" by the United States Supreme Court put the Democrats down here in a hard hole, and the coming session will devote principally all of its time to framing up some excuse to kill off the Negro vote in this state. The Democrats, when the "grandpa" clause was going good, barely won by an insignificant majority of 2,000, and they will have to work fast if there is any redemption for them. Everything is cut and dried to put the quietus on the colored vote, no doubt, and everything will go off with clock-like precision, but the Democrats must be careful to not pass a law which will put them in contempt of the Supreme Court. Legislating against the colored man is about the only thing the Oklahoma lawmakers will try to do and they may be depended on to put every stumbling block possible in the colored man's way.

horizon is narrowed by inherent traditions that belong to an age that is happily past and is being forgotten by all forward looking people.

Our final admonition to the colored voters of Norfolk is to go to the polls next Tuesday and vote *against* Capt. Wyndham R. Mayo for Mayor of Norfolk.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage THE MAYORALTY ELECTION — HOW COLORED MEN SHOULD VOTE.

On Tuesday, June 13th, an election for Mayor of the city of Norfolk will be held. There are two candidates in the field, Capt. Wyndham R. Mayo, the incumbent, who is the Democratic nominee, and Dr. James G. Riddick, a former mayor, who is running as an independent candidate.

The election on the 13th of June is to be a general one, in which voters of all parties are free to participate. The attention of the colored voters is called to this fact in order that none may be misled.

As citizens and taxpayers of Norfolk, with interests in common with those of all other citizens, the colored voters of Norfolk should regard it as a duty they owe to themselves to go to the polls on this election day and cast their ballots, and they should make no mistake about voting for the right man, and in this regard the JOURNAL AND GUIDE feels that it would be neglecting a duty and an opportunity if we did not point out at this time what we conscientiously believe to be the right course for the colored voter to pursue in this important election. 6/15/16

We are positive in the belief that a colored man who votes for Mayor Wyndham R. Mayo votes against his best interests. If Mayor Mayo has any interest in the colored citizens of Norfolk, who compose forty per cent. of the population of the city, he has not shown it during his past administration, and he has had numberless opportunities to indicate that he was mayor of the colored citizens of Norfolk as well as mayor of the white citizens.

On the other hand, the mayor has shown a disinterestedness in and an unfriendliness for the colored citizens of Norfolk that almost approaches hostility. No mayor within a period of forty years has treated the colored citizens of Norfolk with the contempt that has been accorded them from the present Mayor's office. And if there is any reason for the mayor's course it is not apparent, except that it is a part of his nature, for upon the one occasion during his administration that he has shown the colored citizens the courtesy of appearing before a colored audience he expressed himself as being deeply indebted to members of the race, and especially to his "black mammy" for kindly attentions and considerations. Since then his every official act touching the interests or welfare of the colored citizens has repudiated his professed friendship for even his "black mammy" who coddled and nursed him, and it is reported that one of his first acts after assuming the office of mayor was to order removed from the walls of that office the portrait of Abraham Lincoln, whose name and memory are dear to the heart of every black man and woman.

What are some of the official and unofficial acts that characterize the mayor's disinterestedness in the welfare of the colored citizens?

The city council passed a resolution appropriating \$400.00

for the entertainment of the national convention of the Colored Elks that met in Norfolk in August, 1914. The mayor vetoed the appropriation and the colored citizens never got the money.

When the vicious photo-play, "The Birth of a Nation," was advertised to appear here white and colored citizens appealed to the mayor to forbid the play. He declined to act, and after its appearance here sent a letter to Richmond's mayor approving the play.

When the Negro Organization Society, a body that has been addressed by the governor of the state and other influential white citizens, met in Norfolk, the mayor was invited to welcome the body but declined to do so.

Mayor Mayo declined an invitation to make a welcome address to the annual conference of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church which met in Norfolk in April. Nor did he designate any one to represent him.

The mayor was asked to extend an official welcome to the Virginia Baptist State Convention which met in Norfolk last month and refused to do so, or to designate any one to represent him.

He was invited to welcome the Baptist General Association of Virginia which met in Norfolk in May of this year but ignored the invitation.

Upon all occasions and under all circumstances, therefore, the mayor of the whole city of Norfolk, who is supposed to be the mayor of all citizens, white and black, has been unapproachable where one body or group of citizens was concerned, and has given thousands of visitors to the city the impression that the mayor of the city is entirely out of touch and out of sympathy with the 35,000 colored citizens under his jurisdiction.

Colored citizens should register their disapproval of the mayor's course by voting against him in the election on Tuesday, June 13th.

Dr. Riddick, who is running as an independent, enjoys a long established reputation as a friend of the masses. He is easily approached and will give a sympathetic hearing to any meritorious cause whether it concerns the "Virginia aristocracy" or the common masses. He is supported by such men as Mr. John J. Pitt, a man who has, during his whole career as a councilman, shown more than ordinary interest in the welfare of the colored citizens; a man to whom the colored people of Norfolk are forever obligated for his manly fight against segregation and against other vicious measures aimed at Negroes, and a vote for Dr. Riddick is a vote for Mr. Pitt.

Let the colored voters of Norfolk fail not in doing their duty in the election of Tuesday, June 13th.

# BIG VOICE OF JONES

## HALTS RALLY

### Brass Band, Shouting Men and Calling Women Fail to Stem Oratorical Tide Against Votes for Negroes in South States

### Women's Party Allows One Man Floor; Meeting Breaks Up in Disorder When Hostile Shouts From Negroes Howl

One self-styled Southerner was defeated in a verbal battle with the Woman's party at Chabot Hall last night by the combined stamping of feet, indignant masculine shouts from floor and gallery, the shaking of a tall negress' fist and storms of cheers for the women speakers.

A brass band, hurriedly rushed into action by resourceful young suffragists, reinforced the defense, drowning his last protest in the patriotic clamor of "Shouting the Battle Cry of Freedom."

#### A LIVELY SCENE.

This was the climax of the most burning, tempestuous meeting the Woman's party has held since it decided to campaign for Hughes as a method of securing a federal suffrage amendment. It was a lively little scene, with men as the chief actors in the demonstration. Besides the routed Southern person, there were several other men sitting in front rows, who vainly strove to discountenance the women speakers by making faces at them.

They lost. Other men, among them a few negroes, scattered through the audience, applauded the suffrage orators long and enthusiastically through the evening.

Signs, "Women, Who Vote, Vote Against Wilson," interspersed with American flags, peaceful flowers, banners and flags of gold and purple decked the round of the hall. Small boys and young women with Woman's party colors about their shoulders circulated suffrage propaganda, as the audience filed in to the martial sound of a band pouring out breathlessly national war anthems. The leaders of the Suffrage party, one after another, spoke. Until then no storm broke.

But Mrs. Elinor Carlisle, chairman of the meeting, asked if anyone wished to ask a sensible question. If his question was sensible, it would be answered.

"Madame Chairman: Will you let a mere man speak," came the voice that precipitated later all the trouble. "For twenty-five years I have been an advocate of national woman suffrage. May I speak for five or ten minutes?"

Mrs. Carlisle ruled that he might not speak. All he might do was ask a question. But Mrs. Ida Finney Makrille, one of the noted leaders of the party, who had been a speaker, came forward on the platform to plead for the unknown on the ground that it was only fair to listen five minutes to a man after so many men had been listening patiently to women.

"For twenty-five years I have been a believer in national woman suffrage, ladies. But I am a Southerner, and



## A WARNING AND A CALL

We detract not one iota from the admiration we with all other colored citizens have for the courage and friendship of the editors of the New York World for the black race when we say that its ringing editorial of Sunday counted "Another White Man's Party," is more political effect than for racial guidance. The National Republican party certainly is all that is left to the brother in black as a hope and a promise. The following words, however, are a warning to the powers that be in the Republican party, which they should heed and heed now this week at Chicago: 6/5/16

### ONE MORE WHITE MAN'S PARTY

For twenty years after the Civil War, Republican platforms were largely devoted to demands and promises relating to the Negro. Then for another score of years utterances on this subject were intermittent and half-hearted. Finally, in 1912 they ceased altogether. In the meantime the emphasis once placed upon the color issue was more and more laid upon tariffs, subsidies, imperialism and pensions.

For two decades after the Civil War every National Republican Convention took pride in the large attendance of black delegates from the South. They were the colored brethren to whose welfare, social and political, the party was devoted. As object-lessons they were useful in a way. Then for another twenty years or more, when the mixed delegations from the South had come to be regarded as mercenaries only, they were looked upon as an incumbrance, having no influence as to nominations, and, if mentioned at all in platforms, given far less consideration than plutocracy and privilege.

In the convention that is soon to assemble in Chicago, fewer than twenty-five Negroes will claim membership, and the seats of many of these are contested. They belong to delegations reduced by the authority of the Republican Party itself. The States and the race which they undertake to represent are discriminated against in the grand council of Republicanism as sharply as by various devices in the election laws of some Southern Commonwealths the whites have reduced the colored vote and two constitutional amendments to a nullity.

First sentimentally palavered and coddled; then bought and traded in like live stock; then abandoned and kicked out—such has been the fate of the colored brother at the hands of a party which long ago turned from human rights to embrace commercialism, foreign adventure and monopoly.

Indeed, they are more than a warning. They are a clarion call for the Republican party to get back to the principles of Lincoln.

From EVENING GLOBE

Address: New York City

Date

### SUFFRAGE DISCRIMINATIONS.

Since the election The Globe has received a number of letters which deny that men of color are discriminated against in suffrage laws and practices. It is said that educational and property qualifications are equally applied to both white and black races, and thus do not nullify the Fifteenth Amendment.

Notorious facts, of course, contradict these denials. Grandfather clauses provide that men whose forebears could vote in 1867 may vote now without regard to literacy or property. Elsewhere applicants for registry must construe some clause of the constitution to the satisfaction of an election board composed exclusively of white men, with the result that all white men pass the examination and few men of color do. It is not conducive to health for Negroes, no matter how literate, to insist on voting. They learn they are regarded as "bigotry" and obnoxious.

Nevertheless, The Globe is glad its correspondents deny the discrimination. The denials imply recognition of the wrongfulness of discrimination. The next best thing to non-discrimination is an acknowledgment of the indefensibility of discrimination. It would be worse if our correspondents were to confess the facts and then try to justify them.

No considerable body of persons, either black or

white, objects to a limited suffrage in former slave states, provided the system is equally applied. It is injustice that burns. The literate Negro, who finds the polls barred to him while open to illiterate whites, is not encouraged to love the republic and to be a good citizen. Sixty per cent. of adult Negroes now read and write, but in many states not 10 per cent. of them vote.

As to the Fourteenth Amendment, which commands, when a state denies suffrage on any ground to adult males of twenty-one years and upward, that its representation in the Electoral College and in the lower house of congress shall be proportionally reduced—this, of course, is openly flouted. If the constitution were obeyed, President Wilson would not have a majority in the Electoral College soon to cast its vote. In the grip of doughface principles neither congress nor the Supreme Court applies a plain constitutional mandate. These matters may be referred to without partisanship, for neither party has acted when possessing power to act.

### EVENING STAR

ss: Newark, N. J. Eagle

DEC 9 1916

### The Administration's Acid Test.

WITH the submission to Congress of the bill to insure legal voting in the South, President Wilson and his newspaper supporters are to be given a notable opportunity for striking proof of the sincerity of their vociferous declarations for the "new freedom" and "equal rights and equal justice for all men." There will, perhaps, be vigorous partisan effort to evade the issue, but it has been raised and it must be faced.

No man in all the nation can shut his eyes to the rank injustice that has been the share of the colored voters of the South since the days of the reconstruction. Every one knows that the Southern States have made negro suffrage a mockery and an empty phrase. And every one must know, before the present "force" bill is disposed of, whether the president's "new freedom" is to apply only where his party may secure votes and whether the "equal justice" for which his newspaper partisans have screamed is to be dealt out only to those who can spend pennies for daily editions.

Already this bill, the only purpose of which is to assure an honest count of the Southern vote, has been labeled by the Wilson press as the "force bill." Already the cry of sectionalism has been raised and preparation made to give the administration a washable excuse for ignoring or opposing the measure. Such tactics proved effective when the same question was raised twenty years ago. But they are not going to avail now.

For times and conditions have changed with the rapid growth and industrial development of the South, and the black man, who was then pictured as a worthless burden, has now, with his labor, become a vital necessity to the entire section. Today

the most influential white citizens in the Southern States are fathering and furthering a movement to prevent the negro from moving to the North. His hands and his muscles are needed. He is being given every encouragement to give his days and his labor to the swiftly growing industries of the Southland. The need for him is imperative and with that need has disappeared the one great argument with which the "force bill" was beaten to death in the National Congress two decades ago.

President Wilson and his journalistic worshippers have grown tremendously fond, of late years, of quoting and claiming apostleship to Abraham Lincoln. With an audacity which only American partisanship could conceive, the president has been pictured as the follower, almost the reincarnation, of the martyred emancipator. Lincoln's words and Lincoln memories have been twisted and tortured into a mantle for modern Democratic shoulders. And all the while the one great ideal of Lincoln's career—physical and political freedom for the black man—has been ignored and scorned.

It is high time for the day of reckoning. It is high time that the administration redeem its pledges of sainted devotion to the cause of equal rights and equal opportunity for all men. And if it is to refuse so to redeem them, it is indeed high time that the mask of pretense be stripped from the president and the press which vouches for him.

There isn't any color line in the constitution of the United States. There was none in the gentle philosophy of Abraham Lincoln. And there can be none in the doctrine of the "new freedom" and equal rights for every man if that doctrine is anything but partisan buncombe and yellow journalistic chatter.

The acid test of the sincerity of President Wilson and the honesty of his followers has come. By the position they take in the "force bill" they will recognize and secure the rights of every man, black or white, North or South, or they will stand convicted of absolute betrayal of the fundamental principle of Americanism.

### PUBLIC LEDGER

Philadelphia, Pa.

NOV 2 1916

### SUFFRAGE SENSE IN THE SOUTH

If the vote of the negroes is to be curtailed in the future, the notion that a white skin and nothing else shall be sufficient qualification for voting will have to be abandoned. The makers of the Constitution intended that it be abandoned after the first day of January, 1898. If the people of South Carolina lack the courage and the conscience to disfranchise an illiterate white man, then they would better cease to talk about keeping the negroes, or even the majority of them, permanently out of politics in the coming years.—Columbia (S. C.) State.



Jacksonville, Fla.

## THE LATEST IN SECTIONALISM

The latest and the silliest display of sectionalism is now claiming place in a number of Republican papers in Northern states. As an instance the Knickerbocker Press, published at Albany, N. Y., prints a table showing that in eleven Southern states which have a total of 126 electors 46,000 fewer votes were cast in the recent election than in New York, which has only forty-five electors. The Leavenworth Times says that four Southern states with thirty-five electors polled no more votes than Kansas with only ten.

Of course the men who are writing this stuff know that representation in the house and in the electoral college are based on population—not on votes. If they wanted to make a study of votes why didn't they show that California cast more votes than Ohio, but has only one more than half as many electors. Colorado polls more votes than Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont combined, but has not half as many electors. If representation were based on votes instead of on population the states that have woman's suffrage would have about twice as many representatives in proportion to population as those which have not.

Of course the wayfaring man, though a fool, knows why the vote is not heavy in the South. In nearly all the Southern states it is known to a certainty that the Democratic candidates will be elected. Knowing this men of both parties who are eligible to vote and who could vote intelligently do not take the trouble. If this is an evil it cannot be remedied as long as practically all Southern men are Democrats and they will remain practically all Democrats as long as appeals to sectionalism are made by the enemies of the South. The South was not always solid. It was made solid by attacks made by men who appealed to sectional feeling in behalf of the Republican party.

There are other reasons, however, besides a failure of the people to vote that make the vote smaller in the South than at the North in proportion to population. Nearly every Southern state has the Australian ballot and many negroes do not know how to vote it.

Another reason is found in the fact that families are larger in the South than at the North—that is to say that with a given population there will be more children and fewer grown people in the South than at the North. As an example Maine has 742,371 people, while Florida has 752,619, but Maine has 235,727 males twenty-one years old or over, while Florida has only 214,195.

While Florida has 10,248 more people than Maine Maine has 21,522 more males of voting age than Florida. New Jersey has 2,537,167 people while Georgia has 2,609,121, but New Jersey has 774,702 males twenty-one years old or over while Georgia has only 620,616. While Georgia has 71,954 more people than New Jersey, New Jersey has 154,086 more males of voting age than Georgia. Speaking approximately the South has one voter for every four inhabitants while the North, not counting women, has one for every three.

The basis of representation cannot be changed without changing the constitution and that can't be done so far as this matter is concerned.

STAR

Indianapolis, Ind.

### Taggart and the Negroes.

A number of colored citizens have been conducting a more or less acrimonious discussion through the columns of The Star concerning the relations of Senator Thomas Taggart to their race; acrimonious because those who sound Mr. Taggart's praises are disposed to be harsh in their judgment of those who do not agree with them, while the contributors who are not infatuated with the junior senator are equally critical of his admirers.

It is not a profitable discussion to either side in the controversy. It may be admitted at once that Mr. Taggart has, and no doubt deserves to have, many friends among the negroes of Indianapolis. As mayor for several terms he was able to prove his friendship in a substantial way and in his private business since then has had equal opportunities for similar service, which he has fully utilized.

Whatever may be his political motives in extending such favors, The Star does not charge Mr. Taggart with insincerity, but cheerfully admits that he is animated by the sentiment of a kindly, fair-minded man, willing to give negroes a square deal.

But it will avail Indiana negroes nothing to support Mr. Taggart for the Senate. However friendly his intentions, he can do nothing for them at Washington. If the Wilson administration remains in power and Congress continues to be Democratic the chances of recognition of negroes in the public service will be small; for it is not an unsupported campaign charge, but a fact, that the Southern spirit of discrimination against negroes prevails in Washington under Mr. Wilson.

In the government departments negroes were segregated, though for nearly half a century white and black clerks had worked side by side without friction. When negroes came to Mr. Wilson with complaint he said it was not a political question, but his most loyal newspaper organ, the New York World, was impelled to

remark: "Anything that is unjust, discriminating and un-American is certain to be a political question. Servants of the United States government are servants of the United States government regardless of race or color."

Under the present management of the classified service by the Civil Service Commission no negro expects appointment, though his name may stand first in examination. Of important Federal offices negroes have been given two under this administration and sixteen negroes have been dismissed, several of them from offices, like that of recorder of deeds, which have gone for several administrations, including that of Cleveland, to colored men.

Mr. Taggart, whatever his disposition, can do nothing to stem this tide. If Congress is Republican he can do nothing for negroes of his own party. Therefore, if negro voters of Indiana wish to serve their own race they will support the straight Republican ticket, since only through that party have they ever received justice. Through the Democratic party they will never receive it.

From ~~RECORD~~ HERALD

Address: Chicago, Ill.

Date Oct 16 1916

### Wilson and the Negroes.

Chicago, Oct. 16.—To the Editor: It is reported that several prominent social workers are to vote for the re-election of President Wilson. One of the greatest, if not the greatest, social problems of our country is that of our colored Americans. In a letter before his election Mr. Wilson promised that, as far as possible, he would see that justice was given to negroes—"not mere grudging justice but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling." On the strength of this letter thousands of negroes voted for him.

Here are some of the events of the present national administration: There are eighteen important federal offices that have been held by negroes for many years. To sixteen of these Mr. Wilson has appointed white men. For the greater part of fifty years representatives of the colored people have worked at peace in the departments at Washington with white people. During the present administration many expedients have been devised to humiliate the colored employees. Do the people who desire the advancement of these American citizens want to aid further injustice to them?

DUNCAN C. MILNER.

EVENING POST

New York City

### Negro Will Support Hughes.

Ralph E. Langston, a negro, formerly chairman of the executive committee of the Colored Democratic Organization of New York State, announced to-day that he would vote the entire Republican ticket. He said he was opposed to Wilson because of the Administration's defence of the race segregation policy in the Federal Departments at Washington.

## OKLAHOMA NEGROES AND THE REGISTRARS

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.—Roscoe Dunjee of the *Black Dispatch*, in applying to Peter McCormick, registrar in the second ward of this city, for registration as a qualified voter, insisted that under the race classification he be entered simply as an "American." McCormick demurred and declared his belief that the election officers would not accept any such entry, adding to Dunjee, "I believe it will disfranchise you." Editor Dunjee insisted, however, and declared his willingness to pay the price to find out if the State of Oklahoma would disfranchise Negroes because they register as Americans.

Declaring that he was acting under instructions, this same registrar McCormick asked all Negroes applying for registration the insulting question, "Have you ever been convicted of a felony?" Not securing results from this question, he changed later to "misdemeanor" instead of "felony."

At Clearview, the registrar in one precinct just simply refused registration to all Negroes, declaring, "I'm not registering any niggers." In other cases, registration was refused to all voters who were not registered in 1914, although hundreds of young men have only attained their majority since that year, to say nothing of qualified electors who at that time were living in other States. *The New York Age* 10/16/16.

In addition, the governor of the State, Robert L. Williams, has aided and abetted this discrimination by asserting that all who resorted to the courts for relief would be arrested.

## NEW REGISTRATION LAW

*Chicago Defender* 3/4/16.  
Another Way to Disfranchise the Race Voter—Democrats Force Bill Through House.

Oklahoma City, March 3.—The Democrats of this state in a special session of the legislature adopted a general registration law and submitted an amendment to the constitution that will presumably prevent most of the race men in this state from voting. The law requires that no person that did not vote in November, 1914, can vote now. Under this new law a race man will be shut out entirely. This same law is what broke up a session of the present legislature in a free-for-all fight. There are wordings in the bill which when sought to straighten out only a very few men of the race will ever be able to cast a vote in the state of Oklahoma. This new law is simply the "Grandfather" clause hashed off, changed around and reworded.



February 1916

# The Fight for the Federal Amendment

**W**HEN the Federal Suffrage Amendment was passed, at the close of the Civil War, which removed race as a barrier to voting, women sought to have sex removed as a barrier also.

The Negro won and the woman lost. The reason for the result was frankly stated. "Until some decided practical advantage is to be gained by a dominant political party woman suffrage will not be pressed to a decision," declared the New York Times in 1869.

At the end of the slavery struggle no male politician imagined that it would ever be advantageous to a political party to secure the enfranchisement of women. There were no States where women voted and, since the women who had asked for the privilege from the National Government yielded to the exigencies of the times, as they were explained to them by men, the same men thought that women could always be induced to yield to exigencies of the moment, and thus postpone their day of liberation indefinitely.

The state of affairs that now exists was unforeseen when race was removed as a barrier to the suffrage. There are now twelve States in which women will vote for President next November. It is at last advantageous to a political party to take that woman's vote into consideration. In 1896, when there were but four suffrage States, the Republicans thought it worth while to appeal to the women of those four States to help them save the country "from Democratic misrule and mismanagement." In 1916, with twelve suffrage States and ninety-one electoral votes vested therein, the Republicans will surely make the same appeal that they made in 1896. The Republicans will have to do more than appeal to potential help in those twelve States. Since 1896 women have been mobilizing their votes in those twelve States, and they are now prepared to ask something of the Republicans in return for their plea for aid. They will ask a plank in the platform definitely supporting the Federal Suffrage Amendment. It can't be refused. The Progressives in January of this year have reiterated their acceptance of equal suffrage and have thereby made equal suffrage a national issue. Alone, the Republicans carried but two States in 1912. They must pull with the Progressives; and woman suffrage is a practical yoke.

The Democrats will meet the next week after the Republicans. Can they ignore women voters in twelve States? By no means. They, too, must have a Federal amendment plank; but they cannot escape so easily. The Democrats have been in power; the Republicans have not. While in power the Democrats have been urged, begged, implored to make woman suffrage an administration measure. Having the power to secure the passage of the amendment, they have been asked to secure its passage. If they fail to do so before the Republicans meet in annual convention, a mere copy of the Republican plank will suffice them nothing in the Presidential campaign. They will have no story with which to campaign beyond the Mississippi; they will have been tested and will have been found wanting. The Republicans, on the other hand, can claim the right to an opportunity to be tested, and their position will be far stronger.

This situation is already recognized as of great political significance by politicians. They are still endeavoring, however, to drag red herrings across the trail of the Federal suffrage advocates, just as they drag red herrings across the trail of State suffrage advocates.

One of their herrings is their sudden absorbing loyalty to Democratic procedure. They are insisting that the Federal way is undemocratic. They are insisting that the present method of amending the Federal Constitution is wrong. They are insisting that woman suffrage must be grounded on the fundamental opinion of all the males in the land. It is scarcely necessary to point out to Socialists how hollow is this ardent devotion to carefully tabulated popular will.

Another red herring is relative values. Preparedness is so much more important, or the ship subsidy, or what not, that political liberty for half the citizens of the land may well bide in patience its day. There are Socialists, too, who would play this red herring until the Socialist party is in power, but, fortunately, Meyer London is not one of these, and his Congressional aid

is accepted with enthusiasm by Federal suffrage advocates.

The largest and reddest herring of all at present is conscience or principle. Congressmen are capable of serious introspection, when it comes to justice for women, although party responsibility, rather than individual responsibility, controls their other legislative interests and acts. This discrimination in methods of work is clearly pointed out by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.

All the herrings must scamper away to hiding places, however, in view of the actual national political situation which presents an opportunity for women to free women as men have freed men. It is a big political contest which will overshadow all other issues in the coming campaign unless the Democrats foresee and forestall by sacrificing individual obstinacy to party weal—and sacrificing soon.

Shall the President of the United States, in his public addresses, hold this nation up before the world as a land of political liberty, knowing women are political slaves here and that other nations are far in advance of us in the matter of political liberty? This President may assume a false role as a leader of a democratic country, but the next President will be on more sincere ground in claiming precedence among the nations of the world. The year 1916 will see the end of hypocritical political boasting, and political liberty shall become the right of the "people" of the United States, as it now is the right of men of the United States.

## FOUR YEARS MORE — IT SEEMS

*N.Y. News 11-16-16*

The sensation of the colored citizens of America on arising last Wednesday morning to find their happy dreams of Hughes' election fading away to a vanishing point, can be compared only to that of an innocent man who after serving a four years' sentence is promised an honorable discharge and restoration to citizenship, and is then suddenly sentenced to serve four years more. They had thought that Providence had released them from their unhappy lot of the last four years. Granted the boon of a government friendly to their citizenship and pledged to promote their progress, happy indeed was their vision of their journey down the years ahead. But a cruel fate seems to have decreed otherwise. They are going to plod their weary way onward and upward nevertheless confident of their future despite the grievous burden which Woodrow Wilson will add to their load. If "the Lord chasteth those whom he loveth" they happily admit they are reigning favorites in the house of the Lowly Nazarene. Maybe in fact four years more of Wilson in the White House may be a blessing for them in disguise. Four years more of civic sacrifice and struggle will mean just four years more of a hostile force driving them together in business and industry, four more years of civic co-operation and organization to meet the onslaughts of the common foe. Four more years of Woodrow Wilson and the black people of this nation will be a force to be reckoned with, not only industrially but politically. The Bourbon South, now laughing with ghoulish glee at its prospects of a new regime of feasting at the expense of the brother in black, may find him having the last laugh in the long run. Yet from the present situation the colored citizen may gain other crumbs of comfort. The Republicans will doubtless

have a small majority in the Lower House of the next Congress. The race actually won ground in the election, however. All money bills must originate in the lower house. The Republicans ever sinister the return of Woodrow Wilson might seem. It is for through their power over the purse strings of the nation will be the black voters everywhere to organize NOW in every Northern State able to block any greater inroads by Congress upon the rights of and border State and secure and fortify this gained ground for the the race. Organized as they will be under a strong chairman the future. It devolves upon the Republican party to conserve this loyal Republican majority may be able to distribute not a few pieces of strength in this way for the Congressional elections of 1918 and the patronage to the deserving. The Republicans have elected strong Presidential election of 1920. The black man must honestly and State administrations in practically every great State of the North, resolutely face the future if he is not to succumb. The Republican including California, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Kansas, Iowa, party must set itself four square with its loyal black wing if it is to Illinois, Indiana, New York, New Jersey and New England. The survive. political status of the race can not be lowered during the coming national administration. The Republican party will doubtless see to it if there remains one jot of justice, courage and common sense with in it, that the vital million colored voters are substantially recognized and encouraged everywhere by helpful legislation and deserved politi-



Political - 1916

<sup>Suffrage</sup>  
**NEW YORK COLORED VOTERS  
ON WARPATH AND IN REVOLT  
AGAINST INCAPABLE LEADERS**

**No Organization Said to Exist Either in State  
or City, Race Rarely Considered, the Poli-  
tical Chieftains Having Been Led to  
Believe Negro Was Contented.**

**ANDERSON CENTRAL FIGURE IN BITTER FIGHT**  
*The New York Age 7/27/16*  
**Negroes Determined to Put an End to the But "One Big Negro"  
Policy in Greater New York—Much Dissatisfaction Exists Over  
Failure of Colored People to Secure Proper Recognition Under  
Present Administrations—Some Reasons Assigned for Alleged  
Unpopularity of Mr. Anderson.**

(BY STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE AGE.)

Washington, D. C.—Disorganized, displeased, distrustful, dis-  
cordant! These four words give a bird's-eye view of the colored  
man's position in New York politics. They tell in a nutshell of con-  
ditions as they really and truly exist. One finds in the New York  
situation a striking analogy between the belligerent colored voters  
in New York and the warring clans in Mexico. In the City of New  
York in particular, there are different factions, each fighting for  
supremacy and engaged in one of the greatest "word-wars" on  
record. In New York the method of warfare in politics is peculiar.  
Much of the fighting is just talk, talk, talk, which is usually done  
behind the adversary's back. Your opponent usually smiles to your  
face.

The central figure in this bloodless  
conversational battle is Charles W.  
Anderson, familiarly known to his  
host of white friends as "Charlie,"  
and referred to by the colored press

complimentary remarks, it cannot be storm of opposition occurred four  
said that the fight is a one-sided one years ago during the Taft campaign,  
by any means.

**Anderson's Back is to the Wall.**

For the first time in Mr. Anderson's of infuriated voters in Harlem. They  
long political career his enemies have hissed, yelled and made such a dis-  
him fighting with his back against the turbance that Mr. Anderson found it  
wall. And although it is said open necessary to make a hasty retreat  
warfare is not usually practised by from the platform, which was done  
him, at this important and critical before white politicians who looked  
stage he is striking back in the open on in amazement.

as never before. Unfortunately for A more recent outburst against Mr.  
Mr. Anderson, he is greatly outnumbered Anderson's leadership took place sev-  
bered. Except for one or two trusted eral weeks ago in the presence of Col.  
lieutenants in whom he can implicitly William Hayward and Capt. Lorillard  
rely, he is compelled to do most of his Spencer, influential in the Whitman  
"slaying the enemy" alone. Badly in Administration, who had been sent to  
need of reinforcements Mr. Anderson Harlem by the Governor to discuss  
has taken unto his bosom those whom the question of organizing a colored  
he most cordially dislikes and who regiment. Mr. Anderson called the  
dislike him with equal fervor. Each meeting to order, but representatives  
is playing his peculiar game with of the Equity Congress, which or-  
something suspicious up his sleeve, ganization for years has been fighting  
and always with an eye on the other for a colored regiment, demanded  
fellow. For past events have proved that Mr. Anderson vacate the chair  
that love and affection of to-day may so that Maj. Charles Fillmore, presi-  
easily turn into hate and betrayal to- dent of the Equity Congress, might  
morrow. preside. Mr. Anderson, not wishing

The ex-Collector of Internal Revenue has one big advantage over  
his rivals. He is able to get the ear to get into a heated argument, grace-  
of the political moguls, while the fully vacated the position of honor.  
other fellows seldom ever see inside Members of the Equity Congress  
where the big politicians hold forth. have what they think is a big griev-  
So white men of influence in the Re- ance against Mr. Anderson. They  
publican Party are thinking the dove say that for years they worked to  
of peace hovers o'er the colored vot- secure a colored regiment in New  
ers, while, as a matter of fact, a bitter York while he opposed the plan. Mr.  
fight is raging—one which might Anderson's sudden change of heart in  
prove disastrous to the G. O. P. favor of a colored military organiza-  
tion is looked upon by them as a plot  
to gain personal political prestige.

**Revolt Impending Six Years.**

Mr. Anderson has been deserted by  
men who fought his battles in season  
and out of season. They charge their  
former friend with rank ingratitude  
and double-dealing. But when these  
erstwhile supporters begin to tell of  
how they have been "knocked" by  
Mr. Anderson they are promptly re-  
minded that a reward will be given  
to any colored man who has engaged  
in politics with Charles W. Anderson  
and escaped condemnation from his  
lips at some time or another. Even  
those with whom Mr. Anderson is  
now fraternizing are "working" with  
him mindful of most unkind refer-  
ences made of them in the past.  
Clouds of an impending revol-  
against the leadership of Charles W.  
Anderson have been gathering for  
the past six years. The first outward

**Fell Down on Appointments.**

There are voters who look cross-  
eyed at Mr. Anderson because of his  
alleged non-activity in movements  
that meant an improvement of the  
race's civic status in Harlem. It is  
pointed out that unless Mr. Ander-  
son was at the head of any of these  
commendable efforts in which it was  
possible for him to secure a personal  
boost, he always frowned upon  
them. Other charges against Mr.  
Anderson's lack of co-operation in  
the promotion of matters affecting  
the Negro in Harlem are that he bit-  
terly opposed the election of Negroes  
who ran for alderman and assembly-  
man.

Greatest dissatisfaction over the  
leadership of Mr. Anderson, however,  
is said to be due to his inability to  
secure representative political posi-

tions for others, although his remark-  
able ability to land choice plums for  
himself is generally known. When  
John Purroy Mitchel aspired for the  
nomination of Mayor of Greater New  
York, he had a meeting of colored  
ministers arranged, appearing before  
the clergymen and making a strong  
appeal for their support. He was in-  
troduced by Charles W. Anderson.  
Mr. Mitchel, in the course of his  
talk, announced that President Wil-  
son had decided to retain Mr. Ander-  
son as Collector of Internal Revenue,  
inferring that this decision was  
reached at his (Mitchel's) behest.

John Purroy Mitchel was nomin-  
ated and elected. He has been Mayor  
of Greater New York for three years,  
but not a colored man has he ap-  
pointed to office. If Mr. Anderson  
has made serious endeavors to land a  
political position for some bright,  
competent young man, or for any  
other kind of a colored man, he has  
failed dismally. The impression seems  
to be general that Mayor Mitchel be-  
lieves he paid his debt to the colored  
voters by keeping Charles W. Ander-  
son in the Collector's office for two  
years under a Democratic administra-  
tion.

The failure of colored voters to  
win recognition at the hands of the  
Republican State organization has  
also put them in bad humor. Not one  
good-sized appointment has been  
handed to a colored man in the State  
of New York. The white leaders are  
not blamed so much for this lack of  
recognition as the colored leaders,  
who are charged with not putting up  
the proper kind of a fight for a square  
deal.

Among the disgruntled ones are  
said to be several colored lawyers,  
who believe a colored man should  
have succeeded Cornelius W. Mc-  
Dougald in the District Attorney's  
office last summer. It will be recalled  
that for some peculiar reason Mr.  
Perkins refused to name a colored as-  
sistant, and not until Mr. Swann be-  
came District Attorney was a col-  
ored man, at the request of Tammany  
Hall, appointed.

**Voters Disorganized and Angry.**

There are always two sides to every  
question, and Mr. Anderson's side is  
yet to be told. No one can deny,  
however, that the colored voters are  
badly disorganized, are in an angry  
mood and have fared badly in recent  
years under the Republican and



Fusion administrations, due to incap-sons there ought to be a dozen Ne-able leadership. A movement somegroes well known to the white and time ago to secure the appointmentcolored people of the community as of a Negro on the Board of Educa-representative men and women of tion failed, due to a lack of sinceritytheir race. And with intellect they and an inclination to "play both endsshould possess character. Until this against the middle," it is charged. Mr. new order of things come to pass the Anderson is accused of indorsingcolored voters are going to undergo more than one candidate for the po- sition to his face, but it is said he did not come out strongly for any of them.

Mr. Anderson's position is peculiar in that he enjoys the confidence and popular esteem of many white persons who labor under the opinion that he is all-powerful among the members of his race. It cannot be denied that he could be had he pursued different tactics. But he does not seem to believe in the theory that the higher you get the more support you need to hold you up.

From the looks of things the Negro race and the Republican party are going to suffer until there is a revolutionary change in New York City. Mr. Anderson is accused of wanting to be the one and only big Negro in New York for all time; and by his method of playing one against the other, a game in which he has been most successful for years, he is said to have unnecessarily created a bad feeling between men who, by harmonious action, could render great service to the race and the community. On the other hand, many of those who oppose him are known to have political aspirations, and their rise to power would not bring about peace or race advancement.

The situation is not going to be clarified until men of character, with no axes to grind, can get together, and with "In union there is strength," as their motto, pull together to bring about harmony and an effective working organization. White politicians may just as well rid themselves at once of the notion that a more healthy and agreeable condition is going to be created in any other manner. They cannot be censured severely for allowing themselves to be fooled in the past as to what the majority of Negroes were thinking, but in the future if they persist in allowing themselves, through subterfuge, to be misled it will be their fault.

The New York Negro is ambitious and progressive. He believes that in one of the most liberal Democrats a population of 100,00 colored per-

## OKLAHOMA TRIES TO EVADE LETTER OF LAW

Democrats Propose Disfranchisement through Control of Legislation

*New York Age*  
**WAR SERVICE IS THE JOKER**

Republicans and Socialists denounce Democratic Legislation to be submitted to Voters of the State at Primary Election in August—Use Literacy Test

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.) Oklahoma City, Okla.—Harlow's Weekly has published a symposium, dealing with the recent legislation in this State relating to the suffrage question, which so vitally affects the citizenship rights of the Negro. The first article, by State Senator Barrett, sets forth the Democratic side of the argument, and in it the writer seeks to justify the regulation of registration by precinct registrars responsible only to the party appointing them, and a literacy test, that exempts "any person who served in any of the wars of the United States, or the wars of any foreign nation and all lawful descendants of such persons." This is the so-called substitute for the grandfather clause, which was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court.

Arthur H. Geissler, for the Republicans, and Patrick S. Nagle, for the Socialists, oppose this legislation as despotic and intended to disfranchise Republicans and Socialists. Mr. Harlow, the editor of the Weekly, is considered in the State, which is confirmed

by the fact that the concluding article is furnished by Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch. The reason for this last article is stated by the editor of Harlow's Weekly as follows:

Beyond a doubt the Negro in Oklahoma is considered a subject race. White men in this State look upon his participation in government as an outrage upon them perpetrated a half-century ago by a Pennsylvania fanatic, as a political evil which should be avoided as far as the Constitution and laws will permit. This is a racial feeling, shared by Democrats and Republicans alike, and will in all human probability continue to be the controlling factor in any approach to the question of Negro suffrage in Oklahoma for years to come. But without reference to the soundness of this attitude, the man who would attempt to govern 130,000 people without any interest in what they think is a plain fool; the intelligent men of all parties should be interested in knowing just how the intelligent Negro looks at the matter. With this idea in view, the article by Roscoe Dunjee of Oklahoma City should prove of value.

Dunjee is a Negro of property and of wide information, both secured by his own efforts. He conducts a printing and publishing business in the capital, and is looked upon by people of his own and of the white race as a high type of Negro citizen. It can safely be assumed that the black man's own conception of the problem is as well stated here as it is likely to be stated by anyone in Oklahoma.

Editor Dunjee's statement of "The Negro's View" is pitched in a temperate key, and should command a respectful hearing on all sides. We quote from it as follows:

Let us agree that citizenship is an achievement and that the right of suffrage is a sacred privilege that should be accorded only to a responsible, moral and intelligent electorate. I am willing for my people to meet such an impartial test.

It is true that in certain sections of the South, known as the "black belt," Negroes have not made as rapid progress as the Negroes of Oklahoma, but since this legislature can only legislate for the citizens of Oklahoma I am going to offer some statistics showing what the black man has done in the development of this great commonwealth; I am going to show you the responsible position he has reached in morals, material wealth and intelligence. In fact, these figures will show that the Negro has reduced his illiteracy in this State to less than that of the white man, that almost 90 per cent of them live clean, moral lives, and that the vast property holdings of the black man in this State makes of him a heavy and responsible taxpayer.

We own in the State of Oklahoma 10,018 homes, having an assessed valuation of \$30,347,738 (see page 29, Bulletin 129, Department of Census); \$23,034,582 of this property has been acquired since 1900 and this latter amount must be credited in full to the earning power of black men and not to governmental tender. Of the 137,612 Negroes living in the State of Oklahoma, 100,630, or 73 per cent., may be found in productive labor upon the farm (see page 59, Bulletin 129, Department of Census). We have re-

duced our illiteracy in this State from 42½ per cent. to 17½ per cent. during the years that the "grandfather clause" was effective, which statute demanded that we should read and write (see page 28, Bulletin 129, Department of Census); 83.4 per cent. of my people in this State are engaged in gainful occupations; that should forever disprove the idea that we are idlers and lacking in industry (see page 35, Bulletin 129, Department of Census).

Yes, says the observer, this may all be true, but there is a portion of your vote that is venal, there is an insincerity about it that denotes its intelligence. You are not, continues the critic, sufficiently advanced in the science of government to fully appreciate the responsible function of suffrage.

There is no question but what the black man goes to the ballot box with a larger burden of conscientious purpose than any other class of citizen. As he stands behind the curtain in the polling place his head throbs and his breath comes quickly, for he is thinking now of liberty, home and opportunity. He realizes his restricted condition and his soul is stressed with a hope that he may now cut a rift in the clouds so dark about him. Can you imagine such a man inclining his ear to the clink of filthy dollars? Is it not true that the Negro's loyalty to such a purpose is the cause for a desire for his political elimination?

One thing is certain: we should do as away with pretense. It is wrong on one way, but operates the other. The black man ought to be a full-fledged citizen or none at all. We are ready and willing to meet any rightful test impartially administered.

per Cutting Bureau in the World

EVERY EVENING  
JUL 11 1916

Voting in Southern States.

The people of Florida, at the November election, are to vote upon a new provision of their State Constitution in relation to the requirements for exercising the privilege of franchise. Under the amendment, all voters would not only have to undergo the usual tests, but in addition be able to read, write and "interpret" any section of the State Constitution and own five hundred dollars' worth of property.

These provisions are unduly severe, but an additional clause of the amendment provides that anyone who was entitled to vote in any State or territory on or before January 1, 1867, or any lineal descendant of such person, may vote in Florida, regardless of the other provisions above set forth, and without regard to the property qualification. This is a renewal of the "grandfather" clause which has been employed successfully by most Southern States for many years, for the undisguised purpose of disfranchising Negro voters. Also, it saves the

votes of ignorant and poor white men, as their ancestors were qualified voters before January 1, 1867, when the enfranchisement of Negroes by national action became general.

The old "grandfather's clause," had been challenged and at least one Supreme Court decision has assailed its validity. Florida's new clause will no doubt lead to litigation after it gets into operation, conceding that it will be approved by the voters at the November election. But litigation is slow, and no doubt it will answer the purpose of Negro disfranchisement for a long time.

SAY, BE QUICK MEN, NOT DEAD

THE JOURNAL & GUIDE

There are some 35,000 colored people living in the limits of Norfolk. Allowing five persons and one male head to each family, there are some 6,000 males of voting age, who should be qualified to vote in order to be entitled to the full citizenship they proudly claim. Not a round thousand of them are so qualified. The other five thousand are in the position of the "quick and the dead," whom Jesus was to come and judge, and who are judged silently and remorsefully every day until the undertaker carts them to the graveyard. Such people are quick enough in doing the things they should not do and dead enough in doing the things they should do to make them hopeless negatives in the community as live Christian men and citizens. A quick person, alive to his rights and all of his obligations as a person, is far from dead. 3/11/16.

Some of the colored citizens of Norfolk have organized the Independent Political Club, for the avowed purpose of building up a qualified voting electorate in Norfolk. We say it without reservation, and with all of the emphasis we possess, that every colored man in Norfolk who considers himself a man, or who desires others to consider him as a man, should join the Independent Political League. He should regard his membership as the highest badge of honor to be a qualified voter; while those who neglect to so qualify themselves should be made to feel their neglect to be the highest badge of dishonor.

No Stock in This

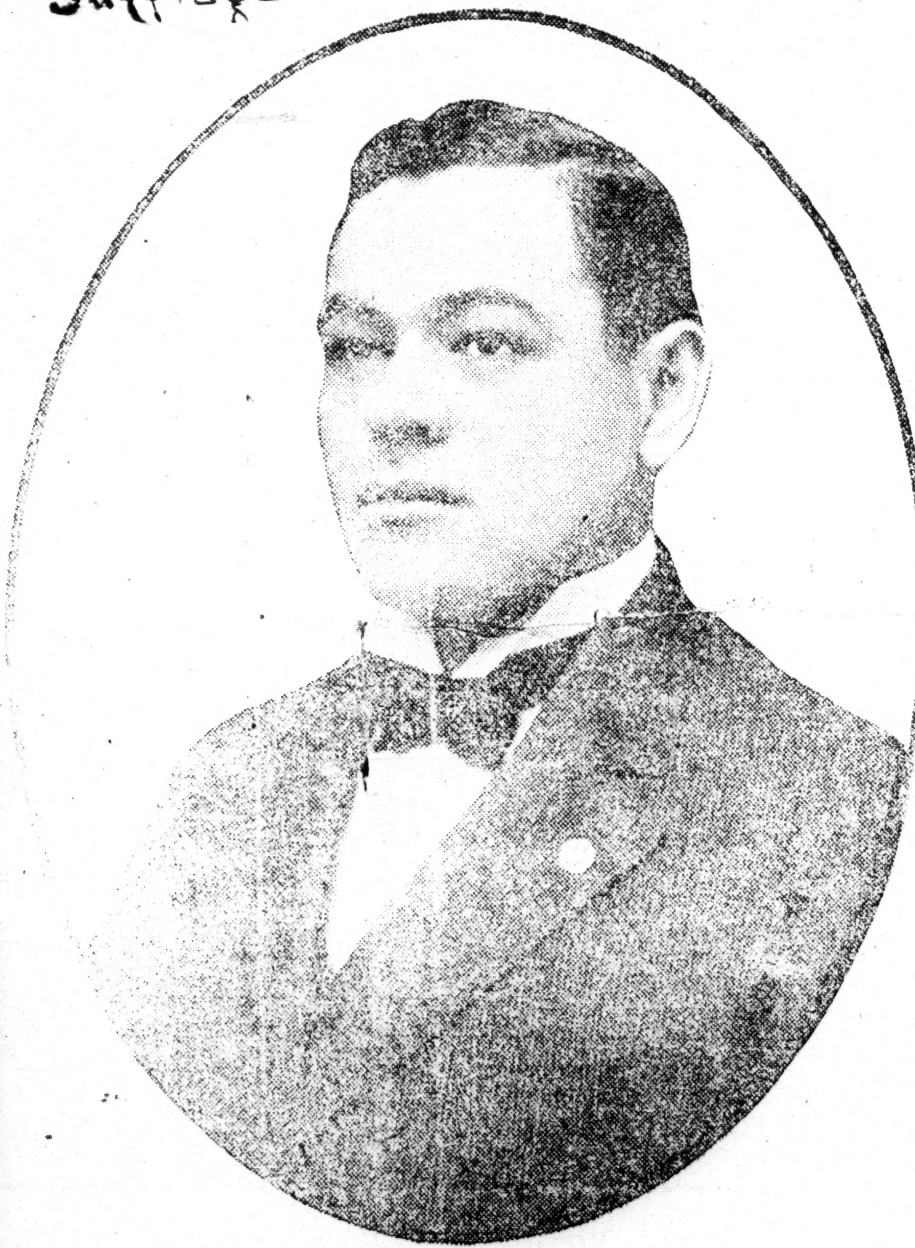
"We do not take any stock in this 'nigger' issue, for the simple reason that the negro has been forever eliminated from the political equation, and will never be resurrected again. The white men of Louisiana on both sides have too much red blood in their veins to countenance, for an instant any such movement to again make the negro a political factor."

49-16



Political - 1916

Suffrage



## ROBERT R. CHURCH, JR.

Leader of the Republican Party and of his People,  
Who Carried Lincoln League to Victory,  
Against Lily Whites—People's Idol.

# LINCOLN LEAGUE

HEADQUARTERS JUBILANT.

The one great victory won by the American Negro in Tuesday's election came in Memphis and West Tennessee.

The Lincoln Republican League, R. R. Church, Jr., founder and president, annihilated the lily-white Republicans in an open contest at the ballot-box.

And more, the Lincoln League shattered the Local Option combination composed of white Republicans, Democrats and Know Nothings.

But most important, Lincoln League, now 5,000 strong and still growing, has gathered colored men into the most unique and largest political organization among Colored people in the country. As leader, Mr. Church can boast a following larger, more devoted and more determined than ever lined up behind a colored leader.

Friday night the League met to consider the situation. More men were present—maybe 3,000 of them—than got together the Friday night before election. Beginning here, the capital of the Negro race, the battle is on to break the political shackles of the Southern Negro.

### Candidates Won Down the Line

From Wayman Wilkerson, candidate for Congress straight down the line, the Lincoln League ticket polled a vote larger than the so-called Republican organization. With no protection at the polls, and local combinations against them, together with the natural bent of Democrats to brow-beat colored men, the candidates came through with an approximate vote of 2700 as counted by election judges.

Thomas H. Hayes, popular business man, on a fair count, would be Floterial Senator from Shelby and Tipton counties. He ran his democratic adversary smack up to the State House steps.

The campaign launched by Mr. Church and his supporters, grew in interest. From the middle of August until election Eve, when Roscoe Simmons arose to close the campaign before 7000 people, interest in the contest was without parallel in the South. And the women were more set and determined than the men.

### Work Just Begun

The Lincoln League is organizing for local contests next year, and for the Congressional race in 1918. Candidates will be put up for every office, county and congressional, and since the great vote piled up by the organization establishes it as the Regular Republican party organization in this section of the state, the party will always be represented on the official ballot.

### Figures Don't Lie

The following figures tell a story of supreme interest. They are supplied by the Election Board and are for Memphis and Shelby County only:

LILY WHITE AND LOCAL OPTION—For Congress, Farley 1604; Marks, Floterial Senator 1569; Senate, Dye 1859; Crenshaw 2354; Vogt, Floterial Representative, 1706; Representatives, Billingsly 2958; Broens, 2867; Etlinger, 1942; Gilmore, 2027; Morris, 2163; Parr, 1832; Powell, 1871.

LINCOLN REPUBLICAN LEAGUE—For Congress, Wayman Wilkerson 2220; T. H. Hayes, Floterial Senator, 2756; Senate, H. M. Bomar 2321; B. M. Roddy 2371; G. W. Atkins, Floterial Representative, 2327; Representatives, N. Bowles, 2463; A. E. Clouston, 2195; Ned Clowers, 2136; Ed Lewis, 2289; J. T. Settle, Jr., 2557; J. B. Willis, 2662; O. W. Williams; 2578.

These figures ought to read twice the size, but the election officers didn't wear any religion to the polls that morning, and threw the Ten Commandments out of the window when they got there.

Mr. Church announced the morning after election that the fight is only begun. And behind him are the colored people, without a break, of the largest Negro city in the world.

Wayman Wilkerson, candidate for Congress, ran away with his lily-white competitor. According to the daily press he ran ahead of Farley, lily, 4 to 1. Tuesday evening, Nov. 7, at 6 p.m., thousands of citizens and voters began to gather at Church's famous Park. The house called itself to order, while B. M. Roddy acted as chairman. Everybody enjoyed themselves while waiting for wire returns from over the entire nation, from Maine to California and from New York City to "Frisco" and New Orleans to Chicago.

Attorney J. T. Settle read off first wire returns, amid great "hurrahs" and of applause.

Preliminary talks were made in the interim by veterans George W. Cooper George Washington Cole, Rev. Binford and Candidate Bomar.

Chairman Roddy read off other returns. When Col. Simmons appeared there was a great demonstration. He made spicy remarks upon great politicians and race leaders of the "seventies and early eighties." Colonel Simmons then retired to the office to get other "messages" over the long distance phone and "hot off the wire." Rev. Binford led in singing "Hallelujah, 'Tis Done." Rev. C. W. Graham then delivered "hot shot" remarks, fol-

lowed by Rev. T. Nightingale, a veteran newspaper man.

GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

# HOWE TELLS GRAND JURY OF VOTE FRAUD

Republican State Committee  
Names Men to Make Full  
Probe and Prosecution of  
Election Outrages Here.

JOHN SCHMOLL TESTIFIES  
FOR MORE THAN HOUR

Otto F. Stifel Says if Out-  
rages Are Overlooked It  
Will Encourage Revival of  
Reign of Ballot Crooks.

Republic Announces  
Support of Citizens'  
Election Investigation

THE St. Louis Republic this morning prints the following editorial:

SHOULD BE SUPPORTED.  
The open letter of the Citizens' Nonpartisan Committee asking for \$100 contributions to a fund to be used in making an investigation of the charges of fraud in the recent election and to bring about the prosecution of any guilty man



should, and we believe will, meet with a prompt response.

All that can be asked in any such matter is that the investigation and prosecution shall be fair. The character of the men who sign the letter is a guarantee of fairness.

In their hands the fund will not be used to change the result of the election in any particular unless it should be changed. Their aim is to maintain the purity of the elections, and that is more important than any man's political fortunes.

A conspiracy to deprive hundreds of citizens of St. Louis of their vote at the recent election was unfolded before the grand jury yesterday afternoon, it is understood, by Jephtha D. Howe, who, earlier in the day, had been appointed chairman of a subcommittee of the Republican State Committee to proceed against election brooks.

It is understood Howe also called to the attention of the grand jury the refusal of President Walter D. Thompson of the Police Board to conform to the request of the Board of Election Commissioners, who asked that the police on election duty be shifted, as formerly, and that Chief of Police Young, who had signified his intention of shifting the police, was temporarily shorn of his powers.

That Thompson picked Sergt. Patrick J. Kirk, who was indicted in 1904 and charged with neglect of duty and interference with voters at an election, and delegated to him part of the authority which belonged to Chief Young, also was the assertion of Howe, it is understood.

#### Six Witnesses Heard.

The grand jury heard six witnesses during the afternoon in connection with its investigation of fraudulent voting. During the afternoon four election judges who had testified previously were recalled. John Schmoll, chairman of the Republican City Committee, was in the grand jury room for an hour.

It is understood evidence of sufficient nature to warrant several indictments has been presented.

The present grand jury will adjourn Saturday. Until then, it is understood, election fraud cases will be handled almost exclusively, in an endeavor to hear as much as possible of the mass of available evidence.

The grand jury met last night for two hours. Afterward the only information given out was that it was a "formal" meeting. Neither the assistant circuit attorney, who has attended previous sessions, nor the official stenographer was present.

But to "gradually" abolish contract labor, it would be necessary for the next Legislature to establish it again, so that it might be "gradually" abolished.

Col. Gardner offered no suggestion as to what might be done with the prison labor, except to say that he favored buying a 3000-acre farm. This would not begin to take care of the nearly 3000 convicts, all of whom will be idle January 1.

#### Planning to Re-Establish It.

The Old Guard Democrats, however, seeing that a plan to "gradually" abolish the contract labor system might be palmed off in the rush to take care of the idle men, have seized upon it and intend to try to jam it through when the Legislature meets.

Lester L. Parker, superintendent of prison industries, suggested to the conference yesterday afternoon the "gradual" elimination scheme.

That the Democratic leaders intended to attempt to re-establish the contract labor system, under which immense private fortunes have been amassed, was forecast exclusively in the GLOBE-DEMOCRAT November 19.

The Republican State Committee, which met yesterday in St. Louis, adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Republican State Committee, representing the Republican party of Missouri, at all time stands for clean elections, and that it is the patriotic duty of every citizen, regardless of party, to bring to justice every person guilty of election frauds or irregularities.

#### Subcommittee Named.

"And that a subcommittee be appointed and instructed to pursue the fraud committed at the last general election, without fear or favor, and not to permit any deviation from a full investigation and expose of every person participating in election frauds at such election.

"Resolved, That a subcommittee of the Republican State Committee is hereby composed of Henry W. Kiel, Otto F. Stifel, Phil S. Griffith, W. W. Head, Jephtha D. Howe, H. D. Evans and Dr. J. W. Bruton, with full authority to make investigation and conduct such proceedings and law suits as they may deem necessary to ascertain the extent of such election frauds, and to institute such contests as in the judgment of the subcommittee may be justified by the facts and do all things necessary to this end which are lawful and right."

Howe was named chairman of the subcommittee. Of its membership Griffith is from Greenfield, Evans from Bonne Terre, Dr. Bruton from Ozark, Head from St. Joseph and the remainder from St. Louis.

Speaking before the state committee meeting, Stifel said he felt confident that Judge Henry Lamm was elected at the recent election, and that there would be no doubt of it should the election frauds be exposed.

"If any man of character, with the full knowledge of the fraud that has already been exposed will accept the election returns as a final and honest verdict, God save Missouri from such conditions," said Stifel. "Every honest and non-able citizen should join and assist the local nonpartisan committee, and should demand a recount from the members of the Legislature.

#### Election Board Praised.

"It should be said to the credit of the Board of Election Commissioners that they proved themselves men of integrity and did all in their power to give the people of St. Louis an honest election. They were summoned all during the day, and visited more than a hundred polling

places, where disturbances and irregularities had been reported.

"There was a time in St. Louis when law-abiding citizens stood helpless at elections, when the police power was under the control of corrupt influences, and we are here today to call a halt and check those who seem to be contemplating a revival of the contemptible conditions of the past.

Much work already has been done to disclose irregularities, and reports of fraudulent voting have come to us from Kansas City and other parts of the state. Of these outrages against the ballot are allowed to pass unnoticed, it will be encouraging a revival of them and will result in their perpetuation."

## Negro Files \$11,000 Damage Suit Against Democratic Officials

John L. Sullivan, a negro, of 2301 Walnut street, one of the eighty-nine negroes arrested on election morning in furtherance of the Democratic scheme of intimidating the negro voters, filed suit in Circuit Court yesterday for \$11,000 damages against Democratic leaders, election officials, members of the Board of Police Commissioners, and policemen. He is the second negro to sue as a result of the wholesale arrests of negroes at the polls. The defendants named in the suit are: Breckinridge Long, former president of the Wilson Club; Michael Arendes, Herman Ostertag, W. D. Thompson and Jeremiah Sheehan, members of the Police Board; Chief of Police William Young; James Johnston, captain of police; Patrolman William Meyer and Charles Enders; Thomas Enders, Democratic city committeeman; Joseph W. Hayes and Arthur Lancaster, Democratic election officials; Excise Commissioner Horace Rumsey and George Warner, styled the "president of the Democratic machine in the Sixth Ward."

(The suit names Jeremiah Sheehan as a member of the Police Board. Jeremiah Sheehan is city auditor. John J. Sheehan is a police commissioner.)

The petition charges that the defendants "Conspired to carry the Democratic state and national tickets, and concocted a scheme to prevent the plaintiff and thousands of other persons of his color from casting their ballots."

When Sullivan appeared to vote, the petition sets out he was challenged by the Democratic challenger, who charged him with having been convicted of petit larceny and having served forty-one days in the Workhouse in 1896. He asserts that he denied the charge and told the officials that he had only been in St. Louis since April 10, 1910, and never had been arrested on any charge at any place in the United States.

Sullivan charges that he was arrested and locked up from 8:30 to 10:30 a. m.

Later he was released and went back to the polls to vote. He alleges that he was then told by a Democratic judge of the election that he already had voted. This he denied and finally was given a ballot

The Democratic judge, however, refused to put his ballot in the box, saying that he would put it up to the election commissioners.

Sullivan asks \$1000 actual damages and \$10,000 punitive damages. Taylor R. Young is his attorney.

#### Ohio G. O. P. to Open Election Probe

COLUMBUS, OHIO, November 28.—The Ohio State Republican Central and Executive committees in joint conference today decided to conduct a state-wide investigation of the vote cast for state officers at the last election by which Jas. M. Cox (Dem.) was elected governor. The action is expected, it was stated, to produce sufficient information upon which to base a demand for a recount of the vote.

## MEMPHIS REPUBLICANS HOLD VOTING SCHOOLS

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Negro Republican voters of Shelby County, who have registered for the November elections, are being instructed how to vote in voting schools which have been inaugurated in nearly every ward in the city. Robert R. Church has opened Church's Park on Beale avenue for meetings to which only registered voters are admitted, and these meetings are being

Instructive cards and duplicates of the ballots to be used on November 7 are being used, and both men and women have volunteered as instructors. The voters are being shown how to mark their ballots for the straight Republican ticket, including, of course, all of the Negro nominees for State legislative offices. The Negro Republicans are heavily registered, having in this city 2,153 voters as against 2,229 whites. In the county Negro voters who are registered outnumber the whites almost five to one. This is partly accounted for by the Democrats, who declare that many whites registered for the August county election.

Mr. Church and other Negro Republican leaders are determined to make a test of the strength of the Negro wing of the party as compared to the lily-white element, and for that reason they have broken away from the whites and put a complete ticket of Negro candidates for legislative offices in the field.

## REPUBLICANS FAIL TO ELECT NEGRO DELEGATE

Zachritz Beats Homer G. Phillips by Nine Votes at 12th Congressional Convention. Dyer Gets Big Vote. Hutchin Inge and Dr. Phillips Elected Alternates. Vaughn Makes Strong Plea

The Twelfth Congressional District

Republican Convention was the scene of a lively and determined fight last Monday night. The Negroes of the district, who number more than half of the party vote of the district, made demand upon the party leaders that a Negro be sent as one of the delegates to the Republican National Convention, which meets at Chicago in June. The tilt occurred over the refusal of party leaders to accede to this demand.

Sixteen of the eighteen Negro delegates to the convention met in a caucus at 1441 Chouteau Avenue, a few minutes before the convention assembled and decided to send Attorney Homer G. Phillips for one delegate to the Chicago Convention. The Negro delegates who met in the

caucus were in the 12th ward over which Jas. N. McKelvey is committeeman. Attorney George L. Vaughn was chosen floor leader by the caucus, and placed Phillips in nomination in a ringing speech in which he told of the Negro's loyalty to the party and made a demand for participation in party councils. Waltham M. Moore, from the

seventeenth ward, seconded the nomination in a brilliant speech, in which he backed up the views expressed by Vaughn and checked the matter squarely up to the party leaders. Congressman L. C. Dyer and former Judge William Zachritz, were the other nominees. When the vote was counted Dyer received 44 votes, Zachritz 39, and Phillips 25. Phillips got all of the Negro votes except four, one from the 16th ward, who claims he got mixed up on the names and three from McKelvey's ward. John Pope, from that ward, bolted his caucus agreement to support Phillips.

St. Louis Argus. Attorney Hutchins Inge and Dr. C. J. Phillips, Jr., were elected alternates to the Chicago Convention. 7/17/14.

A large crowd of representative Negroes and party workers were present and cheered the fight for Phillips to the echo.

Rev. R. H. Sydnor provoked a storm of hisses and hoots from the Negroes present when he stated that the Republicans could not have prevented the passage of the segregation measures. It was some time after his statement was made before sufficient quiet could be restored to proceed with his speech.



# Political - 1916

## Suffrage

### "A QUESTION OF CONSCIENCE."

New Orleans, April 14, 1916.

Editor, Daily States:

The above is the caption of an editorial published in the Times-Picayune this morning, in which this moralist affirms that "Col. Pleasant has had no business experience," but "he is pre-eminently a politician," therefore "every Louisiana Democrat will have to face a question of conscience next Tuesday." Remorse, the lash and sting of conscience to be the avengers of John M. Parker, whom the Bull Moosers, G. O. P.'s and deluded people styling themselves Independent Democrats, applaud as the personification of political morality. This is an instance of hero worship, pure and simple. They have placed his image upon a pedestal and burn incense before it.

According to the T.-P.'s logic the Democratic candidate is disqualified because he has not been a merchant or farmer, a miner or a manufacturer. Possibly he couldn't run even a peanut stand as successfully as his opponent, and for that reason he is not a practical statesman or political economist.

Arguments and appeals of this description are too absurd to be characterized even as sophistry. Our great President, who now steers the ship of State so skillfully, was placed in office upon the qualification of statesmanship; whereas Henry Ford is the choice of the foes of Democracy in Michigan because he made money as a manufacturer. By the logic of The Times-Picayune, whom that paper and Mr. Parker desire to see elected to the presidency is disqualified because "he is pre-eminently a politician."

Our Postmaster General, Secretary of the Navy, Senator Ransdell and ex-Senators Foster and Thornton, who unanimously concurred in the complete refutation and confirmation of Senator Broussard in his most insolent and spiteful attacks upon the senior senator and national committee man, in his "handcuffs and hangnail" diatribes, are not business men or captains of industry, and therefore are unqualified for office, while the eminent Mr. Parker is.

I have mentioned the name of Senator Ransdell, whom I have heard speak on various occasions and subjects, on the floor of the Senate, and I have marveled at his lucid and convincing orator and his thoroughness in the discussion of matters involving knowledge of a statistical or economical nature. If Senator Broussard desires to be useful to the State of Louisiana and to the nation, he could not do better than to imitate this great senator and colleague. Possibly even Senator Broussard is now ready to acknowledge that he is really formidable as a letter writer of the Junius school.

A few days ago I read an article in The Daily States citing the experience of the State of Virginia with Gen. Mahone some thirty years ago. The writer is a Virginian, and it is a fact that at no period since 1865 has that State passed through such an ordeal as she suffered during the boss regime of Gen. Mahone after he left the Democratic party for the Republican organization. The readjustment of the State debt was the issued upon which the Democrats

were divided, with the result that Gen. Mahone acquired control of the State government and became a dominant factor of the machinery of national politics in Washington, because he was able to shift the balance of power in Congress according to his autocratic will. The bitterness, scorn and hate that inspired Virginia politics of that period was in great measure influenced by the race question, which was of paramount interest to the South in those days, threatening, as it did, the lives and welfare of the people and even the very fabric of democratic institutions.

Let the people who are following Mr. Parker profit by the experience of Virginia. Let them be guided by "Patrick Henry's Lamp of Experience" and let them get the historical perspective, for the woes that will befall this State if he is elected are not matters of prophecy, but of history and experience. What is the use of history if we do not learn and apply its lessons?

The South must remain solid. The Democratic party is the only palladium of her welfare. The Republican party can take care of the government in some exigencies in the Northern and Western States, but not in the South, for here the race question is pre-eminent. Well did Senator Ransdell say in one of his recent speeches in this city that when the Mississippi river is at the danger stage, a small boy with a spade can open a tiny trench at the top of the levee that will start a stream that may increase to a flood, resulting in destruction that an army could not arrest. Let us see to it that Mr. Parker be not permitted to play the part of the small boy in this case.

Root, Lodge and Roosevelt have had their reconciliation lunch, according to recent reports, and the Progressive party is not now even a ghost of its former self, but has been merged into or swallowed by the Republican party, with Roosevelt in control as the supreme boss, whose advocacy of the short ballot, recall of the judges and of judicial decisions and disrespect of the Constitution of the United States have been the subjects of warning essays published in The North American Review within the last two years by Root, Lodge and Taft.

Col. Roosevelt's geographical and ornithological avocations are well known enough when he returns from his excursions to report the discovery of "the River of Doubt" in Brazil or rare avifauna in the West Indies. We are fascinated by his versatility, and we would consider it a public service if he would devote himself to these innocent pursuits.

Finally the editorial to which reference has been made at the beginning of this letter says "the Louisiana Democrat may look beneath the label on motion of Superintendent Gwinn, this special occasion." Very good advice, indeed! Let us look at what is concealed under the Parker label, take warning and defeat him next Tuesday. Safety first!

M. P. CARTER.

#### TEACHERS' STATEMENT.

To the Editor of The States:—A statement by The Associate Teachers' League. To the end that the record may be kept correct in the discussion of the proposed new school law, and that the position of the Associate Teachers' League may be clearly un-

derstood the following statement is made to the people and press of the city and state:

1. The objections urged by this League to the proposed new law were urged against the draft or project of that law as it was at the time of the League's action. These objections were at that time entirely responsive to certain objectionable provisions against which they were directed. Some of these provisions have, according to statements made by State Superintendent Harris and Parish Superintendent Gwinn, been either removed or modified. Such elimination or modification has taken place since the meeting at which the League adopted its resolutions of protest, to-wit: the meeting of March 2, 1916.

2. When Mr. Louis H. Gosserand, a member of the State Board of Education, came into possession of a copy of Superintendent Harris' proposed new school law, no other teacher in the public schools of this city had received even an intimation that the legislature was to be asked to change the school laws of this State.

3. When at a special meeting of the Associate Teachers' League, held at the Association of Commerce, on the second day of March, 1916, those portions of the proposed law that appertained especially to the Parish of Orleans were read, the law was strange and novel to all present. The only copy of the law in the hall was the copy in the possession of the Managing Editor of The Teachers' Forum, and he had applied for this to the office of Superintendent Harris. In sending out his invitations for criticism of his law, Superintendent Harris forgot the Associate Teachers' League.

4. Against certain portions of the proposed law as specifically set forth in that project, the authenticity of which was vouched for by the fact of its coming directly and without comment from the said office, The Associate Teachers' League adopted without a dissenting voice, resolutions of protest which were ordered printed and sent to the press and to every board, club, official and organization of any kind known to be interested in public education.

5. Letters were sent by the League to Mayor Behrman, Governor Hall, Superintendent Harris, and Superintendent Gwinn, in person, asking them to define their attitude towards the proposed law.

6. Mayor Behrman, by return mail, pronounced unequivocally and emphatically against any change in Article 72, of Act 214, of 1912—the Burke Law.

7. At a meeting of the Executive Board of the Public School Alliance, held on the thirteenth day of March, 1916, the resolutions of The Associate Teachers' League were read, and they were referred to the legislative committee of the Alliance. We are informed by the League's representatives that Superintendent Gwinn made no reference to any changes that had been made, and that he did not aver the authorship of section 70. Mr. Harris forgot the Public School Alliance when asking for criticism of his proposed law.

8. At a meeting of the Orleans Parish School Board held Thursday March 23, 1916, Mr. Gwinn told the board that he would write to Superintendent Harris for copies of the

project for each member of the board. He did not mention changes; he did not own his paternity of Section 70. Mr. Harris forgot the Orleans Parish School Board when asking for criticism of his proposed law.

9. Saturday, March 25, 1916, the President of The Associate Teachers' League received from Superintendent Harris a letter conveying the information that he had changed certain parts of his project. This was the first information that came to New Orleans, as far as we know, that any changes had been made. In this letter was given out, for the first time the information that Mr. Gwinn was himself the author of Section 70.

10. At a meeting of The New Orleans Educational Association, according to our information, when a motion was before the body to endorse the resolutions of The Associate Teachers' League, Mr. Gwinn appeared before the meeting and made a petitory, plea against this endorsement. Then, he acknowledged a truth that had reached New Orleans two days earlier, that he had written Section 70. The resolutions were endorsed.

11. On Tuesday, March 28, 1916, Mr. Gwinn delivered to Mr. Theriot, after a delay of nearly, if not, quite three weeks, his answer to Mr. Theriot's letter asking his attitude towards the provisions of the project that affected the city teachers. In this letter, Mr. Gwinn says: "I am of the opinion that the law should state specifically the cause for which teachers may be dismissed, and, therefore, the provisions giving the School Board authority to dismiss a teacher for such other act or acts as said Board may deem injurious to the welfare of the schools, should be eliminated." In the light of this aforementioned facts this utterance coming when it did is worthy of note. It is noteworthy, too, that Mr. Gwinn retains the objectionable word, "Insubordination"—non-specific and capable of wide interpretation.

#### THE ASSOCIATE

#### TEACHERS' LEAGUE.

#### A QUESTION FOR BROUSSARD.

Gulfport, Miss., April 6, 1916.

Editor, Daily States,

New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir:

I have read, with considerable interest, the controversy between Senators Broussard and Ransdell. I was particularly interested in the statement of Mr. Broussard that the president had several times telephoned for him. Quoting the Senator, he said: "Upon taking the phone the president informed me that he had been trying to reach me since four o'clock and that he wanted to see me as soon as possible."

Then the Senator says:

"It was I who remained to speak to the President of the matter which he had in mind, and about which he telephoned me."

And then the Senator says:

"This was the last visit I have had the honor to pay the President, and I cannot be mistaken with regard to the circumstances I relate."

This occurred April 3, 1913. Three long years have elapsed. Mr. Broussard says that April 3, 1913, was the last time he had the honor to visit the president, and that the president from four o'clock until seven on that day was telephoning him that he

wanted to see him. That night he did see him and whispered something to Mr. Broussard. Now Mr. Broussard says that he has never since returned to the White House.

What interests and puzzles me is, what was the message Mr. Wilson whispered to Mr. Broussard?

Did he tell him that the sugar tariff would be extended for three years? No, that cannot be, because Mr. Broussard says that he did not.

Did President Wilson attempt to advise the then newly elected Senator that he hoped the Senator would not mingle with Ward Bosses, because, no doubt, Washington had learned that Mr. Broussard had been elected by securing the open support of Mr. Maubert, leader of the fourth ward in the city of New Orleans, the ward in which the tenderloin of New Orleans is located. Did the President tell him that such company might embarrass the newly elected untainted Democrat from the Republican District? Or, perhaps he discussed the Parish Bosses from St. Mary and Lafourche who are managing the campaign for the Republican-Progressive candidate.

Or did the president chastise Mr. Broussard for having opposed Henry Gueydan, who had been a staunch supporter of Mr. Broussard? Did the president say to Mr. Broussard that he hoped the senator was not opposed to a Democrat being elected from the Third district of Louisiana? Or if President Wilson did not discuss Broussard's action in preventing Gueydan from being elected in 1912, did the president express the hope that Broussard would assist Henry Gueydan, or other nominee of the Democratic party in 1914, which Mr. Broussard certainly did not.

Did President Wilson ask Mr. Broussard his views on the liquor question, though he must have known that Mr. Broussard had received the militant support of the liquor and racing interests of Louisiana in their bitter opposition to Mr. Sanders though it was hardly necessary for anyone to ask Mr. Broussard to ask how he stood on the question of liquor, as Mr. Broussard was personally acquainted with every barkeeper in the City of Washington, and had, no doubt, expressed his views on that question.

Mr. Editor, your paper from time to time has held guessing contests in order that the readers might test their skill in determining uncertain propositions. Different newspapers have had mysterious matters so that the people could guess as to what was going to happen. Some newspapers have had the Mysterious Mr. Raffles, and some have had other personages. Now don't you think it would be a splendid idea to have the public guess what the president told Mr. Broussard on the night of April 3, 1913, three years ago, to cause Mr. Broussard never to return to darken the doors of the white house? Inasmuch as I started this contest, I am going to make one guess myself. I think he told Mr. Broussard to "cut out the bunk," and Mr. Broussard just can't do it, so he stayed away.

MISSISSIPPI DEMOCRAT.  
IS NEGRO SUFFRAGE A POLITICAL ISSUE?

Ableville, La., April 1, 1916.

Editor Daily States:

The discussion arising over the charge that the success of Mr. John M.



Parker, Bull Moose candidate for governor of the state of Louisiana, will ultimately and automatically bring about the entrance of the negro into politics has assumed such wide range and occasioned such exaggerated and exasperated expressions, that it may be well to calmly consider just what are the views of those who regard this attempt to divide the white people of the state into two rival parties as constituting a menace to our social and political integrity.

It may not be amiss to remark at the outset that our wisest counsellors in public matters are those men who turn from the heat and tumult of passion to regard the beacon lights of past experience, than which there can be no truer guide.

There are three propositions bearing directly upon the subject which may be stated as absolutely beyond dispute or denial:

1. That under the constitution of the United States the negro is a citizen and as such entitled to vote under the same restrictions as any other citizen.

2. That out of the forty-eight states composing the Union only three or four Southern states have attempted to deprive the negro of suffrage, through the "grandfather clause," which has been declared invalid by the supreme court of the United States in a case on appeal from Oklahoma.

3. That the negro has voted and held office in Louisiana in the past, and he does vote freely and without restraint today in Texas and Georgia, as well as in all the Northern, Eastern and Western States.

Yet when these facts are cited by Democrats in proof of the argument that a division of the white people under such conditions constitute a public peril, they are forthwith assailed by Bull Moose orators and journals, denounced with a fanatical fervor which almost amounts, in certain localities, to a denial of the right of free speech.

When William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Owen Lovejoy, Gerritt Smith and the little handful of men and women began the agitation for the abolition of African slavery very few people regarded them as other than pestiferous cranks. It was not until old John Brown and his little band of fanatical followers descended upon Harper's Ferry in the dead hours of the night that the nation realized, all too late, that it faced the greatest crisis in its history.

To he thoughtful man of clear vision the problem of negro suffrage in Louisiana looms large today upon the political horizon. It is only by sticking our heads in the sand like the ostrich, or deliberately closing our eyes to the facts, that any reasonable man cannot see that the transparent fraud in the suffrage articles in our state constitution is but a flimsy veil which hides from view, and not an enduring barrier which shall ever hold back the dusky tide it shuts out. A vote is a vote to a politician and office-seeker, and no "gentlemen's agreement" will keep the negro out of politics in Louisiana, once the white people divide into rival parties.

When designing politicians arrayed the South against the North with slavery as an issue it was white men

who struck the shackles from the slave. When secession was submitted to the arbitrament of the sword, and after four years of bloody struggle, while the Southland, laid waste with fire and pillage, was prostrate before the conqueror, white men, urged on by supposed political necessity, thrust unasked into the hands of the negro, the ballot, that the radicals of the North might maintain the political advantage won by the bayonet.

Shall designing politicians today array the white people of Louisiana against each other in fratricidal strife over the spoils of office and invite all the unknown dangers of a heated political contest wherein the end sought justifies the means that accomplish it? C. J. EDWARDS.

WHY FOOL THE PEOPLE?

Opelousas, La., March 31.  
Editor Daily States:

I have just wired the Item: "Don't count your chickens before they are hatched. Don't call Parker Governor until his election. He is not going to be elected."

The optimism of that paper makes me tired. I frequently ask myself is it optimism or ignorance, which causes the Item to convey to its readers the hope it dishes out to them daily. Its publisher and managing editor do not know the situation in this State. It has correspondents that wilfully distort the facts. Its account of the meeting at this place on the 25th inst. was published in an obscure portion of the paper and occupied about a three-inch space, misstating the facts. "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus." False in one thing, false in all things.

After the Item people have lived longer in Louisiana, its publisher and managing editor will learn that our people cannot be stampeded into following it, in supporting a "Progressive" for governor after having participated in a Democratic primary.

I repeat, the Item is unaware of existing conditions in this State: Is unaware of the conditions existing in the city where it is published, is unaware

of conditions in parishes which touch elbows with New Orleans. If it were aware of conditions in its city and adjoining parishes, and in the State, it would not have the temerity to proclaim Mr. Parker governor in advance of his election. He is not going to be elected. His defeat is as certain as death. Here is a conservative estimate of the defeat that stares him and the Item in the face.

In the First and Second Congressional districts, which include the city of New Orleans, Col. Pleasant's majority will be not less than 10,000  
In the Fourth, Fifth and Eighth districts 15,000

Total 25,000

This leaves the Third, Sixth and Seventh districts to be accounted for. Mr. Parker will carry the Third district, and he will carry four or five parishes besides. He will lose the Sixth and Seventh districts. Now in the face of this very conservative estimate how can the Item have the nerve to hail Mr. Parker as the next governor of this State.

It may as well expect to stop the sun in its course, stop the monarch stream at its door from flowing to the

sea, as to elect its candidate. He (the candidate) may be obsessed with the idea that he is going to be elected, he may have hypnotized the Item with his belief, which is not shared by an unbiased, unprejudiced man in this State.

No, Mr. Editor, the flowers will bloom for many years to come, many of us will have gone to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust, before a Progressive Republican is elected governor of this State under existing conditions. The Democracy of this State is in the saddle, and when this is the case, its onward march is as resistless as the tides of the sea.

GILBERT L. DUPRE.  
Opelousas, La., March 31, 1916.  
AN APPEAL TO DEMOCRACY.

Baton Rouge, April 15, 1916.  
Editor Daily States:

With all the earnestness of my nature I appeal to such Democrats as have espoused the cause of John M. Parker, imploring them to think twice, yea thrice before casting your vote on Tuesday next. Let your conscience appeal to you whether you are right or wrong, whether you are honest with yourself and dutiful to your party and your party's flag.

Now, listen. The election of John M. Parker is not within the range of probabilities, but let me ask you in all fairness what does a vote for Parker mean? Now, be candid with yourself. Prospectively speaking, it means this:

It implies the rehabilitation of the Republicanism in Louisiana.

It implies the destruction of the Democratic party in Louisiana.

It implies the tearing asunder of the solid South.

It implies antagonism toward our representatives in Congress.

It supplies the means of securing recognition of "Teddy" Roosevelt at the Chicago Republican convention on June 6, giving prestige to his ambition to be its nominee in opposition to that splendid Democratic statesman and world-renowned diplomat, Woodrow Wilson.

It implies the re-entry of the negro in our politics. Now, laugh or deride the assertion if you will, but, as sure as the sun will shine in the future, the bars will be let down, the opening wedge will be driven into the gaping wound if the white primary is abolished as urged and advocated by Mr. Parker. The incentive given, the negro will accept the invitation and will promptly avail himself of the long sought-for opportunity. Now, don't reason with yourself that this is not within the bounds of reason or susceptible of accomplishment. The negro possessing the necessary qualifications can vote when the white party lines are destroyed by the abolishment of the primary, thus creating such opposition to the Democratic party as will endanger our whole political fabric.

A vote for Parker implies the adoption of the "Short Ballot," which signifies that the electorate will have absolutely no voice in electing any of the State officials other than the governor and lieutenant-governor. What a monstrous proposition. Imagine, if you please, what an immense power for good or evil will be delegated to the governor. He will appoint the attorney-general, treasurer, auditor, secretary of State, register of land office,

commissioner of agriculture, adjutant general and superintendent of public education. Talk about "bosses" if you will, but this would cap the climax, thus making the governor the Czar of Louisiana with supreme power to do his will.

Mr. Parker has stressed three planks in his platform, the abolition of the white primary, the adoption of the short ballot, and the immediate calling of a constitutional convention. Either of these should condemn him in the minds of all reasoning men, and should estop their intentions to vote for a man who annunciates such diabolical and outrageous principles.

Now, listen. Be fair and honest with yourself and your conscience. Can you conscientiously, without scruples and without reproach, cast a vote for John M. Parker, while claiming to be a Democrat? Answer this question within the precincts of your heart. In my humble opinion, this is utterly impossible. It is misleading, a misnomer and should not be resorted to among honorable men.

If you are a Democrat at heart, then in all fairness come out in the open and be counted. If you went into the primary and voted for either candidate for governor, then you are morally bound to support the nominee. This is an obligation as sacred as your honor, and should be recognized and respected. Do not permit a violation of this moral obligation to be a stain upon your manhood, your honor and your dignity as a citizen of our fair Louisiana.

Remember, the Progressive party as such ceases to exist only in name. Its founder "Teddy" is drifting into the Republican fold, and this man Parker will surely follow his political mentor. Let me abjure you now is the time to get into the band wagon and vote for the clean, pure nominee of the Democratic party who has justly earned the appellation "sans peur et sans reproche." Stamp the Democratic rooster because it is "Safe and Sane," and thus insure victory for our noble standard-bearer, Ruffin G. Pleasant.

JOHN C. SEAMAN,  
A Confederate Veteran.  
A WORD TO THE FARMER.

New Orleans, April 8, 1916.  
Editor The Daily States.

Dear Sir: Please be so kind as to print the following letter:

Mr. Farmer—Congressman James B. Aswell has very correctly pointed out that the election of John M. Parker means an increasing chance for Roosevelt to get control of the Republican convention at Chicago. Every vote for Parker means an additional vote for Roosevelt and a vote less for Wilson. Do you really realize what it means, if "Big Theodore" gets control of the Republican convention.

It means war fever that will develop into the participation of the United States in the European war, if Roosevelt be elected president. Even if war be avoided, fear of war will raise the price of tea, sugar, coffee, butter, coal, etc. Don't you think you pay enough just now!

Do you want Mr. Farmer to pay 9 or 10 cents for a pound of sugar or 60 cents for a pound of butter, etc.? If you want it, vote for Parker, this self-styled modern Cincinnatus. His election will be such a boom for big Theodore that all shades of the Republican party will rally around him. Roosevelt will tell his followers: "Here you see what a big personality I am. Through my dear friend Parker I have been able to swing the Democratic farmers of the State of Louisiana into

the Republican party and then, addressing himself particularly to the big business interests: "The time is ripe; go ahead with war profits and prohibitive tariff legislation."

On the other hand, Mr. Farmer, if you want the country kept out of the European war, if you want the country governed in conformity with principles laid down by men as Washington, Franklin and Monroe, if you want the interests of the middle class and the poor man protected, then vote for Pleasant. In voting for him you are also voting for Wilson.

And you don't need be afraid that President Wilson will attempt to secure for himself a third term; neither does he intend to pay a visit to the crowned heads of Europe, making himself and the institutions of free America a laughing stock of the whole civilized world.

J. N. NYHOLM  
PARKER AND PATRONAGE.  
New Orleans, La., April 3, 1916.  
Editor The Daily States.

Dear Sir: Regarding Mr. Parker's talk about not seeking to be the dictator of the patronage to be distributed through Gov. Hall, his mind has evidently become blank on various subjects at issue. In the year 1911 at the first meeting of the Goo Goo's, held in the rear of the Second ward, at a home on Rampart street, which was largely attended, the question was squarely put up to Mr. Parker would he be the one surely to distribute the patronage and not deliver those present, his followers, to any selected committee. Mr. Parker answered that he was going to land a governor with the thorough understanding with this particular governor that he was to be the sole distributor of the patronage that was to be dished out in the city. As Gov. Hall felt the showing made in the city by Mr. Parker was poor and that the city did not elect him he was not going to be dictated absolutely by Mr. Parker and when this particular person saw that he could not handle the governor as he saw fit he left him in the lurch in a critical and trying moment to aid the governor to bring about reforms through legislation benefitting the farmer, a rank and sore quitter.

Mr. Parker never made his million shoving the plow or getting up early in the morning, hoeing and planting, but he had the other fellow to do it at rather low wages and now he is houting what he is going to do for he poor man. The time to do this was when he was amongst them, employing them to give them living wages—Live and let live.

When he had his crew in the registration office during the Goo Goo campaign, checking the records, he had the nerve to expect a body of intelligent men to further his cause by working for a dollar a day and when they were about to walk out and desert, him he asked them to hush this matter and he would come clean with them.

In short, what did a millionaire ever do for a poor man? He made his millions crushing and holding the poor man down, before he shouted through the breadth of the land that he would not hold any office under any consideration. Now he comes back crying for office with the short ballot, to make himself the Poo Bah—the Lord High Executioner of the State of Louisiana.

A SQUARE DEMOCRAT.



Political - 1916

## Suffrage

### WHY THE SOLIDARITY OF THE NEGRO VOTE?

*A. M. E. Church Review*

The National Conventions of the great political parties are ended, their platforms adopted, their candidates nominated. Now comes the struggle for mastery in administration and control of the National Government.

As to the Negro delegates to these conventions, the newspapers made much of the fact that they were not courted, corralled and cajoled, as in the olden days. The papers interpreted this to mean that these delegates were no longer welcome in the councils of their party, or regarded as a political asset. We take it rather as a compliment to the intelligence and integrity of the delegates of this day and time. They are a political phenomena which the political wiseacres have not yet been able to classify. These men were for the most part business and professional men, citizens of substantial standing in the community from which they came. They were the peers of the average white delegate and were largely swayed by the same motives that moved other delegates. Their general bearing stamped them as men of intelligence and independence.

In neither the platform of the Republican or Progressive Party was any political sop thrown to the Negro vote. And why indeed should the Republicans add to the perfidy of their broken promises extending over a period of forty years? And what could Mr. Roosevelt's, now almost defunct, Progressive Party say, after it had turned its back upon the black South before its almost Heaven-rending cry of four years ago, for "political and social justice," had died upon its lips? Negro Americans, in common with Jewish, Irish and other Americans, have nothing to gain from platform declarations based on appeals to any particular racial element of our citizenship. Men of each group will be most strongly drawn to that political party which in their view gives opportunity for achieving the largest measure of that American liberty and opportunity which they seek to realize here, along a mound of flowers. This ceremony ended, the procession dispersed under the influence of a lofty inspiration, each delegate with clearer vision to enter next day upon the routine business of the General Conference sessions.

Alas, my reader, it might have been; but this is only a fable. The anointed Governor of Oklahoma kindly refers as the "qualified members", whose duty it will be to keep following "intelligent" remarks with them posted on the trend of racial expression and feeling. His "Highness" croons as follows: "It is too much to expect that just a few years of freedom would qualify enough of the 'pimps', to whom he qualification or exception.

"The Negro, after having undergone six thousand years of bondage, cannot be expected to be fitted like the white race to exercise the rights of citizenship. It is better for him that only the qualified of his race should participate in government. The qualified in a governmental sense are trustees for the unqualified. . . .

" . . . . . These Negro counties, where the Negro comes so near controlling, should not be left to become a menace on account of the race question. Fix it so . . . that in all the years to come, we can elect our state officers, regardless of the influence of the Negro question. The best men would then control the government. . . .

"The fair minded men of this state have the opportunity to . . . . eliminate the Negro from politics; with this done, may the virtuous, intelligent, honest and efficient ever win."

Of course "deer" Governor we agree with your conclusions. The only objection we beg to voice is, you and your race are not bitter enough. We desire to see you, "Marse" Bob,

round us up and head us toward oblivion, or some other cool spot. I say so! It seems to be they all have it in for Bob Ewing. I don't know the gentleman personally. I've heard good men say he is a brainy man, capable, smart, etc. The dailies for Parker call him the "big boss"—in capital letters. This fight is not against Pleasant, but Ewing. He seems to be the man they want to scalp. If Ewing runs Louisiana, as they say, then he is indeed a brainy, smart man and deserves lots of credit for being such, and Louisiana should be immensely proud of Bob and praise him, instead of villifying him. Again, Ewing is a competitor in business—he should be squelched. If the Democrats of Louisiana desire to assist these big dailies to down a business competitor, they should vote for this Republican god of theirs. Supposing The Item editor, or owner, could become a national committee man, don't you presume that either one of them would gobble it up like a turkey gobbles up a June bug? And if either one of them obtained this enviable position, and represented the true Democracy, like Ewing does, he would soon be called the "Big Boss," and then the "shoe would be on the other foot." The shoe isn't on the other foot now, and there's the rub.

#### PARKER A WHITE BLACKBIRD.

New Orleans, April 12.

Editor Daily States:

Dear Sir—I haven't any ax to grind. I am not a political sorehead. I am not an office seeker, never expect to be, nor do I want any "pie" from any party in power or to be in power.

I am a DEMOCRAT—have been for 37 years. My first vote was for Hancock for President, and since that time have voted for the Democratic presidential nominees all down the line and for all Democratic nominees, State, county and city.

I have participated in many Democratic primaries, and none in which I was not morally bound to support the nominee at the general election, and I always did because he won and de-

served my vote as an honest man, who morally pledged my support to him.

I've lived in this city several years, and voted in the January primary for Mr. Pleasant. He won the nomination by a large majority, and every Democrat who voted for him in that primary is morally bound to vote for him next Tuesday, if he casts a vote at all.

But, astounding!

Along comes The Item of yesterday, and on its front page, under the caption of "How to Vote for True Democracy," says, in black type:

"Remember, that your vote in the primary does not bind you either morally or legally."

Never before have I heard such Democratic (?) principles announced by a supposed Democratic organ. Now, a voter must either be a "man or a mouse." A true Democrat isn't a Bull Moose Republican. If he votes in a Democratic primary election, and is beaten, he takes his medicine like a man, and like a man votes in the general election for the nominee. That is my idea of a true Democrat, and if he didn't do that there could be no free Democracy. What the Item terms as free Democracy, in this election, is the "nigger in the woodpile" holding the "big stick."

If Mr. Parker is even a free Democrat, of any kind, then there are white blackbirds. If he isn't a Teddy-Republican then there are black white birds, and if he isn't either then what is he politically?

What call has a true Democrat to vote for a Republican for any office? Haven't we had enough of Republicanism in the last 50-odd years? Why should the old-time Democrats of Louisiana vote for Mr. Parker? Why, forsooth?

The Item and two other daily sheets say so! It seems to be they all have it in for Bob Ewing. I don't know the gentleman personally. I've heard good men say he is a brainy man, capable, smart, etc.

The dailies for Parker call him the "big boss"—in capital letters. This fight is not against Pleasant, but Ewing. He seems to be the man they want to scalp. If Ewing runs Louisiana, as they say, then he is indeed a brainy, smart man and deserves lots of credit for being such, and Louisiana should be immensely proud of Bob and praise him, instead of villifying him. Again, Ewing is a competitor in business—he should be squelched.

If the Democrats of Louisiana desire to assist these big dailies to down a business competitor, they should vote for this Republican god of theirs.

Supposing The Item editor, or owner, could become a national committee man, don't you presume that either one of them would gobble it up like a turkey gobbles up a June bug? And if either one of them obtained this enviable position, and represented the true Democracy, like Ewing does, he would soon be called the "Big Boss," and then the "shoe would be on the other foot." The shoe isn't on the other foot now, and there's the rub.

"Jealousy, thou art a green-eyed monster," and "consistency, thou art a jewel."

"Ring! Ring!" I presume there is what is termed a ring in this city, that ring being the party in power. The fellow outside always calls it a "ring." Let that same fellow get in power, and he would soon have a "ring" of his



# WHITE CARPENTERS IDLE BUT PARKER HIRES NEGRO HELP

*New Orleans States 4/16/16*



own. In fact he is now hanging for that future ring by trying to hallo the other fellow "out" and hallo himself "in." Such is politics, and what is "sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

The so-called "ring" is nothing more nor less than an efficient political organization conducting the affairs of the city, and those men who assist in turning the city wheels of municipal business (called "pie-eaters") are men who have been true and faithful servants for their party, and are rewarded for their service and efficiency as true blue Democrats. To the "victor belong the spoils."

Democratic voters, don't swallow any buncomb on the eve of this election. Don't allow The Item, any paper or man to stultify your honor by telling you that you are not morally or legally bound by your primary vote.

When you entered that primary you knew Parker was going against the nominee in the general election, didn't you? It was understood, no matter for whom you voted, that you were bound to support the nominee. You know that's true. Are you going to back out of that pledge, and still call yourself a "dyed-in-the-wool Democrat?" Let your conscience answer. For myself, I decided on the day I cast my vote in the primary and if I had voted for another candidate my decision and honor would force me to vote for Pleasant.

In my honest opinion there is a great deal of I., T.-P., and A. gas in the Parker balloon, and next Tuesday will see it let out, and its flimsy material collapse like a punctured soap bubble.

Democrats, do your duty next Tuesday, and don't vote for a "big stick" Republican.

Yours for true Democracy.

MR. BROWN.



Just how good a friend John M. Parker is to the laboring man, particularly the white workers of Louisiana, is shown in a letter from a reliable man in St. Francisville, La. The letter, self-explanatory, follows:

"I am enclosing films of the buildings on the Parker stock farm. The building marked Parker Stock Farm is an 80 by 100 (new) food barn. All the other buildings have either been built outright or enlarged and NO WHITE MECHANIC DROVE A NAIL IN ANY OF THE BUILDINGS THOUGH THERE WERE SEVERAL WHITE CARPENTERS IN OUR LITTLE TOWN IDLE. ALL THE WORK WAS DONE BY A NEGRO. With best wishes and hopes for our success" etc.

**TURNS AGAINST PARKER.**

Donaldsonville, La., April 14, 1916.

Editor of Daily States,

New Orleans, La.:

At the outset of this campaign I Roosevelt style, that he intends to use felt that I should vote for J. M. Parker, the "big stick" and be the real boss, ker, and, in fact, if Mr. Parker had when he said, in asserting his election, merely announced for the governor-tion: "I wish to sink in the heads ship and had not issued a platform too of those red roosters gentlemen. FOR be analyzed, had not made one speech THE FIRST THING I WILL DO AT in the campaign, I would vote for him. BATON ROUGE IS TO GET BUSY But after due analysis of Mr. Parker's WITH THE HATCHET."

platform and a free vent of his Now, about the pink ticket. We have inner self, which he has given in his heard a great deal about this and that, speeches throughout the campaign, I too, at the beginning I thought there

was something to it. Mr. Parker, the Item and the Times-Picayune all assert that any one who voted for the nominees of the Democratic primary, whether he did so at the suggestion of the so-called pink ticket or not, is a slave to the ward bosses. And now after all this ranting about this suggestion made on this pink ticket for the primary election, here comes the Item suggesting in the very same manner a ticket in its columns, nay, not only does it suggest a ticket to be voted on at the general election, but it goes further than that, it tells the voters, virtually: Vote the "Bull Moose" if you can conscientiously do so; if not, then vote for the two can-

didates, if you can't vote for the two candidates, vote for Parker alone, but by all means don't attempt to vote on either side of the ticket. And with all that the Item has been telling the people to be freemen.

Now, let us analyze: Let us grant that there are in some of the parishes where there are local contests voters who would vote for Parker, but would retain the privilege of voting for the Democratic nominees. Under the Item's suggestion, or the Item ticket, or the "doppy" ticket, whatever might be the right name to give such a ticket, a voter could not use such privilege, but in order to vote for Parker, would have to have "driven down his throat" the whole Bull Moose-Progressive-Republican commixture. And yet we are told by the Item, Times-Picayune, Parker, Broussard, and the whole aggregation, to be freemen.

Freemen, with Parker elected governor? Perish the thought.

**A DEMOCRATIC FREEMAN.**

**DRAW THE ISSUE.**

New Orleans, La., April 10, 1916.

Editor Daily States:

My Dear Sir—After reading Bob Broussard's effusion in the morning paper, I feel that now is the time to solve the problem as to whether Jos. Ransdell represents Bob Ewing or the State of Louisiana.

Whether Broussard (who, if you eliminate the Third Congressional District, where his friends have abandoned the Democratic party), who received only 28,000 out of 116,000 votes cast and slipped into the Senate, is entitled to the seat! whether Bob Ewing or Bob Broussard represents the Democratic party of Louisiana, can all be settled by the people of Louisiana themselves in the following manner: Let Broussard run against Ewing for national committeeman.

That will settle the question between Broussard and Ewing.

At the same time have Ransdell and Broussard resign their seats in the senate and agree to run against each other for the long or short term. This will settle the question between Ransdell and Broussard as to who is the best Democrat and eliminate one or the other, and no one can question the verdict of the people themselves.

Yours truly,

DEMOCRAT.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

Nashville Globe

WHAT THE MEMPHIS DAILIES

SAY ABOUT THE BIG REGIS-

TRATION OF SHELBY COUNTY

NEGROES. 10/20/16

CHAIRMAN GRAY AMAZED.

(Commercial Appeal.)

W. B. Gray, chairman of the elec-

tion board, visited 18 wards yesterday

and was amazed at the activity of

the Negroes and the apparent apathy

of the white voters.

He said last night that in the wards

he visited the registration of New-

groes was found to be in a ratio of

not less than six or eight to one. In

one ward 60 Negroes had registered

and only 10 white voters.

Mr. Gray also said that the books

will be open today in the Second Pre-

ward, 12 Negroes, no whites; Twen-

ty-cinct of the Sixteenth Ward. He

personally asked 16 residents of that

ward, which is known as the city's

silk stocking ward, to take charge of

the registration books, but all refused

and he could find no one willing to

serve until last night.

Dave Wells, city paymaster, yes-

terday compiled figures that show the

great interest Negroes are taking in

the registration. He chose the wards

where the Negroes are most active

and found in nine precincts that the

Negroes on the first day of the regis-

tration put 210 names on the books,

compared to 27 whites.

In the Twenty-fourth Ward 64 Ne-

groes registered and but 4 whites; in

the Twenty-fifth 12 Negroes and no

whites; in both precincts of the Ninth

34 Negroes and 5 whites.

The Negroes say they are register-

ing to vote for the Negro legislative

ticket as well as their own nominee

for Congress, and Hughes and Fair-

banks. More than 6,000 Negroes are

already registered in the city and

county.

\*\*\*

HAVE PAID POLL TAXES, TOO.

A great number of Negroes paid

their own poll taxes just before the

50-day limit expired and these are

now registering. This is an unusual

state of affairs and is the first time in

almost 50 years that the Negro has

taken any part in politics in this sec-

tion on his own initiative.

Bob Moran, city electrician, is au-

thority for the report that on going

to the First Precinct of the Seventh

Ward yesterday he found two Negroes

in charge of the registration books

and registering many of their own

color.

The white registrars had failed to

show up and the Negroes took ad-

vantage of the chance. Under the

law, when the registrars do not attend

to their duties any citizen can take

the place of either or of both.

Moran quickly found two white

men willing to take charge and rout-

ed the Negroes.

NEGROES REGISTER HEAVILY

The Memphis Star

In the figures obtained by Dave

Wells, city paymaster, are correct, the

Negroes are outregistering the white

voters by more than six to one, and

only one more day remains in which

the Democrats may register 10/20/16

Wells secured figures Friday morn-

ing from 10 voting precincts in the

city which shows that 199 Negroes

have registered in these voting places,

while only 31 whites have secured

their registration papers. The table

so far is as follows: Twenty-fourth

ward, 60 Negroes, 4 whites; Ninth

ward, first precinct, 17 Negroes, 2

whites; Ninth ward, second precinct,

17 Negroes, 3 whites; Twenty-fifth

ward, second pre-

ward, 12 Negroes, 2 whites; Eleventh

ward, 18 Negroes, 1 white;

Twentieth ward, no Negroes, 4

whites; Fourteenth ward, first pre-

ward, 20 Negroes, 8 whites; Twenty-

first ward, 46 Negroes, 6 whites.

Wells will during the day get re-

sults from all voting precincts in the

city.

A report has reached the city of-

ficials from the county precincts indi-

cating that the Negroes are register-

ing heavily, outnumbering the whites

more than three to one.

The Negroes, it is said, are regis-

tering in order to vote the national

and state Republican ticket and to

vote for the Negro legislative ticket.

Democratic headquarters Friday

sent out a call urging all members

of the party not legally registered to

get their certificates. The books

will be closed Saturday night.

All voters must be registered,

whether exempt from poll tax or not.

No certificate prior to August, 1915,

is valid. If not registered in August,

1915 or i last July, voters must

register Friday or Saturday or lose

their votes. Also it is necessary for

those who have changed their place

of residence since last registration to

register again from their new home.

NEGROES PREPARE TO

CAST BIG VOTE.

(Memphis Press.)

Negroes are coming back into poli-

tics in Shelby county. They are

registering by the wholesale all over

the city, outnumbering white voters

in some instances.

This is due, probably, to the fact

that the Negroes have a legitimate

ticket in the field, and are being

rounded up by the heels to make a

good showing.

Nearly every colored vote will go

to Hughes.

Tomorrow is the last day to regis-

ter.

In 10 wards yesterday 199 Negroes

and 31 white men registered.

PRESIDENT HARDING

SPEAKS OUT.

"I wish to speak to you about a

very important matter. Has it ever

occurred to you that the conditions in

the world today are nothing more

than the thoughts of men being put

into practice? Yes, the blood-washed

mountains and valleys of Europe, the

high cost of living, labor troubles and

political agitations in this country,

and the economic, industrial and

social conditions through the world

have developed the WORLD CRISIS

now upon us. The qualities of every

race on earth are being tested by

great trials and perplexing problems.

The Negro race is on the scales;

we are being weighed as politicians;

weighed to determine our moral

status; weighed to determine our

capacity for business, and our love

for, and support given to RACE EN-

TERPRISES; weighed as to our re-

ligious profession, the doctrine of

our Church, our zeal and means for

extending the same. The reason the

white race understands themselves so

well, is, as they read each other's

thoughts, as they are printed in the

daily, monthly and weekly papers.

The reason the Negroes don't under-

stand each other is, they fail to read

and have their children read the

thoughts of their race expressed in

their weekly and monthly papers.

The best thought of every race, on

every issue, is expressed by the re-

ligious men and women who belong to

the race, therefore you owe it to your-

self to read the NATIONAL BAP-

TIST UNION-REVIEW, the greatest

journal of its kind in this country,

you owe it to the race if you are a

writer, to give them the benefit of

your thoughts on questions of the

day. You owe it to your Church to

help spread her doctrine, and this you

do when you pay for and read the

UNION-REVIEW.

As President of the Missionary

Baptist State Convention of Tennes-

see, I wish to earnestly request that

you give your aid and lend your in-

fluence to have the paper widely cir-

culated and read by your people.

A reading people is a thinking peo-

ple. A thinking people become a

writing people, a writing people is

an influential people, and an influ-

ential people become a governing

people. Write now for the paper.

Yours for racial uplift,

J. L. HARDING,

President Missionary Baptist State

Convention, Nashville, Tenn.

OVER A HUNDRED THOUSAND A

WEEK.

Records are being smashed each

week now by the Standard Life In-

surance Company, with headquarters

in Atlanta, Ga. It has been of inter-

est to note from the weekly state-

ments received by their Nashville

representatives that the company has

forged right to the front and that

now seldom a week passes but that

they are writing over a hundred

thousand dollars' worth of new busi-

ness. Hence, according to the calcu-

lation of the Standard Life Director

in this city, it is shown that if this

record alone is maintained for twelve

months, they will have reached over

the five million dollar mark. It

was pointed out this week that with

the two million five hundred thousand

dollars already in force it would not

take twelve months at the ratio the

Standard Life is writing business to

take in the five million mark. As

shown last week, the state of Geor-

gia led all other states in busin ss

produced. The state of Texas came

on as a close second; Alabama was

third, District of Columbia, fourth;

while Tennessee jumped from the

bottom to fifth place. A glance over

the agency force was also an inter-

esting feature of the week when it

was shown that with only three rep-

resentatives at work in this state

more than ten thousand dollars'

dollars' worth of new business was

produced in less than a week. The

new representative at Nashville, Prof.

J. E. Wallace, according to this re-

port, made an excellent showing. The

other two workers in the state are

Mr. B. M. Roddy and Mr. G. W. Ad-

kins, both of Memphis. The figures

referred to were contained in the

bulletin for the week of October 7th.

NEGROES URGED TO

QUALIFY AS VOTERS

LARGEST NUMBER IN RECENT

YEARS HAVE REGISTERED BUT

IMPORTANT MATTER OF PAYING

POLL TAX IS NOW URGENT.

Voice of the People 11/8/16.

SCHOOLS NEED THE MONEY

is Another Reason Why Tax Should

Be Paid—Politics Will Demand At-

tention This Year.

Not since the days of McKinley,

Harrison and Garfield have so many

Negroes registered at one time, as

was true here in Birmingham, and, ac-

cording to reports, throughout the

State, when the registration boards

sat in the various counties. It

seemed that they had received new

impetus from many sources. The re-

cent Supreme Court decision declaring

the Oklahoma Grandfather Clause un-

constitutional and the activities of

certain members of the Patriotic Sons

of the United States of America in

urging Negroes to qualify and vote,

and a natural trend of affairs which

influenced their awakening to a new

sense of duty, is believed to have

actuated them.

While the registrars were here in

the past few days scenes of olden

times were recalled when the Negro

was a factor in politics. In the long

line of waiting men many colored men

were daily seen and what is surpris-

ing the usual catch questions which

have been asked by the boards of

recent years for the purpose of elim-

inating the Negro were not heard.

All who applied were readily given a

certificate of registration.

Call for Negroes to Vote.

In connection with the rush for

registration a committee of young

men have sent out a call for every

Negro in the district to pay his poll

tax by February 1, that this may be



to furnish the sinews of war that we may battle against the forces of ignorance and apathy. Let our lawmakers heed the voice of those who would offer assistance through the correct use of the ballot, and others who give like counsel. We then appeal to the tax payer. The poll tax is passed to the credit of the school fund—white men's payment to white schools and colored men's payment to colored schools. But the laws restricting suffrage have discouraged this payment by thousands of Negro men. This is robbery of the dirtiest sort—withholding from the children of the race their right to learning and culture.

"The colored people of Alabama are not disfranchised. By paying taxes on \$300 of property or being able to read and write and by paying your poll tax from the time the individual took up residence in the State, became of age, or paying from 1901, every man, white or black, is entitled to register and vote. There is no law in the code of the State by which one can be denied the ballot. By making it hard to register or qualify before the boards, large numbers of colored people are led to believe that they are not eligible and have about given up the idea of every becoming voters in this State.

"There are quite a number of colored men who would be more inclined to join in this campaign and push to the front but they, like many others of the republican party, have become disgusted at the class of men who have been and are now posing as the leaders of the race, as they have not rendered the kind of service that the race deserves, and are so greatly in need of, therefore to attempt to do what is needful through them is utterly useless. What the average man wants is the opportunity to prove himself to be a an and an American citizen, who may demand the rights that are justly due him. By the power of the ballot and his commercial strength properly used the Negro will be able to obtain these rights, but will vneer do so if forced to beg for what he is entitled to.

"The coming of this new year brings to the force the presidential campaign that will soon be in full blast. President Wilson will doubtless be the standard bearer for the democratic party, while only a seer can predict who the Republican Richmond will be. The disposition of the Republican leaders is to wink at the elimination of Negroes in politics, even to the extent that the delegates from the south to the National Convention have been considerably reduced by the vote

of Republicans themselves. The Republicans in other ways have become careless of the interest of the Negroes. "It is for the purpose of making ourselves felt in the deliberations of all political affairs that the foregoing appeal is being made. We must have a voice in this country or our hopes for alleviating wrongs heaped upon us because of no representation is doomed.

"Men, pay your poll tax and vote! For your protection, for the education of your children and for your very existence here. This is imperative."

## TENNESSEE NEGROES MAKE VOTING RECORD

*N.Y. Age 11-16-16*

**Annihilate Lily White Republicans,  
Colored Men Polling Many  
More Votes.**

### LINCOLN LEAGUE A FACTOR

**Organization Now Numbers 5,000 and  
Continuing to Grow, With Robert R.  
Church, Its Founder, as President—  
Defeated Combination of Republicans,  
Democrats and Know Nothings.**

MEMPHIS, TENN.—The Negroes of Tennessee have justified themselves before the country. They have achieved a victory that is bound to be far-reaching and effective in the future history of the Republican party in the State, and Robert R. Church and the Lincoln Republican League will hereafter be dominating factors in west Tennessee.

This was accomplished at the recent election, when the lily white Republicans were annihilated at the ballot box, and the local option combination of white Republicans, Democrats and Know Nothings was shattered. The one great victory in the election was won by the Negroes of Memphis and west Tennessee.

But most important, Lincoln League, now 5,000 strong and still growing, has gathered colored men into the most unique and largest political organization among colored people in the country. As leader, Mr. Church can boast a following larger, more devoted and more determined than ever lined up behind a colored leader.

#### Continue the Fight.

Friday night the League met to consider the situation. More men were present—maybe 3,000 of them—than got together the Friday night before election. Beginning here, the capital of

the Negro race, the battle is on to break the political shackles of the Southern Negro.

From Wayman Wilkerson, candidate for Congress, straight down the line, the Lincoln League ticket polled a vote larger than the so-called Republican organization. With no protection at the polls, and local combinations against them, together with the natural bent of Democrats to browbeat colored men, the candidates came through with an approximate vote of 2,700 as counted by election judges.

Thomas H. Hayes, popular business man, on a fair count, would be Floterial Senator from Shelby and Tipton counties. He ran his democratic adversary smack up to the State House steps.

The campaign launched by Mr. Church and his supporters grew in interest. From the middle of August until election eve interest in the contest was without parallel in the South. And the women were more determined than the men.

The Lincoln League is organizing for local contests next year, and for Congressional race in 1918. Candidates will be put up for every office, county and Congressional, and since the great vote piled up by the organization establishes it as the Regular Republican party organization in this section of the State, the party will always be represented on the official ballot.

#### Figures Don't Lie.

The following figures tell a story of supreme interest. They are supplied by the Election Board and are for Memphis and Shelby County only:

Lily White and Local Option—For Congress, Farley, 1,604; Marks, Floterial Senator, 1,569; Senate, Dye, 1,859; Crenshaw, 2,354; Voght, Floterial Representative, 1,706; Representatives, Billingsly, 2,958; Broens, 2,867; Etlinger, 1,942; Gilmore, 2,027; Morris, 2,163; Parr, 1,832; Powell, 1,871.

Lincoln Republican League—For Congress, Wayman Wilkerson, 2,220; T. H. Hayes, Floterial Senator, 2,756; Senate H. M. Bomar, 2,321; B. M. Roddy, 2,371; G. W. Atkins, Floterial Representative, 2,327; Representatives, N. Bowles, 2,463; A. E. Clouston, 2,195; Ned Clowers, 2,136; Ed Lewis, 2,289; J. T. Settle, Jr., 2,557; J. B. Willis, 2,662; O. W. Williams, 2,578.

These figures ought to read twice as many, but the election officers didn't wear any religion to the polls that morning, and threw the Ten Commandments out of the window when they got there.

Mr. Church announced the morning after election that the fight has but just opened. And behind him are the colored people, without a break, of the largest Negro city in the world.

Wayman Wilkerson, candidate for Congress, ran away with his lily white competitor. According to the daily press he ran ahead of Farley, lily, 4 to 1.

## THE CHARLESTON COUNTY REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

*Southern Reporter*

Pursuant to call the above named convention was called to order in the Bricklayer's Hall, Ashley Avenue, at 2 O'clock, p. m., last Thursday. The County Executive Committee having previously met and passed upon the roll, the meeting was called to order by S. M. Brown, County Chairman and led in prayer by one of the ministers present. The County Secretary read the call authorizing the assembling of the convention after which C. M. English and Gibbs Mitchell were nominated for temporary Chairman. It was ordered that the roll be called and each delegate vote openly. The result was that O. M. English received 39 votes and Gibbs Mitchell 34, but the Chairman without announcing the vote declared the latter elected. Some confusion followed, but Mr. English gracefully, in the interest of peace and harmony, as he said yielded. Mr. Mitchell took the chair and after making a speech noted for its parlousness ship than anything else, proceeded to appoint a Committee on Credentials. As there was no protest nor contests some thought this unnecessary and a waste of time; nevertheless, he held his point, and the Committee retired. During its absence A. P. Prioleau was invited to address the Convention. This he did in his usual way and at the same time announced his candidacy as a delegate at large and urged upon the Convention to elect such delegates to the State Convention to be held at Columbia on the 7th inst., to elect such delegates to the National Convention to be held at Chicago, Ill. June next as would stand by and support him. The Committee on Credentials having completed its work entered the hall and made its report. It recommended that all of the delegates on the temporary roll except those from Wards 2 and 3 in the City of Charles-

ton be seated. It did this in the face of the fact that there was neither a protest nor a contest from either of these wards. It was thus made clear that those in power had determined at any cost to control the Convention and elect those who would stand by what is known as the Talbert ticket, said ticket being composed of J. W. Tolbert, Earnest Cochran, T. L. Grant and J. H. Goodwin. At this point confusion became worse confounded and for a while pandemonium reigned supreme. But the chairman put a motion to adopt the report and though no one could distinctly hear declared it carried. Seeing that the minority was bent upon carrying things their way the majority got together and elected O. M. English, chairman, and T. St. Marks Sasportas, Secretary and elected the following as delegates to Columbia; O. M. English, J. D. Adams; T. St. Marks Sasportas, B. B. Burroughs, H. Miller S. B. Butler, B. J. Bailey and R. W. Mance, Alternates: M. M. Mouzon, T. E. Byers, O. H. Hagams, and James Smalls. To the Congressional Convention O. M. English, C. Fields, B. J. Huger, R. Yeadon, J. B. Fludd Moses Green, S. B. Butler, Samuel Ohiselm, G. Horree, T. Ft. Mark Sasportas, E. P. Burroughs, A. Collins, Smart Chis-o'm and R. B. Gathers, Alternate: S. T. Lockwood; R. M. Mance, M. M. Mouzon. The minority also elected a State and Congressional delegation.

That the whole affair on the part of the minority was a cul and dried affair was clear to all present cannot be denied and having control of the organization it was easy for them to carry things their way. The whole affair is greatly to be deplored and it now rests with the State Convention to right the wrong that has been inflicted upon the true, tried and unmounted Republicans of Charleston County.

An Eye Witness.



Political - 1916

Suffrage

# Lincoln Republican League

Western World Reporter  
Swamps Lily Whites

In An Open Contest Simon Pure Republicans  
Wins Easily.

## CHURCH MAKES STATEMENT

Every Candidate Grateful to the People and  
Lincoln League Determined to Keep up the Fight

As much interest was taken in Memphis and adjoining territory in the contest made by the Lincoln Republican League and the result of that contest as was shown in the national election. The outcome was gratifying.

The ticket put out for the Republican Party by the Lincoln Republican League ran the Lily White-Whiskey Combine "lost," and finished a respectable second to the Democratic candidates, whose friends did all the counting and most of the judging on election day.

### A Great Victory.

The Lincoln Republican League endorsed Hooper, Overall, Abernathy and Haun, and nominated a full ticket, including a candidate for Congress. And notwithstanding the countless "count" pulled off at the polls, the cross-eyed intimidation of colored voters, the refusal of judges to accept poll tax receipts bearing date prior to October 7, and the interesting disposition of the Democrats and Lily Whites to get together at the last hour, the ticket came through with colors flying.

If the League did nothing more than teach colored men the dignity of the ballot and white men that all colored men cannot be purchased and a great number misled, that is enough for the first time. Both the leaders and the candidates announce their determination to go ahead with the fight year after year until the political chains are broken, and colored men are treated as citizens.

Women Deeply Interested.

One of the most interesting and cheering features of the campaign was the interest manifested by the women. They were a source of great comfort to the men. They threatened to vote themselves, and had to be reminded that suffrage for women hadn't got down this far yet.

Two things stand out: The Memphis Negro is going to stay here and work for the supremacy of his city. And he is going to be counted in the membership of the Republican Party in figures to match his strength. The Lincoln League is Republican to the bone, and upon the face of the returns is the Republican organization of Shelby county and West Tennessee. If the lilies that toil not and want all the jobs don't believe this now, they'll believe it after awhile.

### The District Fight.

All through the Tenth Congressional District the colored Republicans were loyal to the cause. Without protection at all, and against the ancient custom of the Democratic Party to take advantage of colored voters, the men through the district went to the polls in big fashion. Of course hundreds of their ballots were thrown out, but they did their duty. Wilkerson, Lincoln League candidate, ran away with Farley, Lily White aspirant. The count gave the city to Farley, but that was rather cumbersome in view of the fact that the other colored candidates got the regular support allowed the League. Common sense is against the returns, for the vote that the other candidates got Wilkerson got, and he got more besides. Many white "Republicans" voted for Wilkerson because they couldn't swallow Farley

it is said.

### League All Set.

The Lincoln Republican League is all set. The President, Robert R. Church, Jr., who, together with his supporters and advisers, has built up the strongest political organization in the Tennessee, and the largest political organization among colored people in the country, is in good spirits. He is the people's idol.

"I never felt better in my life," said Mr. Church to a reporter for the Western World. "Of course I am grateful to my friends and to the people for the magnificent support given the organization. I know conditions here as well as anybody else, and knew what to expect. We started out to seal our citizenship and our Republicanism. We did both. The candidates to a man conducted themselves splendidly, and made an excellent showing. Our men made a gallant fight, and our people generally are to be congratulated on their courage and conduct. We did not engage in a race contest at all. We were simply trying to assert our Republicanism and our right under the American flag to be counted as men. We did that.

"I can never forget," he went on, "the initial contest as waged by the men both in the cities and counties of the district. The organization is stronger today than ever, and we mean to fight on. Heaven helps those who help themselves."

### Candidates Game.

The candidates are all game to the core. "Discouraged?" said Wayman Wilkerson. "How could I be, in view of all that was done for me throughout the district? I may have been beaten in the count, but that will not always be true. Somebody some day will get a fair count."

Thomas H. Hayes, who ran the legs off his adversary, is full of heart. "I am resting," he said, "and getting ready to fight again. I am ready to serve whenever the people call me."

Both B. M. Roddy and H. M. Bomar are of one mind regarding their contest for the State Senate. "We made history," announced Mr. Roddy, "and when the people say so I am willing to help make more history. Our people stand higher today than ever in the estimation of all the people."

"Let's go from here," was Mr. Bomar's laconic comment.

Dr. G. W. Atkins, who made the race for Floterial Representative, said that the people had covered themselves with glory. The candidates for the House, Nat Bowles, Ned Clowers, J. T. Settle, Jr., Arthur E. Clouston, Ed

Lewis, O. W. Williams, J. B. Willis, joined in the following statement:

### People Acted Nobly.

"We cannot thank the people too much. Our vote showed what colored Republicans will do when properly led. We got wrecked not in the vote, but in the returns. Many things entered into the situation, but we are proud of our constituency, and only regret that we are not permitted to fight for them again immediately. They have been educated to the dignity of the ballot and their possibility as citizens under the law. We have at least inspired them to believe that this is their country and the Republican Party their party. As taxpayers they have as much right as anybody else to be men."

The race between Wilkerson and Farley is still a mystery. The daily newspapers failed to give Wilkerson's vote, but he outdistanced his Lily White competitor about 4 or 5 to 1, according to the Commercial Appeal's report from the district. The returns from the counties are not in as yet. The vote in Memphis and Shelby county, as given, was as follows:

Lily White Local Option—For Congress, Farley 1,604; Marks, Floterial Senator, 1,569; Senate, Dye, 1,859; Crenshaw, 2,354; Voght, Floterial Representative, 1,706; Representatives, Billingsly, 2,958; Broens, 2,867; Etlinger, 1,942; Gilmore, 2,027; Morris, 2,163; Parr, 1,832; Powell, 1,871.

Lincoln Republican League—For Congress, Wayman Wilkerson, 2,222; T. H. Hayes, Floterial Senator, 2,756; Senate, H. M. Bomar, 2,321; B. M. Roddy, 2,371; G. W. Atkins, Floterial Representative, 2,327; Representatives, N. Bowles, 2,463; A. E. Clouston, 2,195; Ned Clowers, 2,136; Ed Lewis, 2,389; J. T. Settle, Jr., 2,557; J. B. Willis, 2,662; O. W. Williams, 2,578.

### Stood By State Ticket.

The Lincoln League stood by Hooper, Overall, Abernathy and the Hughes electors to a man. They stood that way all over the district. Gov. Hooper is sure of this. According to the Commercial Appeal 3,000 colored men gave Hughes, Overall and Hooper unbroken support. Hooper got only 4,000 votes in the county. Negroes gave him three-fourths of this vote.

The situation and the result would seem to indicate that Roscoe was right when he declared that "we are on our way." The real Republicans met the lilies face to face, and while the Republicans, directed by the Lincoln League, were trying to elevate the Republican Party, the lilies were trying to elevate themselves to the stools at the pie-counter.

The Lincoln Republican League will hold its regular meeting at Church's Auditorium Friday night, Dec. 1. In the meantime, headquarters is opened every day, and the telephone number is unchanged.

STATE

AUG 7, 1916

### What is Lawlessness.

Had Richard I. Manning, Governor of South Carolina, in the first twenty months of his term of office, pardoned or commuted the sentences of SIX HUNDRED CONVICTS, three-fourths of them negroes, instead of forty-five his administration would not have been lawless.

The more convicts a Governor releases, the greater the law and order in South Carolina!

Are the white Democratic voters pleased with that kind of argument?

Is it addressed to their common sense?

Is it grounded on the assumption that they are men of intelligence?

Manning has released 45 convicts—and these on the recommendation of the board of pardons established by the people's law.

Do you think that THEREFORE Manning's administration is lawless?

Would the granting of 600 paroles and pardons at this time make the administration of Mr. Manning one of law and order?

Would a quiet word dropped by Mr. Manning to the racing gang that if they return and hold a meet in South Carolina next December they will not be interfered with convince you men, you intelligent, full grown white Democrats, that Manning's administration is one of law and order?

If you believe that Manning's administration is lawless do you think he can change its character by turning loose half the convicts in the penitentiary and on the chaingangs and by inviting the racing gang back to South Carolina to carry on their nefarious game in impudent violation of the law enacted in 1912 to drive them out of the State?

DO YOU?



# 7,500 CITIZENS HEAR

## Colonel Roscoe C. Simmons at Church's Auditorium.

Stalwart Men and Fair Ladies Turn Out in Automobiles, Taxicabs and Vehicles of Every Description.

Greatest Pre-election Demonstration and Greatest Crowd Ever Gathered at This Famous Auditorium, Came to Hear the Distinguished Orator, Philosopher, Statesman and Journalist—They Came From Every Corner of the City and County to Hear This Statesman Outline the Principles and the Platform of the Republican Party, Its Benefits and Blessings to Negroes, Discuss the ISSUES of the Day and the Wilson Regime.

Before the biggest crowd of people that ever tried to pack themselves into the famous Church's Auditorium, Roscoe Conkling Simmons, greatest orator and statesman of the Negro race, closed the campaign in Memphis Monday night.

It is estimated that fully 7,500 people tried to get into the auditorium. The stage and aisles were impassable. The windows and porches were filled, and the great yard around the auditorium held thousands trying to catch a phrase from the stage. The meeting surpassed the great Booker Washington and Theodore Roosevelt demonstrations of years ago.

Col. Simmons was at himself, and delivered not only the greatest speech his neighbors ever heard from him, but the greatest speech Memphis ever heard from anybody. He was complete master of the thousands who hung on every word. As he walked to the footlights great cheers greeted him. The vast audience saluted him with an unbroken flag of white. Introduced in a fitting and eloquent speech by B. M. Roddy, he was in a happy frame of mind.

### Praises Mr. Church.

His introductory remarks brought thunderous applause. "I am glad," he said, "to be at home and on mighty Beale again. I am happy to stand by the side of my friend, my leader and your leader. No cause ever demanded more patriotism and power than ours, and no cause ever had a leadership of more power and patriotism than ours, for the stalwart captaincy of Robert R. Church in the new emancipation upon which we have embarked has attracted the notice of the nation. He demonstrates beyond debate that it is not necessary for a man to go to distant parts to be great. Great men are great everywhere, in the valley or on the mountain. Respected the country over, our Robert is loved by every heart in Memphis that beats to the music of expectant hope."

Mr. R. R. Church took the rostrum

and at the rap of the vel at 8:20 o'clock Monday evening, November 6th, the great and enthusiastic audience was called to order. Rev. S. W. Broome pronounced the vocation and Mr. Church read a w telegrams from the State and National headquarters.

The great crowds cheered. Mr. B. I. Roddy was next introduced, who in well selected phrases ably and masterly introduced the speaker of the evening, who, amid rounds of applause arose and gracefully greeted his auditors while handkerchiefs were waived. Colonel Simmons began with: "Mr Chairman, Fellow Citizens and Friends I am glad to be back home among you and upon 'Old Beale Street.'" He said he would be glad to have any reporters of the daily press to come forward and take every note of his statement and address. The audience gave great cheer.

He advised the vast audience to hold malice nor ill will towards anyone; it, abide in peace and love with all mankind. And that this occasion greeted him with the happiest moments of all his life. He styles R. R. Church as the greatest leader of the race now before the American people. He referred to the late Booker T. Washington, who stands out as the immortal leader of a people without a forerunner or a successor. R. R. Church, he said, was the advocate of a great cause, and he was proud to be his friend. Mr. Church, he said, can talk to the men of all races for his people.

### Explains the Tariff.

Then Colonel Simmons, the greatest campaign orator upon the American platform, outlined the tariff question and dwelt upon the principles of the Republican party. He dwelt also upon the worth, standing and character of the Negro candidates upon the ticket, and compared them, amid applause, with the worth and standing of all other candidates upon the general ballot.

The Lincoln Republican League Col.

Simmons called the greatest Negro political organization in all the country; of the campaign completely captivated and "dear old" Tennessee as the "dearest" of all the States in the land.

### Why He is a Republican.

"I am a Republican," he said, "because I cannot be otherwise, and don't see how any Negro can be a Democrat." Grover Cleveland was the grandest of all Democrats, said Col. Simmons, as he was a Democrat from principle and not merely by profession. Woodrow Wilson is a Democrat by profession only. The speaker stated that he has nothing personally against any Democrat. He has many friends among Democrats. If a Democrat friend was hungry he would feed him. If he was destitute and cried for raiment he would clothe him. If he needed shoes he would put them on his feet; if he was cold, he would warm him by his own fireside, shield him, and protect his home, upon the threshold of his doorsteps, and follow him to the tomb when he died, but, vote for him? No, never!

How could he vote to place a Democrat in power, over him, for "I AM A REPUBLICAN, because the Republican party set me FREE." His tribute to his grandmother brought a great shout.

### That "Negro" Democrat.

He tells the story of the "old" Negro, who was with his boss, up to election day, and the day after the election, when "the boss" went down in defeat, his answer was, "Well, boss you know I told you all along 'dat I was wid you' but never did say, 'I was fer you.'"

### A Contrast.

He says colored people spend nearly \$10,000,000 yearly trying to straighten their hair, and white people about an equal amount trying to curl theirs.

### Hence, there is no race problem.

He says that no real race problem exists except in the imaginations of men who want office.

### There is No Color Line.

The Democratic party spent \$600,000 in the campaign of 1912 to get Negroes to vote for Wilson, and now they are spending one million dollars trying to to fool them. Then, if the Negro is good enough for the Democratic party throughout the North, why, he is good enough for the Republican party throughout the South.

### Discounts Lily-Whitism—Raps Free Trade—Upholds Protection.

He says the American people need the Tariff and Protection, in trade, and competition, with cheap foreign labor all along the ports of the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Gulf.

The statesman's discussion of the tariff and labor was the clearest statement upon those great issues Memphis

ever heard. His mastery of the issues of the campaign completely captivated the audience.

His tribute to Negro womanhood was sublime.

### Flays the Wilson Administration.

He cites that within four years Woodrow Wilson hands back to the American people who elected him to the presidency a flag insulted, a flag disrespected, by the great powers of the earth, a flag "soiled, tattered and torn."

He referred to the Mexican Situation, and for 1 hour and 48 minutes discoursed upon the issues, the condition of the country, and for the next 35 minutes pays tribute to the Negro race, outlining its history, record, achievements; eulogizes Lincoln, "The Immortal Lincoln," and cited that the true American Negroes run the shades of colors and baffles all of science.

He went into the Haitian situation, the Black Republic, to the south, and said they never will be conquered or enslaved.

After fully 2 hours and 23 minutes, amid "rounds and volleys" of applause, with the greatest audience Memphis ever saw yelling "go on," this statesman, philosopher and greatest of campaign orators, closed, with an appeal to the voters to "Elect Hughes."

### NEGRO TICKET MAKES REMARKABLE RACE.

T. H. Hayes, floterlal candidate for Shelby and Tipton led the entire ticket. J. T. Settle, the young attorney, and the youngest member on the ticket, led the race in the county districts. Willis, Roddy and Williams also among the leaders.

### A GRAND SERIES OF LECTURES TO NON-CATHOLICS AT ST. ANTHONY FROM NOV. 12 TO NOV. 26.

The Rev. Father Dorsey will deliver to non-Catholics of Memphis a series of lectures for two weeks. All are cordially invited to come to St. Anthony, corner Hill and Concord Streets, Lane Avenue car.

A question box will be conducted at the door and all questions concerning the Catholic Church kindly answered. Ask Father Dorsey. He knows. Sacred concerts will be rendered, with music by Handy's Orchestra and a great chorus of jubilee singers at Church's Auditorium, with introduction by Dr. W. T. Vernon, of Avery Chapel.

All are welcome. All are invited. The Memphis public is requested to attend this series of lectures.

Rev. Fthr. Jos. B. Glenn,  
Rector of St. Anthony.

Slain in his own human form.

The Negroes of Alabama have

found it necessary to protest to Governor Henderson of that state that the election registrars of that state were refusing to register the names of Negroes who were otherwise qualified voters. If this is true it doubtless is very discouraging to those who feel that they have waited, worked and won. The obstacles to the Negro suffrage were nearly impassable as they came from the hands of the constitution makers. The years together with the right kind of activity have done the work according to the protesting Negroes. And today the possible vote is large and of importance, but not to much purpose if we may rely on the report from that section. This is both surprising and disappointing. The Negroes of that state and elsewhere were made to believe that the new laws were simply measures for preparedness, and that when the time came everything would be as it should be. The outcome of the agitation will be awaited with considerable anxiety.

TIMES

New York City

## WILSON TO ADDRESS SUFFRAGISTS FRIDAY

His Acceptance Sidetracks Plan to Indorse Hughes at Atlantic City Convention.

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTIC CITY, Sept. 3.—President Wilson will speak on Friday night before the Forty-eighth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association here. He telegraphed his acceptance today to the suffragists' invitation, dispelling earlier doubts that the campaign might prevent his attendance. The President's acceptance places some of his strongest critics in an uncomfortable position and there was tonight in consequence little likelihood of the passage of a threatened resolution for the indorsement of Charles E. Hughes.

Conservatives tonight were striving to dispel any signs of uneasiness on the eve of the convention. Leaders declared that to place the organization on record for any man and to create a party issue would be ill-advised. They also point out that such a movement would be further inexpedient in that one party has never controlled Congress with a two-third vote since 1869.

Another point of difference is over the future policy of the association. Southerners want state legislation alone, because of the negro question, while the major part of the Eastern and Western delegations favor a Federal constitutional amendment. Still others want the continuance of the present propaganda now being waged for both. The same division is experienced for the Presidential choice, the former clamoring for the indorsement of Wilson and the other two factions for Hughes.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt of New York will be re-elected President without opposition, it was believed tonight.



Political - 1916

Surface

**ADDRESS TO COLORED VOTERS BY THE COLORED ADVISORY COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.**

October 6th, 1916.

The Committee of Colored Citizens selected from the country at large as Advisory to the Republican National Committee having met this day in New York City and desiring to express to the Colored Voters of the country the necessity for supporting the Republican party candidates for President, Vice-President, Senate and House of Representatives addresses this letter to the Colored voters whose duty it is to register in order that they may perform their duty to the country in this National crisis.

**Hold Wilson Accountable Now.**

This is the Presidential year. The time has come to hold the Wilson Administration and the Democratic Party to a "strict accountability." Are you ready for the fight? Or do you desire four years more of what the New York World calls the "Jim Crow Government at Washington?" No campaign since that for the second election of Abraham Lincoln has been more vital to the liberty and happiness of 10,000,000 Colored citizens than is the present campaign for the election of Charles Evans Hughes for President, and a Republican Congress.

**Proven Democratic Party Cannot Be Trusted.**

Four years ago a considerable number of the race helped elect a Democratic president. This was done under fair promises of just treatment, "not grudgingly given but in generous fashion." The result has shown the experiment to have been the utmost political folly and race-suicide, and has shown that the Democratic party cannot be trusted to deal fairly with our race in this country. The votes of the men of color for the Democratic candidate for President were obtained by fine phrases and false pretenses. No sooner had the Democratic Administration come into power than Mr. Wilson and his advisors entered upon a policy to eliminate all Colored citizens from representation in the Federal Government. The Offices of Assistant Attorney General, Recorder of Deeds, Register of the U. S. Treasury, Auditor for the Navy, Minister to Hayti, Collectorships of Internal Revenue in New York, Florida, and Hawaii, were vacated and filled by white Democrats. There were no "deserving Colored Democrats" to be found in the country. Not only did the Administration proceed to demote in and eliminate the Negro from the Civil Service of the United States by scores, and to segregate those remaining in the service, but also to make impossible further appointments by requiring the race of the applicant to be shown by his photograph.

**"New Freedom" and "Humanity" of Wilson Do Not Include Colored Americans.**

The reason assigned by the Administration for its politics has been that "Southern people would not stand for Presidential appointments of Negroes to office" and "that segregation was for the benefit of humanity." The Administration was "too proud to fight" Mexico but did not hesitate to conquer the Black Republics of Hayti and Santo Domingo. There was one policy of International justice for Mexico and another one towards the Negro Republics to the south of us. The President has expressed himself as in sympathy with the "enslaved men and women of Mexico," but has found no words of sympathy for the Colored citizens of America. "The New Freedom" does not include the Negro. "Humanity" for which the President has expressed such great love, does not include the Colored Race.

The President said in a notable address that "the man who seeks to divide man from man, group from group, and interest from interest is striking at the very heart of America." No man has done so much since Emancipation to so separate and divide the Nation into groups, and to eliminate the Colored Race as a representative group of Americans, as has the President himself.

**Vote, Strike for Your Liberties.**

Colored men, we must arise! Those who vote and those entitled to vote must strike for their liberties. This is a campaign for the restoration of the rights, privileges and immunities that we have heretofore enjoyed under the Republican Administration of the National Government. Four years more of President Wilson will mean our complete elimination from American politics. We submit that the man who is ready to die for his country at Carrizal, is fit to serve his country at Washington; and that the man who is fit to be buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington, is fit to serve his country in the Capitol of the Nation.

**Protection of Our Rights If Hughes Is Elected.**

The Republican candidate for President, Charles Evans Hughes, has shown himself to be a man of highest character and of absolute sincerity in his devotion to the cause of liberty, justice, and humanity, and when he is elected President of the United States, we may confidently expect from him a square deal and complete protection in all our sacred rights as citizens and the full enjoyment of the opportunities to which we are justly entitled under the Constitution and Laws of our Country.

**SIGNED**

CHARLES W. ANDERSON, of New York  
FRED R. MOORE, of New York  
WILLIAM OSCAR PAYNE, of New York  
ANDREW F. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania  
W. JUSTIN CARTER, of Pennsylvania  
CHARLES A. COTTRILL, of Ohio  
WILLIAM P. DABNEY, of Ohio  
WILLIAM H. LEWIS, of Massachusetts  
W. C. MATTHEWS, of Massachusetts  
RICHARD M. BOLDEN, of New York  
JUNIUS M. GREEN, of New York  
GILCHRIST STEWART, of New York  
HARRY G. TULLIVER, of Connecticut  
REV. DR. ERNEST LYON, of Maryland  
HARRY S. CUMMINGS, of Maryland  
CHARLES COLBURN, of Delaware  
PHILIP WATERS, of West Virginia  
WHITFIELD McKINLEY, of District of Columbia  
JAMES A. COBB, of District of Columbia  
CHARLES PICKETT, of District of Columbia  
R. R. CHURCH, JR., of Tennessee  
J. C. NAPIER, of Tennessee  
A. A. FELDING, of Tennessee  
HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, of Georgia  
BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, of Georgia  
PERRY W. HOWARD, of Mississippi  
JOSEPH E. LEE, of Florida

**OFFICERS ELECTED AT NINTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL EQUAL RIGHTS LEAGUE HELD AT WASHINGTON, D. C., OCT. 6, 1916.**

President, Byron Gunner, D. D., New York; Vice-Presidents, Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom, N. J., Wm. D. Brigham, Mass., Rev. Harvey Johnson, D. D., Maryland, Rev. C. H. Steptean, D. D., D. C., Rev. Marion F. Sydes, D. D., R. I., Rev. W. Spencer Carter, Penn., Rev. John Barnett, Va., Mrs. S. L. Adams, Illinois, Bishop I. N. Ross, Rev. W. C. Brown, D. C.; Recording Secretary, James L. Neill, D. C.; Assistant Recording Secretary, Wm. Warley, Ky.; Cor. Secretary, W. Monroe Trotter, Mass.; Assistant Cor. Secretary, Maurice W. Spencer, Del.; Treasurer, Thomas Walker, D. C.; Fin. Secretary, Dr. W. A. Sinclair, Penn.; Assistant Fin. Secretary, A. Fitzholan Wallace, D. C.; Chaplain, Rev. Oscar E. Denniston, Mass.; National Organizer, Rev. James E. Churchman, N. J.; Assistant National Organizer, Rev. Arthur Randall, Md.

**Executive Committee**—Chairman, Maurice W. Spencer, Del., Rev. H. Y. Arnett, Penn., Rev. A. Fitzholan Wallace, D. C., F. Morris Murray, Va., W. P. Dabney, Ohio, E. M. Hewlett, D. C., E. T. Morris, Mass, H. E. Young, Md., J. Adams, Minn., Mrs. Ida B. Wells Barnett, Ill., Rev. Walter E. Gay, Conn., Rev. C. L. Miller, R. I., Chas. Pitman, Mo., Mrs. Emma B. Brown, Ind., I. F. Bradley, Kan., Rev. J. L. Davis, N. H., Dr. O. M. Waller, N. Y., Dr. W. A. Sinclair, Penn., Al. A. Andrews, Ky., G. G. Ross, Colo., J. S. Lowe, Ark., E. D. Cannady, Ore., Prof. Hill, Tenn., Hon. I. B. Allen, N. Y., with power to augment Committee on nomination of officers: Rev. Oscar E. Denniston, chair; Rev. A. Fitzholan Wallace, Secretary; Rev. John Barnett, James L. Neill, Maurice Spencer, E. T. Morris.

**THE COLORED VOTE IN THE SOUTH**

The time is approaching it seems when the Northern people will recognize the mistake of leaving the so-called "Negro Problem" for solution to the South. One of the white South's methods of dealing with the question has brought the Republican party to defeat in the recent presidential election.

And this defeat, it appears, has at last aroused the Republican leaders to right a wrong that has been practiced for years not only on the colored men of the Southern States who, by various and most often illegal methods, are kept from voting, but on the white voters of the North, East and West who, in every presidential election, have been laid under the handicap of having three or four times less voting power than the Southern voters. The South refuses to let the colored man vote, but still insists on counting him in the Electoral

College and in Congress. And the rest of the country has supinely sat by while this great wrong to twelve million loyal Americans and open insult to the intelligence of all Americans out of Dixie was perpetrated.

The Republican party, in power for many years, failed in its duty to its staunch colored supporters and to the people of the North. A defeat like the last one was needed to arouse them to the fact that their own interests lay with the repressed colored voters of the South. Give the South proper representation, on the same scale as obtains in other parts of the country, in the Electoral College and in Congress, and the South will find the curtailment of citizen and manhood rights too expensive for senseless indulgence in race prejudice.



*St Louis Organ 11-10-16*  
**BRING THE VOTE THIEVES TO JUDGMENT**

Some of the old "Butler Indian" tactics were pulled off by Democratic managers at the polls Tuesday. A system of intimidation doubtless concocted by the National Democratic Committee was put in action in St. Louis and many places throughout the United States. Men were arrested in the act of voting on any framed up charge; carried to the police stations and thus fraudulently interrupted in the discharge of their duties as American citizens. These charges were false and were used only to serve one purpose, that was, to deprive as many men as possible of the opportunity to vote the Republican ticket.

Many arrests of Negroes were made and 3000 Negroes were so intimidated that they did not vote. This had a general discouraging effect upon the Negro votes, and, in order to avoid trouble, kept many hundreds away from the polls.

The Republican Party and the citizens in general ought to be alarmed at this condition and not allow violence and fraud to triumph in the choice of men who control our City, State or National affairs. Keep the ballot pure, make it peaceful, and guard it against violent interruptions and subterfuges.

This effort on the part of St. Louis Democracy is an effort to Southernize the ballot. Every man registered should be allowed to vote, but no man should be allowed to register whose record disqualifies him as a voter. This, the Election Commissioners and their deputies have plenty power and time to ascertain before election day. This action last Tuesday had all the elements of a gigantic and brazen fraud. It meant to steal the election, to cut down the 12,000 Negro votes of St. Louis and to terrorize the whole Negro constituency.

A blow and its rebound; a foul blow and its effects upon the one who delivers it, will be found a story of thrilling human interest when the doings of these political highway men are ventilated in some competent court. It is not the first time such vote thieves have been punished, and these must not be allowed to escape.

The Spring election is coming and it would be good example to place these men out of harm's way, where they might leisurely view the procedure from behind the bars. Let us get in earnest, put all the machinery of the law to work and have all that are found guilty punished. No immunity and no impunity; it matters not how high or how low. Such crimes show the premeditation that establishes unquestionable guilt. It is the thief that plots and plans to steal, whether he steals your dollar or your vote.

The vote is the right preservative and protective of all other rights and its theft is a grave offense because the vote lies right at the foundation of the government.

**WHEN WILL WE WAKE UP?**

Wilson entered the race for the Presidency with 85 electoral votes from eight southern states, where the Negro is disfranchised, as a great starting advantage. There was no canvass for these votes, there was no opposition to them. There was only made one party and one vote and that was Democratic.

The twelve votes of Oklahoma, the six votes of Florida, the

14 votes of Georgia, the 10 votes of Louisiana, the 10 votes of Mississippi, the 12 votes of North Carolina, the 9 votes of South Carolina and the 12 votes of Virginia, all went to Wilson without any effort on his part. There was no Republican canvass in these states because nearly all the Republicans in these states were disfranchised, and it would be both unwise and dangerous, to send Republican speakers down there.

These 85 electoral votes were the handicap that Wilson had on Hughes, together with 71 electoral votes from other southern states granted, giving him power to enter the race with 156 votes already in the lead.

**When will the Republicans wake up? When will they see the justice and necessity of reducing southern representation in the proportion that the south has deprived the Negro of suffrage.**

Under such reduction, as demanded by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution, Mississippi would have four instead of 8 Congressmen and 5 instead of 10, electoral votes, and the 85 electoral votes from the disfranchisement states would be reduced just one-half and the Republicans would stand an equal chance to get them all.

**Will the Republican wake up? Will they enforce the 15th Amendment and demand that the south restore suffrage to the Negro or be compelled to suffer half rate representation in Congress and the electoral college.**

These disfranchisement states should be made to obey the Constitution just like the other states, if they do not the penalty should be inflicted, and, in this case the penalty is the humiliation and weakening which comes from reduction in Congress and the electoral college.

**BEAUTIFUL WORDS.**

Read the following paragraph carefully, and see if you can think of any finer expression of what Americanism ought to be that was ever put into words:

"I need not say that, coming to me as you do on such an errand, I am very deeply gratified and very greatly cheered. It would be impossible for me offhand to say just what thoughts are stirred in me by what Mr. Gompers has said to me as your spokesman. What I have tried to do is to get rid of any class division in this country not only, but of any class consciousness and feeling. The worst thing that could happen to America would be that she should be divided into groups and camps in which there were men and women who thought that they were at odds with one another, that the spirit of America was not expressed except in them, and that possibilities of antagonism were the only things that we had to look forward to.

"As Mr. Gompers said, achievement is a comparatively small matter, but the spirit in which things are done is of the essence of the whole thing and what I am striving for, and what I hope you are striving for, is to blot out all the lines of division in America and create a unity of spirit and of purpose founded on this, the consciousness that we are all men and women of the same sort and that if we do not understand each other, we are not true Americans. If we can not enter into each other's essential welfare, then we have not yet qualified as representatives of the American spirit."

Now can you guess who uttered these beautiful sentiments? They were uttered by none other than President Wilson. He was

speaking in response to an address by Mr. Samuel Gompers on behalf of a delegation from the American Federation of Labor, which went to Washington to congratulate him on his re-election.

The only conviction we are able to get from the President's words is that colored Americans as a class did not in any degree enter his thoughts while he was speaking. From the many such sentiments expressed by Mr. Wilson, we are forced to believe that he does not in any way think of the Negro as a part of the American people.



Political-1916

Suffrage

Journal

Wilmington, Del.

NOV 3 1916

that no President since the establishment of the American republic has entered into office under such unfavorable conditions as was the case with President Wilson, who found himself surrounded on every hand with most difficult problems. A mistake in the solution of either of them might have plunged this country into a bloody war and conflict with more than one nation, and instead of the prosperity which now exists there might have been utter despair and desolation. In view of these obstacles we think that the President has guided the affairs of the nation with the wisest judgment under all conditions.

The solution of the negro question is a problem that has taxed the best brain of this country, and no political party seems to be willing to undertake the task. There was a time when the Republican party put into its platform fancy promises of legislation for the protection and uplift of the negro, but these promises soon faded away, only to be revived at the next National Convention. In recent years the Republican party has ceased to even mention the negro in resolution or platform at its national convention. In a majority of the Southern States where the colored man constitutes 95 per cent. of the Republican vote, he has been excluded from participation in the affairs of the party and a Lily White organization perfected with the sign, "No Negroes Wanted."

The political status of the colored man is fixed by the statutes of the States and in accordance with the views of the majority of those enacting the law. Under all of the circumstances and conditions with respect to the colored man we feel that President Wilson can be relied upon to do the just thing at the proper time. He has been in office not quite four years and has expressed a desire to do justice to all men, without regard to race or color. He nominated a colored man for Register of the Treasury, who declined the nomination. He also nominated Judge Robert H. Terrell, a colored man, who was confirmed by the Senate as one of the judges on the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

President Taft, the last Republican President, removed every colored man from office in the South and appointed white Democrats in their places. We could not expect President Wilson to re-

nove the white Democrats appointed by the Republican President, and appoint colored men in their places. We have confidence that the President will do the best thing for the interest of the race. The Hannibal National Democratic League is not seeking office, and does not espouse the cause of the President for political office. On the contrary, it feels that a large per cent. of the negro vote of the country should be cast for the President to show their fidelity to him, and to restrain the Republicans from counting this suffrage before it is cast.

We have been asked to call the attention of the President to the lack of one of the greatest institutions that could be established for the benefit of the negro race throughout this country. At some time the country may be plunged into war with some foreign nation, in which event, if the future be governed by the past, the negro will be called upon to bear arms in defence of the nation. It has been admitted that one trained soldier is worth more than three untrained men. Some have put it as high as four. Give the colored man half a chance to learn the tactics of war and he will make a most valuable soldier, as is evidenced by the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry of the regular army. We will not take occasion to refer to specific cases of bravery and achievements except San Juan Hill and the recent occurrences in Mexico.

Inasmuch as negro youths are not sent to the military academies of the country to be fitted for service to their country we feel that there should be a military school established especially for their training. We would respectfully ask that an appropriation sufficiently large be made and commission of five members be appointed by the President provided two shall be colored, for the purpose of locating and establishing such a school. We believe that the establishment of this school by the present Administration will be worth more than all the political offices which could be given to the race, and will stand as a monument of the devotion of the negro for his country.

two (2) members from each state represented serve on said committee. Motion carried.

W. C. Hueston of Kansas City and Dr. J. R. Crossland of St. Joseph, addressed the conference.

The chair appointed the following gentlemen on the Committee on Resolutions.

John G. Pogg, Nebraska, chairman; J. A. Graves, Iowa; J. A. Guy, Kansas; H. I. Monroe, Kansas; Thomas Kennedy, Colorado; I. F. Bradley, Colorado; I. H. Bradbury, Missouri; Fred W. Dabney, Missouri; F. H. McNeil, Oklahoma; J. C. Johnson, Oklahoma.

A recent of twenty minutes was taken while the committee on resolutions prepared its report.

The committee on resolution reported the following resolution:

#### RESOLUTIONS.

We, the colored Republicans of the

Western states in convention assembled, assert our faith in the doctrines and principles of the Republican party.

We deplore the industrial and financial depression which prevails throughout the country as a result of Democratic rule and incompetent administration of the tariff policy. We believe the re-enactment of a protective tariff law absolutely essential to the return of prosperity among us.

We look upon the Republican party as the dominant political organization in this country and we therefore look to it for such wise, just and courageous legislation and administration as will be conducive of justice to all men.

We are adverse to segregation in any and all of its forms in the political affairs of our government.

We deplore lynching and mob violence wherever found as crimes against civilization and for the prevention of it we favor such rational legislation as will make it an offense against the national government and will give to the federal court jurisdiction in all such cases.

We look with hope for the success of the Republican party in the coming national campaign and to the end that it may be successful we favor the association of our people with the local party organization, to their smallest units throughout the states.

We condemn the recent action of the legislature of the state of Oklahoma in its attempt to nullify the decision of the supreme court of the United States by the enactment of legislation to disfranchise the colored voters. We favor the adoption by the Republican party, in its next national convention, of a plank in its platform declaring for the strict enforcement, according to the letter and spirit of the second section of the fourteenth amendment of the Constitution, to the end that the representation in congress of any and all states shall be commensurate with the number of citizens who vote in such states.

We recommend that we ask the national committee to recommend to the next national convention the selection of two Negroes to serve on the next national committee with the full rights and privileges of other committeemen and that one be selected from the Eastern portion of this country and the other from the Western portion.

JOHN GRANT PEGG,

Chairman.

JESSE A. GRAVES.

FRED W. DABNEY.

JAMES H. GUY.

THOMAS KENNEDY.

I. H. BRADBURY.

H. I. MONROE.

F. H. MCNEIL.

I. F. BRADLEY.

18,433 ATLANTANS

ELIGIBLE TO VOTE

Corrected List of Registrants Show Total of 21,754 in County, 2,054 of Them Negroes.

The corrected list of registrants eligible to vote in the coming county and state election in September, which was completed Monday by the board of registrars of Fulton county, of which W. M. Scott is chairman, shows a total of 21,754 for Fulton county. Of this number, 8,433 live in the city of Atlanta. Of the total, 19,700 are white and 2,054 are colored.

It is interesting to note that there are no negroes registered in the ninth ward, and in the following country districts: Battle Hill, Hapeville, Peachtree, Oak Grove and Edgewood. The largest registration is shown in the third ward, which also has the largest number of white registrants, having a total of 2,768, of which 2,542 are whites. The second ward has the next largest registration, which is 2,695.

The newly created eleventh ward has the smallest number of registrants, 360.

#### Busy Purging Lists.

Ever since the registration books closed in the spring the board of registrars has been busy purging the lists of those against whom the county holds tax executions; those who have been adjudged insane; criminals, and those who have died since the purging of the last lists.

The total registration by wards and districts follows:

First Ward—White, 615; colored, 570. Total, 1,185.

Second Ward—White, 2,515; colored, 180. Total, 2,695.

Third Ward—White, 2,542; colored, 226. Total, 2,768.

Fourth Ward—White, 1,041; colored, 510. Total, 1,551.

Fifth Ward—White, 1,600; colored, 81. Total, 1,681.

Sixth Ward—White, 2,145; colored, 104. Total, 2,249.

Seventh Ward—White, 1,995; colored, 21. Total, 2,016.

Eighth Ward—White, 1,265; colored, 26. Total, 1,291.

Ninth Ward—White, 1,608; colored, none. Total, 1,608.

Tenth Ward—White, 919; colored, 110. Total, 1,029.

Eleventh Ward—White, 349; colored, 11. Total, 360.

#### Adamsville Dist. t.

Adamsville—White, 75; colored, 8; Total, 83.

Battle Hill—White, 122; colored, none. Total, 122.

Black Hall—White, 46; colored, 6. Total, 52.

Buckhead—White, 304; colored, 17. Total, 321.  
Hapeville—White, 214; colored, none. Total, 214.  
East Point—White, 518; colored, 29. Total, 547.  
Peachtree—White, 69; colored, none. Total, 69.  
Bryant—White, 133; colored, 9. Total, 142.  
Cooks—White, 332; colored, 13. Total, 345.  
Collins—White, 214; colored, 20. Total, 234.  
College Park—White, 340; colored, 17. Total, 357.  
Pooles—White, 48; colored, 10. Total, 58.  
South Bend—White, 398; colored, 86. Total, 484.  
Oak Grove—White, 120; colored, none. Total, 120.  
Edgewood—White, 173; colored, none. Total, 173.

INJUNCTION IS USED TO QUASH THE POLITICAL ADS

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 2.—A temporary injunction restraining the Underwood campaign organization, leading newspapers and others, from the publication of charges that certain labor leaders or organizations favor social equality, was issued by Judge Horace C. Winkinson in Jefferson county circuit court Sunday afternoon.

The injunction restrains all of the respondents from bringing the race question into the Senatorial campaign, and is sweeping in its terms. A bond of \$1,000 was made and approved by the register and the writs of injunction were placed in the hands of the Sheriff.

The application for the process was filed by Wm. Harrison, official of the Alabama Mine Workers Association, J. R. Kennamer, official of the Alabama Federation of Labor, R. R. Moore, R. C. Cadden, W. W. Lane and C. M. Dinmore, President of the Farmers' Union of Alabama.

The injunction is directed against Lloyd M. Hooper, Chairman of the Underwood State Campaign Committee; Jels Cabaniss, Chairman of the Jefferson county Underwood committee; The Western Newspaper Union; The Sparrow Advertising Agency; The Montgomery Advertiser Co.; The Age-Herald Publishing Co.; The Mobile Register Publishing Co.; The Dispatch Printing Co.; A. B. Tucker, Publicity Agent; H. J. Coxwell, H. G. Hudson and E. A. Thompson. The latter three are the alleged authors of the charges restrained by the injunction.

Service of the injunction writs locally is expected early in the week. Officials of the Advertiser Co., were not advised of the process other than through a private telegram from the counsel of Birmingham labor unions relative to same, and the nature of the charges conveyed in the matter obnoxious to the applicants is unknown. Their action is considered unique in political history of Alabama, being the first time an injunction has ever been sought and granted restraining the publishing of political advertising.



# BLACK DELEGATES START LANDSLIDE TO HARDING WHEN OHIO DARK HORSE SOLEMNLY PLEDGES SQUARE DEAL

*The New York Times*  
**Convention Deadlock Broken When Lincoln League Treasurer, Walter Cohen, Gives Solid Louisiana Delegation to Harding After Cottrell Leads Committee to Senator Harding.**

Chicago, Ill., June 16.—Far and away the wisest, most dramatic and successful political action that the race's spokesmen have ever taken together was that in the National Committee Rooms of the Republican Party at the Colliseum last Saturday afternoon during the deadlock when fifty-five of the fifty-eight colored delegates agreed to swing their concerted strength to Harding on the next ballot. Walter Cohen, leader of the Louisiana delegation and treasurer of the Lincoln League, was not at the conference, but acted in agreement. On the next ballot, after the recess, he set the big convention into a pandemonium of excitement and cheering when he responded to the call of his State by saying, "Louisiana casts its twelve votes for Warren G. Harding." The colored delegates of every State acted in accord. Henry Lincoln Johnson for Georgia switched the same ballot nine votes from Lowden to Harding. The next ballot, the tenth, saw the nomination by a large majority of Warren G. Harding amid a wild demonstration. The colored delegates voted unanimously likewise for Governor Coolidge as Vice-President, when he was nominated on the first ballot. But it was the heroic and timely action of the spokesmen of black America that started the landslide.

## Cottrell Leads Great Committee.

The conference that resulted in the great and vital decision was planned by Messrs. Isaac H. Nutter and George Harris several days before. At the psychological moment the conference gathered with these two acting in concert with Henry Lincoln Johnson, Charles A. Cottrell of Ohio, Harding's colored manager, and others. Mr. Johnson was elected chairman of the meeting and it was hastily decided after a hurried, impressive conference, to appoint a committee to wait upon Senator Harding at the Congress Hotel and to report at once back to the delegates. Those on the committee were Messrs. Cottrell, Henry Lincoln Johnson, Isaac H. Nutter, Dr. George of Kentucky and Dr. W. H. A. Crossland of Missouri. They were immediately seen by the Senator, who assured them that he would act for the abolition of all the specific grievances as well as the solution of all their race problems if elected. He further declared that promises should not be necessary from him, but asked the

colored delegates to look into his acts before voting for him.

The committee taxied at once back to the Colliseum with the word and the pledge of the next President, and the move that put him over was set in motion.

## Lincoln League in Cleveland.

At a conference the executive committee of the Lincoln League in Chicago Saturday night it was proposed by Messrs. Roscoe Conkling Simmons and Robert R. Church to the Ohio League leaders, Messrs. Cottrell and Fleming, that a large ratification meeting be held in Cleveland at an early date.

**KANSAS CITY MO POST  
 JANUARY 18, 1920  
 NEGRO DEMOCRATS  
 HAVE PERMANENT  
 CITY ORGANIZATION**

**With 2,369 Members It Is  
 Regarded as Strong Political Body.**

Time was when Republican politicians in Kansas City looked upon the Negro vote in the city as "theirs." That time is past, however, for, during the past several years the Republicans have been losing the Negro vote, and now the vote belongs, or at least a large share of it, to the Democrats.

One of the strongest Democratic organizations in Kansas City, and possibly in the state of Missouri, is the Negro Central Democratic organization of Kansas City.

The organization is incorporated, and its roster now shows a total membership of 2,369, among them Negro business and professional men, who will be a dominating force on the Democratic side when election time rolls around.

And in the organization of the Negro club, many white political leaders could learn things. The Negro organization has been built up through the efforts of Dr. W. J. Thompson, Negro physician and superintendent of the old city hospital for Negroes. Associated with him have been other Negro

professional and business men, who are leaders of their race in Kansas City.

The Democratic Negroes have shaped their organization with a view of standing aloof from factional fights within the Democratic party.

"We can't afford to take part in the factional differences of the Democratic party," declared Dr. Thompson. "The true purpose of the organization is to solidify the Negro Democratic vote, and that is what we believe we have accomplished."

Dr. Thompson started to build up a Democratic Negro organization in Kansas City two years ago, and with other Democratic Negro leaders kept plugging along until the organization is recognized as one of the political factors in the party in this city.

It has workers and organization machinery established in every ward and precinct in the city where Negroes reside.

Several times during the past year white Democratic factional leaders have attempted to inject factionalism into the organization of the Negro Democrats, but without success. Now the organization is receiving the support of almost every Democratic leader in the city.

## NEGROES FORM NEW PARTY TO COMBAT REPUBLICANS

To Harlem goes the distinction of having the first and last national convention held this year. In June, the Socialist Party held their national convention in Finnish Hall, 2056 Fifth avenue. Now comes the announcement that the Liberty Party, the only party which has not yet had its convention, has made arrangements to hold it in Harlem.

The Liberty Party in Harlem was organized several months ago by William Bridges, 2308 Seventh avenue. The leader of the Liberty Party said: "We are disgusted with the Republican Party and so we are organizing our own party."

"We are going to nominate a full ticket, but our hardest efforts will be expended here in Harlem in a fight to keep Miss Margaret Smith from returning to the Assembly," said Bridges. "In voting to oust the Socialist Assemblymen she gave as her reason that the colored men in her district were radical. She said she wanted to get rid of the radicals in the 19th A. D. and now we are going to get rid of Miss Smith."

"We are also putting up a candidate in the 21st A. D. to oppose Assemblyman Hawkins. What has the only colored Assemblyman done during his two years at Albany? We don't want a man who sits and is satisfied to answer 'yes' or 'no.' We want a real live wire to represent us. We want a man who will let himself be heard and not be bossed by the machine."

"We are making a fight on all the Republicans who are doing nothing but

follow the rule of the machine.

"On Sept. 15 we will hold our national convention somewhere in Harlem. There we will nominate a full ticket from President down, including a nominee for the 21st C. D."

"Hubert Harrison will probably get the permanent chairmanship of the convention. The leading candidates for the Presidential nomination are James Weldon Johnson, 2311 Seventh avenue; Dr. Eason, who will receive the backing of the Garvey element; W. E. Du Bois colored author, and Prof. S. W. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University."

When asked whether he would be a candidate for the presidency of the new party, Bridges answered in the negative, but there are rumors that he may be nominated.

The failure to nominate a colored man for Congress in the 21st district has added greatly to the impetus of the new party and it looks as if they will carry off several offices in Harlem.

**Liberty Party  
 Now in Field**

**Plea Made To Country Wide  
 Vote For Negro  
 President**

**OTHER PARTIES FAIL**

**Platform Says Republicans  
 Are No Better Than  
 Democrats**

New York City, June 17.—With the aim of polling a million votes for a colored man as president of the United States, the New Liberty party has been put on foot here. The leaflet sent out by the Challenge Magazine, official organ of the new party, revolt is announced against the old parties and all they stand for.

"We mean to abolish Jim Crowism and lynching. We swear to Almighty God," says the leaflet, continuing:

"Jim Crowism and lynching are the two blackest evils on earth today. Protest? You have done that for three hundred years. Ask help from the Republican party? You have done that for fifty years. Turn to the Democrats? You're foolish. The only difference between these two old parties is the name and the emblem. They both represent the same thing, the same multitude of evils."

"If you want to be a man, a full-fledged citizen with all the rights of manhood, come into the Liberty party."

"We don't want any of the numerous half-hearted candidates now aspiring for the Presidency."

Speaking of lynching the leaflet says: "The Hun that shot down

priests and Red Cross nurses in war times is a ministering angel compared to those cowards of America who, indroves, being afraid to attempt it alone, burn a black man, woman or child. Put one in a roped square with a single black man. He will have hysterics. Put him with his clansmen and he is the bravest dog that ever trod forth under the stars to avenge a woman's honor with a sword or knife."

"Jim Crowism and lynching are the two blackest evils since the assassination of Christ."

**Republicans In  
 Oklahoma Bolt**

**Seek Revenge On County  
 Officials For Lily White  
 Government**

*The Tulsa Tribune*  
**FILE TICKET**

**Put Up Colored Candidate  
 For Every Office In  
 County**

7-14-1920  
 Muskogee, Okla., July 15.—"Too much is enough."

This is the way the black Republicans of this country feel about their excursion from recent State and District Conventions. In order to show their lack of sympathy with the white Republicans officials who have kept them out of jobs, W. H. Twine filed a complete colored independent Republican ticket with the county Election Board this week.

James R. Blaine filed for superintendent of county schools. J. H. Patrick for sheriff. P. B. Hudson for county commissioner, Edw. B. Louis for court clerk and R. W. Washington for county assessor.

According to Twine, "We are going to show the Republicans that they can't squeeze us out of jobs and get off with it. We may not win but at least we are keeping our colored organization intact and eventually will vote it to a party that will give us full recognition."

**FAVORS COX AND ROOSEVELT**  
 The Tulsa, Oklahoma, Star, in its leading editorial last week comes out plainly in favor of all the Democratic nominees from Cox and Roosevelt down.

It says, "Under strict observation and careful examination we will find that the Democratic party is not near as bad and the Republican party not near as good as we have been taught to believe. Republicans are said to have aided in the passing of the segregation laws and the Grandfather Clause, which a democratic Supreme Court declared unconstitutional."

It concludes: "We have received far more from the Democratic party than our support has entitled us to expect."



Political - 1916

Suffrage

THE VOTE THE REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET.

There are a number of New York colored men who feel and states vote the state as well as the national Republican ticket. say that it will be advantageous for the Negro in this state to vote nationally with the Republicans, and, for state and local officers to vote with the Democrats. We wish to say with all the emphasis we can put into our words that it will not be advantageous to do any such thing. *New York Age 10/12/16*

No good, sufficient and far-reaching reason that would embrace the colored people of any locality or state or of the nation can be given why a colored man should vote the Democratic ticket.

To vote the Democratic ticket in this state because Democracy here is not so antagonistic toward us as it is in some other sections of the country, or even because it throws us a few crumbs from the feast, when we must, at the same time, remember that the New York Democracy is a strong and undivided part of the national Democracy; and that the national Democracy stands for "keeping the Negro down"; to so vote is nothing less than to barter our weapons of defense for a bauble, nothing less than to sell our less fortunate brethren into bondage. A Democratic vote cast in New York is an endorsement and strengthening of Democratic practices in Mississippi.

So long as there is a Solid South which stands for Negro oppression, for Negro disfranchisement, for the elimination of the Negro from all share and participation in the government; so long as that Solid South is the guiding influence in the Democratic party; just so long must there be a solid Negro vote opposing it; just so long the Negro cannot afford to vote the Democratic ticket in either a state or national election, thereby giving aid and support to the great common enemy.

We say to the colored men of New York state and all the other free and enlightened states, turn to the history, the ethics, the aims and the accomplishments of the two chief political parties and compare them. Now cancel, if you will, the debt of emancipation, cancel the debt of enfranchisement, cancel the debt due to the fact that the Republican party has been the only bulwark that has stood between us and annihilation, civil and political; charge that this bulwark has not always withstood attack, but admit that it has ever been the only bulwark; blot out, if you will, the whole account; and if you feel that the Republican party has done little for us, tell, in the name of God, what are we to expect from Democracy?

The vital interests of the race hang upon the outcome of this presidential election as they have hung upon no other in thirty years. The Administration of Woodrow Wilson has robbed the Negro of every vestige of national political rights. Four more years of Woodrow Wilson would practically rob the Negro of every vestige of national citizenship. We say then to colored men that, notwith-

standing what may be the attitude of the local Democracy, they cannot afford to do the least thing that will strengthen the national Democracy.

Let the colored men in New York and in all of the civilized states vote the state as well as the national Republican ticket.

CABLE ADDRESS:  
"ROMEIKE" NEW YORK"

NEW YORK

The First Established and Most Complete  
Newspaper Cutting Bureau in the World

From

NEWS

SCIENTIST

Address:

Memphis, Tenn.

Date

JUN 29 1916

THE NEGRO IN POLITICS

In the midst of political cant and rant, it is well to remind the people of Shelby county that if the disgruntled faction in local politics—the faction which is striving so hard to make capital of the fact that negroes voted in the 1914 election—really want to eliminate the negro from politics the opportunity is right here.

The county Democratic committee has called a party primary to be held July 12 to select Democratic candidates for the election of Aug. 3.

This is to be a legalized primary, having the full protection of the law of 1901 and its amendments.

Only WHITE men vote in Democratic primaries.

If the "outs" be sincere in their attacks upon the negro in politics, then why is it that their candidates do not enter this primary, wherein only white men will vote?

Negroes will vote in the August election, as they always have.

This is the last day in which candidates desiring to enter this primary can qualify, according to the rules adopted and published several weeks ago. It is not too late if any of these disgruntled ones wish to enter.

But the antis have been advised not to enter this primary or to have anything to do with it. Among those offering this advice is the newspaper which is doing so much talking about "Rick writers" and the negro in politics, and is cartooning public officials because of negro voters.

When men and newspapers rant about the negro in politics, and then refuse to participate in a white-only primary, their motives certainly are subjected to just suspicion.

It will be interesting to see how much use of negro voters is made by the "outs" in the August election.

The excuse offered for not entering this white primary—that it was called and will be conducted by a committee controlled by the Crump faction—will not hold water. The present committee was recognized as regular by the state Democratic convention in May. The antis raised the question at that time, and were defeated 17 to 1 before the state committee; 10 to 0 before the credentials committee of the convention, and were beaten so badly on the floor of the convention itself that their leaders had it announced that they did not request a roll call.

If the "outs" think they can elect their candidates in August and sincerely desire a change in the party affairs of Shelby county, it would appear that the fair manner in which to accomplish this end would be to enter candidates for committeemen in the July primary and test their strength.

The fact that the great majority of the "outs" have shied away from this primary leads to the conclusion not only that their protestations of wanting the Democratic party made a white man's party are absolutely insincere, but that they may be counting upon a heavy negro vote in their faction in August.

EVENING STAR

ss: Washington, D. C.

HUGHES AND FAIRBANKS  
ARE GIVEN INDORSEMENT

Negro National Educational Congress Adopts Resolutions—Various Topics Discussed.

Charging that the progress of the colored race has ever been retarded under democratic rule, and that the continuation of that party in power would threaten the existence of "our most cherished institutions," the Negro National Educational Congress adopted resolutions last night appealing to men and women of the race to give their united support to Hughes and Fairbanks for President and Vice President of the United States. The resolution was introduced by George T. Wasson of Missouri.

A general discussion was held at the session today on the question "Is There Any Justification for Race Hatred in America?" J. D. Rivers of Denver, Col., is scheduled to deliver an address on "Is the History of the Several Black Republics the Highest Evidence of the Negro's Ability of Self-Government?" at the session this afternoon.

Officers Are Re-Elected.

All of the officers were re-elected at the session last night as follows: Dr. J. Silas Harris of Missouri, president; R. P. Payer of Louisiana, vice president; J. W. Hale of Tennessee, corresponding secretary; Julia Embry, recording secretary; C. H. Calloway of Missouri, treasurer, and J. E. Clayton of Texas and Dr. C. H. Thomas of Wisconsin, national lecturers.

Discussion of the topic "Should the Education of the Negro and White Youth Be Identical?" was opened by J. E. Bonner, principal of Peabody School, Wilmington, N. C., who said that the race needs everything possible in order to compete equally. He declared efficiency is the slogan and must be secured through the latest, most up-to-date and high-grade methods. Prof. J. B. Dudley, president of Agricultural and Mechanical College at Greensboro, N. C., participated in the discussion.

Wants Literature in Libraries.

President Harris offered a motion, which was adopted, that literature of the colored race be placed in the libraries throughout the country.

Others who made addresses were Julia M. Layton of the National Memorial Association, Prof. H. B. Wallace of Carthage, Mo.; Prof. F. E. Lawrence of Chester, Pa.; Rev. William Cabot De Berry of North Carolina, Nannie Burroughs, president of the National Training School, and Judge Robert H. Terrell of the Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.



# POLITICS IN GEORGIA!

Here is a sample of the way they do it in the cracker state. Politicians depend on gaining office by their ill treatment to the race. This man Edwards in particular is an officer of the Methodist Episcopal Church who is sending missionaries to South America. C. W. Pearson, the secretary, is a high Catholic in the state. All persons who have friends in the Latin countries should send them a copy of the following circular letter sent out by Chas. G. Edwards in quest of votes.

## Edwards' Secretary Explains Mistake

TELLS HOW LETTER OF CENSUS JOB APPLICANT CAUSED INDORSEMENT.

*Chicago Defender* 2/5/16. Washington, D. C., March 24.

C. W. Pearson, Secretary to Congressman Edwards, today issued the following statement concerning the story that Mr. Edwards endorsed a negro for census enumerator in the First Georgia District: "On seeing the account of the affair putting Mr. Edwards in the unfortunate and false position of having endorsed a colored man for a census position I began to look through my files and note books and here are the facts in the case:

"At the time the letter referred to was written we had a rush of correspondence in the office, and Mr. Edwards was busily engaged in helping to frame the river and harbor bill.

"He had given several friends and acquaintances who had written him endorsements. WHEN THIS PARTICULAR LETTER CAME IN, AMONG MANY OTHERS, I DID NOT TROUBLE HIM WITH IT, BUT TOOK IT FOR GRANTED FROM THE SPLENDID STYLE AND WRITING OF THE LETTER, AND FROM THE NUMBER OF PROMINENT MEN GIVEN AS REFERENCES, THAT HE WAS NOT ONLY A WHITE MAN, BUT ALL RIGHT BESIDES. Consequently I wrote just about the same letter I had written to others, asking the same favor, without submitting it to Mr. Edwards, except for his signature, along with dozens of other letters to go in that day's mail. Relying, I presume, upon me to have done the right thing, he signed, as is his custom when in a hurry, all of the letters to go in that day's mail, leaving them to me to seal and mail.

"I am to blame, for I should have called it to his attention. I think it but fair to all concerned, especially to Mr. Edwards, that I should give out these facts, in order that no one may be wronged by what was purely a mistake on my part.

"Mr. Edwards was entirely ignorant of the letter and its contents, except as I had vouched for it in handing him the mail for his signature, having relied upon me.

"Certainly I would not have written the letter had I known the party in question was a negro. I am as bitterly opposed to negroes holding office in the South as is Mr. Edwards.

"I regret it exceedingly, but it was just a case of 'being fooled at long distance' by a shrewdly and well-written letter.

"I wish it distinctly understood that I am to blame and not Mr. Edwards.

"The fact that the letter shows on its face that it was written under the impression that he was a white man, and the fact, too, that Mr. Edwards withdrew the endorsement by wire as soon as he learned of the mistake, ought to convince any fair-minded man who wants to believe the truth, that it was a case of 'mistaken identity.'"

—From Savannah Morning News.

### WHAT EDWARDS HAS DONE IN CONGRESS.

The above explains that the affair came about through a mistake. I withdrew the letter referred to by wire as soon as I learned of the mistake.

I have a clean record OPPOSING NEGRO APPOINTMENTS IN THE SOUTH, HAVING MADE A FIGHT TO OUST THE NEGRO COLLECTOR OF THE PORT OF SAVANNAH, THE NEGRO POSTMASTER AT DARIEN, GA., A NEGRO MAIL CLERK ON THE ROUTE FROM MILLEN TO VIDALIA, GA., HAVE MADE A FIGHT TO OUST RUCKER, THE NEGRO INTERNAL REVENUE COLLECTOR OF GEORGIA, AND HAVE PROTESTED AGAINST THE APPOINTMENT OF NEGRO

ENUMERATORS IN THE SOUTH TO AID IN TAKING THE CENSUS.

The occurrence of the above mistake is to be regretted, simply as a mistake through a misapprehension which Mr. Pearson has fully explained, and it is a mistake that is likely to occur through any office having a great correspondence under similar circumstances.

Any man with a particle of fairness in his being or a thimble full of sense in his head ought to and will see at a glance the letter in question was not meant for a negro.

CHAS. G. EDWARDS

## Sitting in the Saddle

*Chicago Defender* 12-9-16

TIME HAS PROVEN that right will prevail eventually. But, most of us query, why not now? Every section of the country knows that the South is dead wrong when it refuses to let the colored man vote, and yet counts him in the electoral college and congress. In other words, the South, on account of its large colored population has apportioned to it about forty members of congress, two-thirds more than they are really entitled to, if judged by their voting strength. It must be a bitter pill to the white voter of the North, East and West to swallow, this giving the Southern white voter three or four times as much voting power per man as they have. The injustice of the thing has been brought home very forcibly in the late Hughes-Wilson controversy.

The Republicans start in every presidential election with a handicap of about 134 electoral votes, more than one-half the amount needed to elect. This is conceded as representing the "solid South," when in reality is grossly misrepresents the South. Can anyone imagine for a moment this section peopled in the main by a dark race voting the Democratic ticket if permitted to exercise their rights unmolested? Where you find a dark face, the possessor of which has any education, you find anything but a Democrat.

Let us grant, for the sake of argument, that there are many Colored people in the South who are not quite ready for the ballot. Is it not true that a large percentage of the whites are densely ignorant and equally unfit? Does the color of one's skin, or rather, should the color of one's skin, determine eligibility? It does in this section whether it is right or wrong, and the North, East and West stand for it.

In section 2, article 14, of the United States Constitution, can be found this clause: "When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male members of such state, being of twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the numbers of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

There is no better time than right now to insist that the South live up to the same laws as the rest of the country is compelled to do. What have they done to entitle them to any special privileges? Surely we dare not turn back the pages of history and scan the records if we wish to retain any respect for that section at all. And lest we forget, there still remains in the Southland much of the same spirit that was theirs in the years circling around 1865. It is unfortunate that they have attempted to keep alive that sectional hatred that should have been al-

REGISTERING IN OKLAHOMA.

*Chicago Defender* 6/10/16  
MUSKOGEE PAPER SAYS, "No white man who could show that he was entitled to registration was denied a certificate. All the trouble came with the Negroes. 'Uncle Bill' Herring, Clem Moran's successor in South Second Street, where there are scores of Negroes, had his hands full throughout the day turning down Negroes who applied for registration. It was said one reason for Moran's resignation was that he exercised too great a degree of liberality in registering Negroes. 'Uncle Bill,' however, drew the line on them. They were told there was no use in making any effort to register for they simply would not be registered."

The gang is in power and regardless of the law they intend to run things to suit themselves. The "Jim Crow" law was declared unconstitutional in that state. Suppose it is, they steam roller everything they want anyway. However, that does not mean that the colored man should consider the case hopeless and resign himself to his fate. Not by a jug full. It is just the time to roll up your sleeves and fight as long as you have a leg to stand on. Quitters never accomplish anything. The men in Oklahoma have made a record as fighters; let them keep the good work up and show this "Uncle Bill" two can play at the same game. There are worse states than Oklahoma but we cannot think of them at this time.

As usual, the Colored man is the bone of contention, and the South's every short-coming is laid at his door. We are broad and fair enough to admit that the reins of government should not be in the hands of ignorant people, but we fail to see where the difference lies between the white and the black ignorant person. If one is barred, let both be barred; let it be done honestly and we will abide by the verdict. The black man has been a tool of the South long enough to suit the white Republican voters, the cutting down of representation is only a matter of a short time. Whatever happens the colored voter below the Mason and Dixon line can lose nothing for the simple reason that he has nothing to lose.



Political - 1916

Office Holding

# COLORED OFFICE-HOLDERS

## TURNED OUT. PLACES FILLED BY WHITE DEMOCRATS

Under Last Republican Administration at Washington 5,836 Colored Employees of U. S. Government Received \$3,768,360 Annually.

### COLORED REGISTRATION HAS BEEN HEAVY

Apathy Existing Among Negroes in Doubtful States Some Weeks Ago Has Disappeared—Mr. Hughes' Stand, Advocating Fair Play For the Negro Has Brought About Desired Change.

#### THESE WERE TURNED OUT BY WILSON ADMINISTRATION.

	Salary
WILLIAM H. LEWIS, Assistant United States Attorney-General.....	\$5,000
J. C. NAPIER, Register of the Treasury.....	4,000
CHARLES W. ANDERSON, Collector Internal Revenue, New York.....	4,500
HENRY LINCOLN JOHNSON, Recorder of Deeds.....	4,500
RALPH W. TYLER, Auditor for the Navy Department.....	4,000
C. F. ADAMS, Assistant Register of the Treasury.....	2,500
JOSEPH E. LEE, Collector of Internal Revenue, Jacksonville, Fla.....	4,500
N. H. ALEXANDER, Register of the Land Office, Montgomery, Ala.....	2,500
J. E. BUSH, Receiver Public Moneys, Little Rock, Ark.....	2,500
CHARLES H. COTTRILL, Collector of Internal Revenue, Honolulu.....	4,500
T. V. McALLISTER, Receiver of Public Moneys, Jackson, Miss.....	2,500
ROBERT SMALLS, Collector Port, Beaufort, S. C.....	1,500
JAMES A. COBB, Special Assistant District Attorney, Washington.....	2,000
HENRY W. FURNISS, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Port-au-Prince, Hayti.....	10,000
GEORGE H. JACKSON, Consul, Cognac, France.....	2,500
JAMES W. JOHNSON, Consul, Corinto, Nicaragua.....	3,000
FRED R. MOORE, Minister to Liberia.....	5,000
JAMES JACKSON, Consul, St. Etienne, France.....	3,000
HENRY W. FURNISS.....	10,000
JEROME B. PETERSON, Deputy Internal Revenue.....	2,500
P. B. S. PINCHBACK, Revenue Agent.....	3,000
JAMES A. COBB, Assistant District Attorney.....	2,000
CLARENCE A. MATTHEWS, Boston.....	2,000
R. E. LANGSTON, Internal Revenue.....	1,600
J. A. ANDERSON, Internal Revenue.....	1,600
H. S. MIDDLETON, Internal Revenue.....	1,550
C. W. FILLMORE, Internal Revenue.....	1,650
V. S. PARKS, Internal Revenue.....	1,400
DR. PETER J. SMITH, Internal Revenue.....	1,200
MRS. D. E. ELLIOTT, Internal Revenue.....	1,200
JOHN COLES, Internal Revenue.....	1,200

White Democrats of the North now openly concede that the colored vote will be cast for Charles Evans Hughes in November. Even those who have previously made a bid for Negro support at the polls with some success admit that the wholesale dismissal of colored office-holders under the Wilson Administration has lost the Democratic Party thousands of colored votes this year.

The outspoken hostility of colored voters toward Woodrow Wilson has further alarmed Democratic politicians in many doubtful states who are fearful that the loss of colored votes spells disaster for the respective Democratic State tickets. For example, in New York State the argument made that a vote for Seabury, the Democratic nominee for Governor, means a vote for Wilson, has had its effect. Even colored Democrats, who are usually loyal to the Democratic party and seldom scratch a Democratic nominee, are working this year for Whitman, so anxious are they to help bring about Wilson's defeat.

#### Some Interesting Statistics.

The following figures have been given out by the Colored Advisory Committee, showing the number of colored officers, clerks and other employees in the Government service at Washington under the last Republican administration, and the salaries received by them:

	No.	Salary
Diplomatic and Consular service.....	15	\$38,400
State .....	26	79,360
Treasury .....	926	588,801
War .....	176	130,380
Navy .....	74	52,610
Post Office at Washington .....	187	118,173
Interior .....	593	358,112
Justice .....	43	26,640
Agriculture .....	164	89,816
Commerce and Labor.....	139	94,800
Washington Navy Yard.....	139	94,000
Government Printing Office .....	364	228,454
Interstate Commerce Commission .....	41	22,080
United States Capitol.....	115	73,100
Library of Congress.....	46	24,920
Washington, D. C., City Post Office .....	171	174,600
District of Columbia, including unskilled laborers .....	2,413	1,479,000
Miscellaneous .....	194	104,114
Total .....	5,336	\$3,768,360

Under the present Democratic administration the race has lost thousands of dollars in salaries, due to the dismissal of colored office-holders, who were discriminated against solely because of their color. Positions of honor heretofore capably filled by Negroes are now held by white men. The only notable exception in which a colored man succeeded one of his race

was in the case of James L. Curtis, who was made Minister to Liberia, which place was made vacant by the resignation of Fred R. Moore. Hungry white Democrats, mostly Southerners, even aspired for the Liberian post, but as such a strong protest had been against the appointment of an inefficient white man to succeed Henry W. Furniss as Minister to Haiti, Washington officials concluded that to send a white man to Liberia would be an unwise move and would not meet with the favor of the Liberian Government.

#### Showing Enthusiasm for Hughes.

A month ago the failure of colored voters in many doubtful States to show more than passing interest in the Presidential campaign was a matter of grave concern to Republican leaders. However, with election day less than three weeks off, the managers of Mr. Hughes' campaign are in a pleasant frame of mind over the Negro situation, as information on every hand is that the colored voters have come out of their state of apathy and are whooping it up for the Republican nominees. They are registering in large numbers, and it is an unusual occurrence to find a colored Wilson supporter.

Six weeks ago correspondents of THE AGE, writing from many cities in the Middle West, sent in reports that the Negro was not taking a very active interest in the campaign. The word received from the same correspondents within the past week is that a marked change has taken place and that the colored vote promises to be a big factor in bringing about the election of Mr. Hughes and a Republican Congress in such debatable States as New York, New Jersey, Illinois, Maryland, Indiana, Missouri and West Virginia.

It is pointed out by THE AGE correspondents that the colored voter's former state of indifference was due, in the main, to his meager knowledge of Mr. Hughes' stand on the race question. Mr. Wilson had been tried and found wanting. What Mr. Hughes' views were relative to giving the Negro a square deal were unknown. It was, therefore, impossible for him (the Negro) to enthuse over the possibilities of the future.

Not until the Republican nominee addressed the colored citizens of Nashville some weeks ago and stated in forceful language that he believed in equal justice and fair play for all, regardless of race or color, did Negroes begin to espouse his election with vigor and enthusiasm. Since his Nashville address

the colored voters of the country, largely through the colored press and the effective publicity methods employed by the Colored Advisory Committee, have been given a better understanding of what the standard bearer of the Republican party thinks of the Negro, and his words on fair play, backed up by his past actions, have done much to make friends of those who were all along willing to give him loyal support provided he assured them of his sincere friendship.

### COLORED MEN 'FIRED' WHOLESALE BY DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATION.

President Fails to Live Up to His Promises in Matter of Race Discrimination. Nation's Executive Lets Out 'Colored' and Then Appoints 'Whites.'

Washington, Jan. 9.—Among the numerous other particulars in which his preaching has differed from his practice, President Wilson can paint to his record in the matter of race discrimination. In his speech at Independence hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1914, President Wilson said that we make no differences between one race and another, and that we did not set up any barriers against any particular people.

On other occasions, particularly while he was a candidate for the presidency, he gave assurances that he would not discriminate against Colored citizens of the United States. Notwithstanding these assurances of support of the principle of equality before the law and in governmental affairs, great discrimination has been practiced not only in the departments over which the president has indirect control, but also in appointments made by the president himself. Under Republican administrations the policy was pursued of appointing a Colored man to fill a vacancy



created by the resignation, death or expiration of term of a man of that race. This policy was reversed by the Democratic administration, and the following colored persons have been succeeded by white men:

William H. Lewis, assistant attorney general, \$5,000; J. C. Napier, register of the treasury, \$4,000; Charles W. Anderson, collector internal revenue, New York, \$4,500; Henry Lincoln Johnson, recorder of deeds, \$4,500; Ralph W. Tyler, auditor for navy department, \$4,000; C. F. Adams, assistant register of the treasury, \$2,500; Joseph E. Lee, collector of internal revenue, Jacksonville, \$4,500; N. W. Alexander, register of the land office, \$2,500; J. E. Bush, receiver public monies, Little Rock, Ark., \$2,500; Charles A. Cottrell, collector of internal revenue, Hor McAllister monies.

son, const \$2,500; Jam sul, Corinto, Colored Civil employes, Pension Venning, 2107 Fitzwater street, Philadelphia, Pa.; W. A. Robinson, now practicing law, Chicago, Ill.; W. H. Connor, now practicing medicine, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; John Ratley, 12th and You street N. W., Washington, D. C.

George H. Proctor, 531 Tea street N. W.; John J. Lester, Washington, D. C.; Annie Silence (with Daisy Arnold), 15th street, between R and S N. W.; Sadie Henson, 473 Fliroda ave. N. W.; Mary L. Pettiford, Washington, D. C.

**Washington City Postoffice**—W. L. D. Wilkinson, 1716 P str. N. W.; P. W. Shippen, 1735 10th street, N. W.; Richard Chiles, Washington, D. C.; Thomas Short, Washington, D. C.; Henry Hood (dropped from clerk to laborer).

**Bureau Engraving and Printing**—Rosebud Murray, Washington, D. C.; Phillipa Thomas, Washington, D. C.

**Deals Body Blow to Colored Office Seekers Rather Than Face Opposition of Southern Senators**

Washington, Jan. 13.—President Wilson has at last come out of his shell and announced his intention of appointing a white man to the position of Recorder of Deeds to succeed Henry Lincoln Johnson, who resigned sometime ago. The President gives as his reason that the appointing of a colored man to the position would precipitate a bitter race fight in the Senate, "resulting in ill-feeling and no benefit to anybody. The information was given to Bishop Alexander Walters on Monday when he went to see the President about patronage for deserving Democrats.

It is said that the President intimated to Bishop Walters that several places might be found for the "faithful" in some of the department where confirmation by the Senate would not be necessary.

Prominent colored Democrats everywhere seem to be disheartened since this last proclamation of the President. Ever since the resignation of Henry Lincoln Johnson, colored Democrats have been living in hopes that the President would live up to his pre-election promises, and give them a "square deal." Now all hope is lost and they are

openly expressing the belief that the time has not come when the colored voter can consistently support the Democrat party in national elections. The effect of the President's last declaration will likely have the effect of bringing a number of these Democrats into the Republican fold in the next Presidential election.

The action of Mr. Wilson in refusing to appoint a colored man to the position of Recorder of Deeds because of the opposition of a number of Southern Democrats is a direct contrast to the position taken by President Roosevelt when he insisted upon the appointment of Dr. Crum as Collector of Customs at Charleston, S. C., notwithstanding the determined opposition of some of these same Southern Senators. A number of Democrats are openly accusing the President of using the opposition of these senators as an excuse for not appointing a colored man. They claim that the President holds the whip hand over the party, and could easily force the nomination on the few Southerners who would oppose it. They also claim that in any discussion of the race question which might ensue following the appointment of a colored man, not only a majority of the Republicans, but a number of Western Democrats would come out in defense of the colored brother.

### NEGRO BISHOP WOULD FORCE WILSON'S HAND IN APPOINTMENT

Asks Place in Federal Service For One of His Race

(Associated Press.) WASHINGTON, Jan. 21.—President Wilson today received an open letter from Bishop Alexander Walters, of the African Methodist Episcopal, president of the negro democratic league, requesting him to appoint a negro to a prominent position in the Federal service so as to test the attitude of the Senate as to negro office holders.

Bishop Walters asked the President last week to nominate a negro as registrar of deeds of the District of Columbia and later said that the President had informed him he was reluctant to grant the request because racial feeling would be stirred up in the Senate.

In his letter to the President Bishop Walters quoted from a letter received by him from Mr. Wilson in 1912 in which speaking of negroes he said: "My sympathies with them is of long standing," and that it was "his earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter."

WILLIAM CLEMENT, colored postmaster at Seymourville, La., standing in front of the post-office at that place. Clement was appointed by the present Democratic postal administration.



### TOM FLEMING'S MAN GETS INSPECTORSHIP

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE. Cleveland, O.—An interesting contest for appointment of deputy oil inspector ended last week when Governor Willis sanctioned the appointment of J. C. Hudson, a local barker, backed by Councilman T. W. Fleming. Editor H. C. Smith of The Gazette inpacked Sidney Thompson for the place, and at the same time made a

vigorous fight against Hudson because of his occupation and associations. Governor Willis, however, in spite of the support given him by Editor Smith, turned The Gazette's editor's recommendation down, as he has in every instance where they conflicted with recommendations of Fleming. Deputy oil inspector pays \$1200 a year. 3/2, 116.



Political 1916

Office Holding

New Orleans, La.  
1916

# Colored Postmaster Appointed in Louisiana By Present Democratic Postal Administration

in New Orleans:

## Parker Men Produce Case of Appointment in December, 1914, as a Match for Similar One on Roosevelt

THE ITEM has already presented the record of the appointment by President Wilson of a colored judge to a court bench in the city of Washington.

This appointment has been widely compared with that of a colored man to the collectorship of the port at Charleston by former President Roosevelt.

This latter circumstance has been widely heralded and exploited by those who are trying to raise the obsolete "Negro Issue" in Louisiana as a reason why Louisianians should vote against John M. Parker as a candidate for governor in favor of The Pink Ticket of the Bosses.

Mr. Parker, so far as any record goes, had nothing more to do with the appointment than his immediate opponent, Mr. Pleasant, had to do with the collectorship and the judicial appointment—except, Walter Denegre and others declare, to protest against it to Mr. Roosevelt.

One or two minor postal appointments of colored persons have been alleged against Mr. Roosevelt, on the stated theory that they ought to constitute a bar in Louisianians' minds against Mr. Parker.

It now appears that a colored man has been appointed to a postmaster ship in Louisiana by the present Democratic postal administration. This is William Clement, now postmaster at Seymourville, near the city of Plaquemine.

A photograph of Clement is shown herewith, in front of his postoffice. The following message was received in reply to inquiries addressed to Congressman W. P. Martin, in Washington, by the Parker headquarters

William Clement was appointed postmaster at Seymourville, La., on December 2, 1914, by the postoffice department upon inspector's recommendation. Further details can be had in Louisiana.

Consultation of the records available at the Orleans postoffice returned this report:

The only record of the appointment of William Clement, postmaster at Seymourville, La., is in the Postal Bulletin, and gives his appointment as having been made on December 16, 1914.

No objection has ever been made by anybody to Clement's appointment, so far as inquiry shows. Nobody is urging, or has urged, that it is objectionable, or that Clement does not attend completely to his duties.

The reporter is informed that Clement was appointed agent for The Item in the little place some time ago by traveling men of the circulation department. It is said that he has done his work very well indeed.

The supporters of Mr. Parker who brought up the matter did so with a view to matching this appointment against a similar appointment urged against Mr. Roosevelt.

"We don't feel," they say, "that any crime has been committed in either instance. We merely bring forward the Democratic administration's appointment of a colored man to a Louisiana postmastership for what illumination it can cast on the worth of the clamor raised against Mr. Parker because similar appointments have been made elsewhere in the South by a former administration, with which Mr. Parker had no connection."

### A HERO COUNCILMAN.

Atlanta Independent 8/19/16  
Councilman Carpenter of our city

will be heralded as a hero. Yes, he is entitled to a Carnegie medal. He should be decorated with many medals and proclaimed a hero in the strife. He has accomplished one of the greatest feats of statesmanship since the days of Tillman, Vardaman, Smith and Hardwick. He has done his country a great public service. He has actually succeeded in creating a half

dozen loafers and idlers in the city. He has deprived six honest, industrious elevator boys of an opportunity to make bread. They must loaf because they are Negroes. They must be denied a chance to make bread because they are Negroes; not that the Negro boys' services were not satisfactory; not that they were not efficient, but they were Negroes and Councilman Carpenter wanted to enroll his name among southern statesmen.

He wanted some great deed recorded in his biography that would make him illustrious and give him a place in the history of his country, and there was no shorter route to this great renown than to assault, and to take bread out of the mouths of a half dozen innocent and helpless Negroes. We cannot understand how the newspapers in our city and how white men can gloat and brag that they have put a Negro out of a job. Is not the Negro a citizen? Is not he an industrious and economic factor in the community life? Is he not entitled to an opportunity to earn an honest dollar? Is he not entitled to social justice? Is it a crime for a Negro to work?

Statesman Carpenter does not seem to understand that he is a servant of the Negroes; that his salary is paid out of Negro taxation in common with white tax payers. But Hero Carpenter is elated. He is congratulating himself and receiving the congratulations of his friends. He has done a wonderful deed, a mighty deed. He has lessened the opportunity of his fellowman to make an honest dollar in the community in which he lives. Hero Carpenter is great and he will go down in history as one of those illustrious statesmen, who, being unable to do something constructive, took the alternative and did something destructive, inhuman and barbarous.

### WANT COMMISSIONERS TO APPOINT RECORDER

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A bill that is arousing much interest in Washington as to the office of Recorder of Deeds is H. R. 771, which was passed by the House of Representatives on February 14, and sent to the Senate. The bill

reads as follows:

AN ACT.

To provide for the appointment of the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That hereafter the Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia shall be appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia: Provided, That no one shall be appointed to the position of Recorder of Deeds unless he be a citizen of the United States, and unless he has been a resident of the District of Columbia for three years next before his appointment, and the Commissioners of the District of Columbia shall have power to remove the Recorder of Deeds at pleasure.

It is believed that this bill is introduced simply to relieve the President from the responsibility of filling the office, which has been vacant since Henry Lincoln Johnson's removal, and to absolutely prevent the possibility of a colored man being named. 3/16/16.

## RE-APPOINTS POSTMISTRESS

The Chicago Defender.

Mound Bayou, Miss., May 26.—The U. S. Senate has recently confirmed President Woodrow Wilson's reappointment of Mrs. Mary Cordelia Booze for another term in charge of this very important postal station, which Uncle Sam rates "A-1," with a unique record among the best of his third-class offices.

Although Mrs. Booze has only been officially designated postmaster of Mound Bayou, since her first appointment by President Taft, June 6, 1911, she has nevertheless been a veritable part of the office since its beginning. Mrs. Booze is the eldest daughter of I. T. Montgomery, founder of the colony, and has really grown up with the office, beginning as a ten-year-old girl to hand out the mail when the front room of her father's home and a cigar box handled the mail business of the two families and a half a dozen laborers then making up the population. Twenty letters a week were then big mail. Since then over 2,000 letters alone have passed through the office in a single day, and hundreds of pieces of mail are worked daily.

Figures showing the postal business transacted since Mrs. Booze has been in office are almost astounding, and a reflection of the business life of the community. Within that short period the stamp sales and box rents have amounted to \$13,123.59; postal savings deposits \$2,544; money orders have been paid to the amount of \$206,598.30 and \$258,201.32 worth have been issued, making in all a total of \$480,467.21. Practically one-half million dollars in four years handled by this post-office of the Race town of Mound Bayou and under the direction of Mrs. M. C. Booze, the quiet little woman who must be called to the window whenever any one asks to see the "postmaster."

## White Man Will Succeed Henry Lincoln Johnson As the Recorder of Deeds

Washington, February 14.—(Special.) Representative Carl Vinson reported to the house today a bill which will insure the successor of Henry Lincoln Johnson, the Atlanta negro lawyer, as recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, being a white citizen of Washington. The bill passed without debate.

The office of recorder of deeds pays \$4,000 a year and has in the past been regarded as patronage of the colored supporters of the administration. White women in this office work in the same room with, and usually under the surveillance of, negro chiefs. The condition was considered intolerable by southern congressmen. Upon attaining membership on the District of Columbia committee, Mr. Vinson sought to relieve this situation.

The president was being urged to name another negro as collector. Senators Hoke Smith, Vardaman, Tillman and other southern senators told the president a negro could not be confirmed.

The bill placing the office under the control of the District commissioners, which passed the house today, makes certain the selection of a white democrat. Little trouble is apprehended in senate.

## ANDERSON GETS TWO MEN APPOINTED

Constitutional News

Although suffering from a very dangerous and painful attack of stone in the kidney, ex-Collector Charles Anderson was able to bring about the appointment of Charles Spotsey and James H. Ravenell to positions in the Register's office at annual salaries of \$1,000 each. Both of these men were notified last week to call at the Register's office for an interview with a view of possible appointment. Both applied to Mr. Anderson for assistance and he gave each a letter to the Chief Deputy Register, William Halpin, who personally took an interest in the cases and saw to it that both men were appointed. Some time ago Mr. Ravenell was certified to the Elections Bureau and was appointed to a position in the Rochester office. On arriving at Rochester he was notified by the deputy in charge that there was no vacancy in that office and no need of an extra clerk. He continued to report to the office for a week when he received notification that he had been certified to the Register of the County of New York by the Civil Service Commission. He immediately wired Collector Anderson, who advised him to return to New York. On arrival he secured the ex-Collector's letter to Mr. Halpin and the appointment, together with that of Mr. Spotsey, was made as abstractors at the above-mentioned salary.





## H. I. Monroe is Deputy County Clerk!

The many friends of H. I. Monroe will be glad to know that he has been appointed first deputy county clerk by Kenneth Raub, who was elected at the last election. Mr. Raub is to be commended upon this appointment, for there is no more efficient or capable man to be found to fill that position than Mr. Monroe, he having filled this position before under Dr. Newman, and when Mr. Newman resigned and his father-in-law, Mr. Snattinger, was appointed to fill the unexpired term Mr. Monroe was the first assistant and managed the entire office, and when the office was turned over to Mr. Snattinger's successor the books were in first class condition and everything in apple pie order. Mr. Monroe was appointed assistant deputy county assessor by S. H. Haynes, which position he held for several years. He is acquainted with and has handled every piece of property in Shawnee county, and has been connected around the court

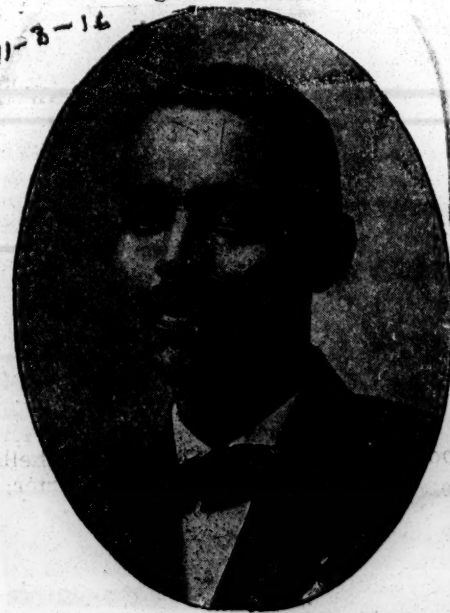
house for a number of years. He was deputy sheriff under the late John Wilkerson. He is one of Shawnee county's most influential men, irrespective of color or condition, is a political worker and has done much good for his party as well as his race.

He was born in Tennessee and was brought to Kansas by his parents, and first settled at Dunlap, Kan. He attended the public schools and educated himself by hard work. He was for a number of years connected with the Evans Contracting company, who built the east and south wings of the state house. Mr. Monroe learned the trade under them and worked at it in Texas. He was always a model young man and led a Christian life, has been a member of Shiloh Baptist church for a number of years and is now one of its chief officers. He is president of the Baptist State Sunday School Convention, which position he has

held for several years. He is one of the secretaries of the Kaw Valley District Convention and a member of the board of the Old Folks' Home at Lawrence.

Mr. Monroe is a 32nd degree Mason, and is president of the Masonic Building Association, which has purchased property that is now valued at \$18,000. He is a man who takes great interest in the development of his race and is doing much to help them along business lines. He is now Deputy Grand Master of Prince Hall Grand Lodge, A. F. & A. M., Kansas jurisdiction, and when the Masons of Kansas will allow the present Grand Master, E. J. Hawkins, who has made such an excellent officer, to retire, Mr. Monroe will be his successor, as it is the rule to reward those who do much for the upbuilding of the fraternity and the race. He is also Grand Keeper of Records and Seal of the Knights of Pythias lodge, which position he has held for several years. He has never lost an idle moment in securing this world's goods and now owns a beautiful nine room residence at 1156 Clay and two or three rental houses. Notwithstanding his meager salary he has been able to accomplish much and if given one-half a show will let the public know he appreciates what they have done, as he is not a selfish man and helps others in proportion as he is helped. He is also captain of the famous Cyrene Commandery drill team, which recently won the silver cup in a contest with Mt. Oread of Lawrence and Far West of Kansas City. He has distinguished himself as a drill master and disciplinarian. He is past master of Euclid No. 2, one of the best lodges in the state.

In every campaign for a number of years he has been called upon to go over the state and make speeches. He is a staunch Republican, a race man and a good citizen.



## (EVE) S. H. JOHNSON IN RACE FOR MAGISTRATE.

Many surprises are being sprung in the present political campaign. Even as late as last week there were a number of entries into the magistracy race. It was learned that there are five distinct candidates among the Negroes and that all of them are claiming unusual support. Perhaps one of the most prominent in this bunch is Mt. Steve Johnson out in the third ward. Mr. Johnson is prominently connected with a number of things in the city of Nashville. He is the ex-superintendent of the Pleasant Green Sunday School, a prominent member of the Pleasant Green Baptist Church, an ardent worker in the Sunday School Congress, a prominent member of the Knights of Pythias and has an excellent following. For a number of years Mr. Johnson has been one of the leading forces in the political affairs of the third ward. His announcement created no little favorable comment. He has addressed a number of letters to his friends. The following letter is reproduced:

Dear Sir: We send you this appeal soliciting your vote at the ensuing election for the above gentleman, Mr. S. H. (Steve) Johnson, for Magistrate for the First Civil District, City of Nashville, in the ensuing election, November 7, 1916. His name will appear on the Official Ballot. Mr. Johnson has always taken an active part in religious development of his people. He has been for many years an efficient worker in the Y. M. C. A. and is now Superintendent Emeritus of the Pleasant Green Baptist Sunday School. He is also a national character, holding a prominent office in the Baptist Sunday School Congress. He has labored faithfully for the betterment and social improvement of his people. His services in the K. of P. Fraternity have been of the most inspiring and helpful character. He has labored incessantly for the political advancement of his people, having been a life long Republican and served the party loyally without reward.

We, therefore, most cheerfully commend him as being eminently fitted for this position, to which he aspires, and earnestly solicit your influence and vote on his behalf. If he is elected we feel certain that he will do his whole duty and reflect great credit upon himself and his people.

J. C. Fields, A. N. Johnson, James Bumpass, H. E. Cole, E. W. D. Isaac, W. D. Hawkins, E. L. Kinzer, D. W. Berry, R. L. Mayfield, J. B. Singleton, Wm. Frierson, I. J. Rogan, T. Rucker, Wm. Crawford, G. W. Frazier, Jim Hamilton, John Mayberry, T. Clay Moore, Wm. N. Sanders, Geo. McGavock, J. D. Fowler, Wm. L. Craft, M. C. Kelley, B. H. January, Wm. Haynes, E. M. Law-

rence, P. H. Black, M. D. Brown, J. M. Baker, Joseph Baugh, Wm. Kinzer, W. H. Young, M. V. Boutte, S. F. Johnson, Elige Phillips, John Laurence, J. W. Smith, Eugene Smart, Sol Wilson, W. A. Everett, W. O. Jackson, Walter Thompson, T. G. Marshall, Cloyd Smith, George Dodson, S. P. Harris, W. C. Sheffield, J. P. Rhines, R. S. White, F. E. Dickerson.

## COLORED ASST. TO ATTY. GEN.

OF PENN.—APPOINTED BY GOV. BRUMBAUGH OF PENNSYLVANIA AT SALARY OF \$5,000—ATTY J. W. PARKS OF PHILA. TO COMPARE AND CERTIFY LAWS OF STATE.

John W. Parks, Esq., a member of the Philadelphia bar, has been appointed by Governor Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, to a position in the office of the Attorney General. His special assignment is to compare and certify all laws passed by the Legislature and order printed with the original record of the bill in the House and Senate.

The position is a responsible one, such as no Colored man has ever filled before, and the salary is far above any ever received by a Colored man under the State or City Government, being at the rate of \$5,000 per year, with extra allowance at the rate of \$15.00 per day.

Mr. Parks is one of the best known Colored lawyers at the Philadelphia bar. He was educated at Hampton Institute, the Philadelphia High school, and the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated with Second Honor in the class of 1896, and has been in active practice ever since.

Hopkinsville, Ky. Attorney Walter Robinson has been named by the city commissioners as deputy city assessor. The work will require all of his time, his district being east of the railroad and north of seventh street. 3/11/16.

Lucian Owens has been appointed by Dr. Basset to a position in the street department. Another appointment which meets popular approval was made by L. E. Foster, superintendent of the county school system, when he named W. C. Davis, principal of the Gainesville school, as school, as special examiner of colored applicants for teachers' licenses.



Political - 1916

# Office Holding REPUBLICANS HOLD MASS CONVENTION TO NAME DELEGATES

Advertiser  
Contest for Control Be-

tween Reese and Dim-  
mick Results in Victory  
for Former by 27 to 18

5-10-16

Quick action characterized the meet-  
ing Tuesday of the county republicans  
in mass gathering at the Majestic thea-  
tre, there being about fifty members of  
the grand old party present. The pro-  
ceedings lasted about forty minutes.

It developed that the fight for su-  
premacy was between a faction led by  
Warren S. Reese, former United States  
district attorney, and Joseph P. Dim-  
mick, former postmaster of this city  
which resulted in victory for the  
former.

Right at the opening of the session  
the fight lines were drawn. George  
Newstill, county chairman, opened the  
proceedings. Then a proposition was  
made to effect a permanent organiza-  
tion. Opposition came at once, and the  
name of Dr. W. F. Watkins was pro-  
posed as chairman. He was with the  
Dimmick forces, while Newstill was  
on the Reese side of the contest.

## Reese Wins Control.

It appeared that there were a fair  
sized number of members in favor of  
Dr. Watkins and a test vote was  
taken. The Newstill forces won by a  
vote of 27 to 18. Newstill continued in  
the chair, and Mark Chapman acted as  
secretary.

The chair then appointed a commit-  
tee of three to bring in the names of  
delegates to the district convention.  
This committee was composed of War-  
ren F. Reese, J. A. Burch and R. E.  
Glass.

Asa Stratton, N. N. Nealey and E. T.  
Timothy were chosen to bring in the  
names of the state delegates.

The committee on resolutions was  
Asa Stratton, chairman; J. L. Jeter,  
Dr. W. F. Watkins and William Doug-  
las.

Matters were then railroaded, the  
Newstill side being fully aware that it  
had the whip hand.

The state delegates chosen are War-  
ren S. Reese, George Newstill, N. N.  
Nealey and E. N. Winter. The alter-  
nates are Isaac Holland, Shelton Lewis,  
Jamis Puckett and R. C. Glass.

Each will represent a quarter vote,  
or one vote in all, at the state conven-  
tion.

## Stratton Is Named.

To the district convention, A. E.  
Stratton and James Jeter were chosen.  
Each represents a half vote.

The old county organization again  
was named to serve.

Asa Stratton, chairman of the reso-  
lutions committee, read the report of  
that body which declared allegiance to  
the republican party and expressed  
confidence in the republican national  
committee.

The report endorsed the administra-  
tion of Pope M. Long and O. D. Street,  
candidate for national committeeman  
from this state.

After the session the members of the  
winning side were in high spirits,  
while those in the minority took mat-  
ters complacently. One of them said  
that the battle had just begun and the  
action of the meeting Tuesday could  
not be looked upon as a forerunner of  
how matters with the state republicans  
would wind up before the conventions  
are over.

The republican district convention is  
scheduled to meet in this city Tuesday,  
May 16.

R. R. CHURCH DELEGATE-AT-  
LARGE.

Eight delegates to the Republican  
National Convention at Chicago. R.  
R. Church, Jr., of Memphis, is one of  
them. The Nashville Globe was for  
him first last and all the time. We  
are proud of his election. We did all  
we could, left no stone unturned,  
spent many sleepless night to attain  
this pleasing result. The Negro in  
Tennessee asked for this crumb and  
got it—perhaps grudgingly, but got  
it just the same. We are sure that  
there is not a black man in Tennes-  
see who is not proud of this action  
of the convention, for Church did not  
play the Charleston, the boodler nor  
the fool, but he came straight to the  
front with every Negro in Tennessee  
right behind him asking for that  
which belonged to him as a represen-  
tative of the majority of the republi-  
can party in Middle and West  
Tennessee. The Negroes in this  
state have no axes to grind or scis-  
sors to sharpen. They ask that they  
be given recognition by the powers  
that be, because they are free Ameri-  
can citizens, who are willing and  
anxious to uphold the integrity of the  
nation. In electing Mr. Church as  
one of the delegates from the state-  
at-large, the convention did itself  
proud.

The Negroes have always been true  
to the tenets of the republican party  
and certainly deserved the election of  
Mr. R. R. Church, Jr. (Mr. Church is  
a man of high attainments, a man of  
honor, a man to be proud of. He was  
the confidence of the Negro race in  
Tennessee. He has been weighed and  
not found wanting. He has borne the

burden in the hea  
a true representative of all the Ne-  
groes at all times and at all places.  
He never faces two ways. He is a  
man. The Negroes of the state are  
proud of him and are with him in  
the trenches. It is well that the con-  
vention acted in the right way to-  
wards the Negroes, as it causes un-  
rest and discontent to cease. The un-  
limited confidence that the race re-  
poses in Mr. Church is not misplaced.  
It is a credit to any gathering to have  
him as a member.  
REPUBLIC

St. Louis, Mo.

## NEGRO IS DEFEATED FOR A DELEGATE TO G. O. P. CONVENTION

Twelfth District Republican  
Bosses Scorn Blacks' Appeal,  
but Give Them Alternates.

The Republican ward bosses refused  
last night at the convention of the  
Twelfth Congressional District to rec-  
ognize the negro voters by electing  
one of them as a delegate to the Re-  
publican National Convention. The  
meeting was held at 1441 Chouteau  
avenue. Congressman L. C. Dyer and  
former Judge William Zachritz were  
chosen as delegates to the Chicago  
convention. Two negroes, Dr. C. H.  
Phillips and Hutchins Inge, were  
named as the alternates.

George L. Vaughn, a negro attorney,  
who led the fight against segregation,  
appealed to the delegates to elect Ho-  
mer G. Phillips, a negro, as one of the  
two delegates.

## Wanted No Alternates.

Vaughn said if a negro were elected  
it would help to heal the wounds  
caused in the segregation election. It  
was hinted at that time the Republican  
City Committee was not sincere in its  
alleged fight against segregation. Wal-  
ter Moore, one of the negro delegates  
from the Twenty-third Ward, urged  
Phillips' election.

He said that the negroes' ballots rep-  
resented one-half of the Republican  
strength in the Twelfth District, and  
urged the white delegates to show  
some friendship for the negroes by  
electing Phillips.

On the roll call, out of 54 votes Dyer

received 44, Zachritz 39 and Phil-  
lips 25.

When nominations by wards were  
asked for alternates, Vaughn said:  
"We have been humiliated by refus-  
ing to give our people recognition, and  
we want no alternates."

## Voluminous Platform Adopted.

The Resolution Committee drafted a  
voluminous platform which was longer  
than the one adopted at the recent Re-  
publican State Convention. The planks  
told of the achievements of the Republi-  
can party since the days of Lincoln.  
Particular reference was made to the  
freedom of the negroes. One plank in-  
dorsed Dyer for renomination to Con-  
gress in the Twelfth District.

George Hackmann of Warrenton,  
candidate for State Auditor, and State  
Senator Conway Elder, candidate for  
Attorney General, addressed the con-  
vention. Judge T. W. Hukriede of  
Warrenton, who is to succeed Jacob L.  
Babler as chairman of the State Con-  
vention, was introduced. Mayor Henry  
W. Kiel was permanent chairman.

H. I. MONROE FOR  
2/18/16. COUNTY CLERK!

The Topeka Plaindealer

Mr. H. I. Monroe, deputy county  
assessor has announced himself as  
a candidate for county clerk. Mr.  
Monroe is now deputy assessor, and  
has held this position for the past  
three or four years. He is a young  
man who is capable, competent and  
efficient for the duties of that office  
for the reason that he served as  
deputy county clerk under Doc New-

man and when Mr. Newman re-  
signed, his father-in-law M. Sna-  
tinger was appointed by the board  
of county commissioners to fill out  
the unexpired term and under Mr.  
Snattingtr, Mr. Monroe served and  
run the office himself for which he  
was highly commended by the com-  
missioners and those who came in  
contact with the office. He is also  
an assistant at tax-paying time in  
the county treasurer's office. He is  
popular with his race and citizens  
of Topeka, having lived here for  
the past thirty-five years, has  
worked hard; starting from the  
ground and educating himself. He  
is one of the officers of Shiloh Bap-  
tist church, president of the Masonic  
Building association, grand keeper  
of record and seal in the K. P. or-  
der, member of the Odd Fellows,  
and also served as one of the finan-  
cial secretaries of the National Bap-  
tist Convention at the past three  
sessions, and is drill master of  
Cyrene Commandary, No. 3. He is  
a strong Republican and an orator

and has been sent out several times  
to make speeches for the Republi-  
can party and we now believe the  
time has arrived that the party  
should reward Mr. Monroe for his  
services, and which have always  
been subject to the call of the



## BASS AND ASBURY GET APPOINTMENTS

Solicitor Connellys Appointments

Believed To Be The Begin-  
ning Of General Recog-

nition  
The Afro-American

Philadelphia, February 10.—City  
Solicitor John P. Connelly surprised  
the town last Saturday when he  
named Harry W. Bass and John C.  
Asbury as assistants in the De-  
partment of Law. He named a  
number of other assistants at the  
same time, one of whom was a  
Hebrew. 2/12/16

The appointments are gratifying  
to a large element of the colored  
voters here, and it is believed that  
the race will fare well at the hands  
of Mayor Thomas Smith and other  
city officials.

Mr. Bass was a member of the  
last Legislature, enjoying the dis-  
tinction of being the first and only  
man of the race ever elected to the  
Pennsylvania Legislature. He re-  
ceived his academic education at  
Lincoln University, graduating in  
1886. Among his classmates were



City Councilman Harry S. Cummings, Rev. Daniel G. Hill and Dr. W. T. Carr, Jr., all of Baltimore. His legal education was received at Howard University, Washington. He was backed for the position in the Law Department by Charles Seger, Republican leader in the Seventh ward.

**HAS PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE.**  
Mr. Asbury is a native of Virginia and was a graduate from the law department of Howard University about 30 years ago. He served one term as Commonwealth Attorney for Norfolk county, Va. For a number of years he was editor of the Odd Fellows' Journal, and was an unsuccessful candidate for grand master of Odd Fellows in 1910. He has been president of the Keystone Insurance Company for the past six years. He lives in Christian street in the Fortieth ward. He had the backing of William McCoach, leader of the ward.

**A TICKET OF COLORED MEN.**  
Elsewhere in this issue will be seen a news note from Memphis, Tenn., stating that the Lincoln Republican League of Tennessee, of which R. R. Church, Jr., is president, has put out an entire ticket composed of colored men in the Tenth Congressional District of that state. The information is startling; nothing of the kind has ever happened before in the history of the country.

We doubt the wisdom of going at the business in a wholesale way. And we think this is about the only criticism that can be honestly offered against the move.

We have said that in republics the citizens take what belongs to them, and this is true. The theory is that we take orders of ourselves, and the practice fairly agrees with the theory. But there are elements that enter this seeming simplicity; and that means there must be diplomacy even in taking what belongs to us.

Parties are necessary in republics. The worst forms of monarchy are not without them. Germany has its "obstreperous" socialist, with their anti-war views. In Russia where the Czar is held to be an autocrat there are parties. Parties are needed to act as checks and balances, holding the nations true to their purposes. But parties, to be useful, are more than cliques of men. They must have principles, not provincial principles, but broad catholic, and to which men subscribe, holding them as a sort of religion, full of promise for political redemption at the institution of said principles—thus the faith in them.

In this brief statement that comes from Memphis, it is not said that a new party has been formed. As

useless and hopeless as a new party seems to us, Mr. Church and his confederates are within their right should they elect to set up a new party. It appears that the Negroes have been nominated in a district where they have an excellent chance of election owing to the large Negro population. Whether this is right or wrong in view of political usage in this country is known best by those of that locality. If the Negroes have been repeatedly baffled and beaten at the polls because they are Negroes, notwithstanding their great voting strength, then it was clearly up to them to turn as the worm turns when trodden on too often. However, as we see it coalition would have been the better thing, partitioning the offices between the races in view of the general race struggle. Then if white men refused to come in, then cut away and stand up for rights under the constitution, regardless of all sentiment and expression that's based on race, color or previous condition of servitude.

We hope that Mr. Church and his league will give to the country their reason for their startling departure. It is a matter of the utmost importance. There are many more such districts in this country made up mostly by Negroes, but who are as voiceless as oysters when it comes to political preferment. If the Memphis move has come about by undeniable political oppression, it is our opinion that it will meet sympathy; and whatever the issue something will have been gained.

**STILL LOYAL TO THOMPSON**

It is gratifying to learn that in the elected candidates in the primary last Tuesday Colonel F. A. Dennison, who was running on the Republican ticket for alternate delegate at large to the Republican National Convention, led the ticket by 3,000 votes. The same may be said of Morris Lewis, who ran as an alternate delegate for the First Congressional district, who led the ticket by the same safe majority. It is to be regretted that Brothers Brewington and Porter did not get together and arrange for one of the two to withdraw and thereby insured and saved the Race a representative on the State Central Committee. As it happened and will forever be that Negroes trying to defeat one another with the white brother in between them, neither of them can win and the white candidate comes off with the prize. The old saying, "If I can't, you shan't," is as true as gospel, and no one but the poor Colored brother suffers under this time-honored saying and which we will someday awaken to the value of its saying and join hands for a united front to meet the common enemy.

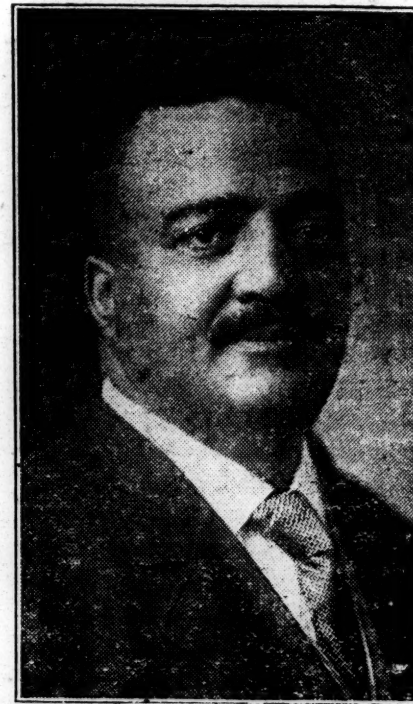
The Race will hold these two men strictly accountable for this loss to our people at this time and it is to be hoped that in the immediate future when opportunities are again afforded us that we will have the good sense to select one man for one place to represent us and

then act like the story of the Three Guardsmen, "One for all, and all for one." The Defender will say at this time that a repetition of such political conduct on the part of any two such aspirants will meet with all the force that we command and it will be used to defeat not only them, but all others who think and act like the gentlemen in question. The Second ward rallied to Thompson, who has treated the Race with more fairness than any mayor in the city's history.

**PRESIDENT WILSON.**  
It is claimed that President Wilson is in doubt about the Senate confirming a colored man recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. The Bee has made a canvass of the Senate and it finds that every Northern democratic Senator, including every republican, will vote for the confirmation of any good and competent colored man, democrat or republican. The President can take it from The Bee that Senator Chilton, of West Virginia, who has always stood by the colored voters, although a democrat, will lead the fight for confirmation. Now if the administration is sincere, there is no excuse for delaying the appointment of a colored democrat any longer. It would be an excellent idea to place the democratic Senate on record. There is a vast difference between a northern and southern democrat. There are several good local alleged colored democrats who will make excellent recorder of deeds. It is now up to the President who informed Bishop Walters if he could be assured of the confirmation of a colored man to the office, he would appoint one. Did the

President canvass the Senate before he made the nomination of the New Jersey Judge to the Supreme Court of the United States? There are more colored Americans in the United States than there are Jews. The Jewish vote is not as reliable as the colored vote. This rot about race prejudice must be eliminated from the body politic. Presidents of the United States must understand that all naturalized citizens of the United States must be treated alike. A man is not to be known by the color of his skin. The colored American should be treated as any other American citizen regardless of his color. Let the President name a colored recorder of deeds. *The Ball 2/5/16.*

*Talka Black Leader*  
We visited Denver, the great capital city, which has a population of over 200,000 of which over 4,000 are colored. The colored people are improving much politically. They have seventeen janitors in the beautiful post-office, and several clerks and letter carriers and four or five women employees. They have twelve park policemen, one clerk in the city department, and at the state house, Mr. J. W. Jackson, one of the old timers and a leading politician of Colorado is messenger to the governor. He is a great campaigner. There are also several colored janitors employed here and two clerks. Notwithstanding Kansas with her 60,000 or more colored people and all Republicans, can't boast of a single clerk in the state



HON. VICTOR B. WALKER  
Denver's Foremost Politician

house. Colorado has a class of Republicans who believe in dividing up the offices in proportion to the vote and are treating the colored people on the square.

*NEGRO ELECTED ALDERMAN OF EAST ST. LOUIS*  
*The St. Louis Argonaut*  
East St. Louis, April 5.—S. R. Wheat, a Negro, was elected alderman from the Second Ward, yesterday, defeating the candidate on the Taxpayers' Protective Ticket 300 to 94 votes. Wheat's name was not on the ballot.

# JACKSON FOR RE-ELECTION

Major Robert R. Jackson is out for re-election for the legislature from the third senatorial district. He has served once with great credit to his constituency and the state and now he comes up again. He is head of the uniform rank Knights of Pythias of the World, major of the First Battalion, Eighth regiment; member of the Musicians' union, Mason, Odd Fellow and several other fraternal organizations. He has also been president of Appomattox club. The Illinois legislature must have one of our people there to guard their interests. Major Jackson, who is now giving his services on the Mexican border, and who saw service in the Spanish-American war, was given the name of "Fighting Bob," and with the same energy that he puts in his military work, he does likewise in the legislature. Vote for him in the primary Sept. 13. Let every man in his district remember Major R. R. Jackson, one of Chicago's foremost and most useful citizens. He was president of the amateur minstrel company that made \$1,000 for the old folks' home.

*Chicago Defender 8/19/16*



Major R. R. Jackson ("Fighting Bob"),  
Eighth Illinois Regiment  
**CHURCH BRINGS OUT TICKET.**

*MEMPHIS, Tenn., Aug. 21.—(Special to the Indianapolis Freeman).—The Lincoln Republican League of Tennessee, of which R. R. Church, Jr., is president, put out an entire ticket composed of colored men of the Tenth congressional district.*  
Wayman Wilkerson, undertaker and banker, was nominated for congress. B. M. Rody, cashier, Solvent Savings Bank & Trust Co., and H. M. Bomar, a prominent lawyer, were nominated for the two members of the senate, while B. V. Burchett, of Covington, was given the place of flortorial senator from Shelby and Tipton counties. The following named men will make the race for the legislature T. H. Hayes, undertaker and banker; J. B. Willis, real estate broker; A. E. Clouston, planter; N. F. Clowers, merchant; J. T. Settle, attorney at law; O. W. Williams, merchant; Ed. Lewis, contractor; G. W. Atkins, state agent, Standard Life Insurance Company. The nominating committee who brought in the above names consisted of F. M. Nesbitt, Dr. U. S. Walton, Price Galbreath, G. W. Cooper and Rev. H. L. Starks. R. R. Church, Jr., the father of the ticket, was made campaign manager.



Political - 1916  
Office Holding

## COL. FRANKLIN A. DENISON, RACE LAWYER, FOR JUDGE

In the widespread conviction that the Republican party will be returned the winner at the coming national, state and county elections, the colored citizens of Chicago have submitted to the Republican party the claims of its 25,000 voters for a judicial nomination through the presentation of the name of Colonel Franklin A. Denison.

Having served the city of Chicago as assistant prosecuting attorney for six years and as assistant corporation counsel four years, inheritance tax commissioner four years, and judge of the courts of army claims (stationed in Santiago, Cuba), one year, the feeling is general that he is probably better qualified than any other candidate for this particular office upon the primary ticket.

In view of the probable return of the Eighth regiment in the early part of November, or possibly earlier, the thought has occurred to the progressive colored citizens that he, too, in common with the commanders of other Chicago regiments, should be suitably rewarded. They feel that the nomination for this important office is the most appropriate reward which could be given to him. For the following reasons he ought to be nominated. He is a lawyer of fine ability; he is a patriotic American citizen; he has had the necessary experience; he has the character to make good if nominated and elected.

The committee indulges the hope that the colored voters will attend the polls on Wednesday, Sept. 23, and nominate one of its deserving representatives for an important office.

"Denison For Judge" Campaign Committee.

## NEGRO NOTARY PUBLIC RESIGNS COMMISSION

Dublin, Ga., August 9.—(Special.)—Laurens county's first and only negro commercial notary public has resigned his commission after holding about one week. Incidentally, an interesting political campaign has been quieted down by his resignation.

Herbert Dudley, a negro merchant, applied for a commission as a commercial notary. Judge Kent found the petition was signed by two reputable white citizens certifying to the negro's character, and he stated later that under the law he had no alternative but to sign it.

As soon as the signing of the commission leaked out, it was seen at once that it would have a strong effect upon the race for judge of the Dublin circuit between Judge Kent, of Wrightsville, and Judge Chappell, of Dublin. Friends of Judge Kent immediately instituted legal proceedings to have the commission revoked on the ground of bad character, and the hearing on this action was to have been held this morning. However, before the case was heard, Dudley resigned the commission and that ended the matter.

## BROTHER ROSS SAYS COLORED MAN WILL BE NAMED

Well Known Buffalo Oorator-  
Editor, Candidate for Recorder,  
Is Confident of Success.

James A. Ross, prominent colored man of this city, has the utmost confidence in President Woodrow Wilson and takes exception to the newspaper report that a white man is to be appointed recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia. Instead, Mr. Ross says, it is assured a colored man will be named for this position and that the Senate will confirm, although some of the Southern Democrats may be absent when the roll is called.

"President Wilson has stated all along a colored man will be appointed for recorder of deeds," said Mr. Ross, "and I believe in the President. The Senate is not opposed to the confirmation of colored men. For instance, the Senate recently voted to confirm Judge Terrell, a colored man, for the judiciary of the District. Democratic Senators voted with the Republicans for this confirmation."

"The President will name a colored man recorder of deeds, and the same Senators who voted for Mr. Terrell, a Republican, will be found in the affirmative for a colored man for recorder, providing the nominee has the ability and is not in what we call the 'renegade' class."

"As to some Southern Senators being opposed to a colored man, that may be true, but there are some Senators from that section who are not prejudiced. While they may not vote to confirm a colored man, they will conveniently be absent from roll call. 'Again I repeat, I have the utmost confidence in President Wilson.'"

**NO NEGRO THIS TIME**  
(Associated Press)  
WASHINGTON, June 8.—President Wilson today nominated John F. Costello as recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia. Mr. Costello who is a democratic national committee man whom the district is the first white man to hold the position since President Cleveland inaugurated the custom of appointing a negro. Congressman from almost every state had candidates for the place.

**POLLS LARGEST VOTE**  
Cleveland, Ohio, Aug. 11.—Attorney Harry E. Davis, candidate for member of the state legislature, Tuesday polled the largest number of votes of the sixty-three candidates in the Republican primaries. The other candidates were white.

## NEGRO CANDIDATE FOR COMMITTEE AS SLATER'S OPPONENT

Announcement Follows Ill Feeling  
in Seventeenth Ward Over  
Parkway and Segregation.

Bad feeling that has arisen among the negro voters in the Seventeenth Ward, against the Republican organization, since the Parkway and Segregation elections, took form today with the announcement that L. S. Williams, a negro undertaker, 3232 Pine street, would run for Republican City Committeeman against Justice of the Peace Frank Slater.

The Seventeenth Ward is the stronghold of the negro voters, and the vote is estimated at 1,800 negro and 500 white. The negroes have two grievances against the Republican City Committee and Mayor Kiel. The Parkway project, which would have ousted them from that district, was defeated by a bare majority of seventy-eight in the ward, and the Republicans were suspected of "double crossing" the negro voters, in order to help Mayor Kiel put over the Parkway.

The segregation ordinances, bitterly fought by the negroes, carried in the city, although the Republicans were supposed to have pledged themselves to help the negro voters defeat them. These ordinances also were barely defeated in the Seventeenth Ward.

Williams does not have to file for the place on the city committee. He announces as a candidate, and those wishing to vote for him in the August primaries will have to write his name on the ticket.

Slater is the present committeeman from the Seventeenth Ward. He also is seeking the Republican nomination for Public Administrator.

**NEGRO DEMOCRATS MEET.**

Elect A. S. Patterson, of Oklahoma, President of League.

Special to the Freeman.

CHICAGO, July 12.—Members of the National Colored Democratic League, composed of Negroes from nearly every state in the Union, held their quadrennial meeting here and elected the following officers: President, Adam S. Patterson, of Oklahoma; vice-presidents, A. E. Manning, James L. Curtis and C. B. Jefferson; secretaries, Thomas W. Swann and A. H. Underdown; treasurer, Robert C. Hudspeth, of Jersey City.

Resolutions indorsing the national Democratic ticket were adopted and plans made to take an active part in the campaign.

Particular reference is made in the resolutions to the international affairs of the country declaring that "by reason of the wise and progressive policies pursued by the President in keeping our country out of war with foreign powers, there has been preserved to the American people a period of unsurpassed prosperity." Referring to the recent skirmishes at Carrizal, Mexico, between troops of the Tenth United States cavalry and Mexicans the resolutions praise the President for having caused the loyal and brave colored troopers that were massacred at Carrizal while heroically defending the honor of the American flag to be reclaimed from Mexican soil and returned and interned with the nation's dead at Arlington without discrimination."

## CONSUL H. F. WRIGHT HOME FROM VENEZUELA

Among the passengers who arrived last week by the steamship Caracas of the Red D Line were Hon. Herbert F. Wright, American consul at Porto Cabello, Venezuela, and Mrs. Wright. This is Mr. Wright's first trip to the United States for six years and was made necessary by the alarming state of his health. He was taken ill last July and lost some seventy pounds in weight, until his physician recommended his return to his native air for recuperation. On the other hand, Mrs. Wright appeared to be in the best of health. Consul Wright stated that the business of his district has increased greatly during his occupancy of the post and declares that he possesses the best equipped consular office in Venezuela, although as there is no vice consul the full burden of the work falls upon the consul. After a day spent in this city, Mr. and Mrs. Wright left Friday for their home in Marshalltown, Iowa, where it is hoped the consul will recover his former robust health.

**COLORED MEN GIVEN  
NEW POSITIONS**

Hopkinsville, Ky.—Attorney Walter Robinson has been named by the City Commissioners as deputy city assessor. The work will require all of his time, his district being east of the railroad and north of Seventh street.

Lucian Owens has been appointed by Dr. Bassett to a position in the street department. Another appointment which meets popular approval was made by L. E. Foster, superintendent of the county school system, when he named W. C. Davis, principal of the Gainesville school, as special examiner of colored applicants for teachers' licenses. 2/10/16.

## NEWARK MAYOR NAMES 3

Messrs. Scotland, Douglas and Randolph on Defense Committee.  
Newark, Jan. 10.—Friday, Jan. 7, at the instance of the Mayor of the city, Hon. Thomas L. Raymond, Counsellor Geo. A. Douglas, Counsellor Oliver Randolph and Judge Scotland were named among a committee of one hundred and six representative citizens, who are invited to serve with the Committee on National Defense, which is a part of the nation-wide movement for "preparedness." The methods which are to be pursued will be along the lines suggested several months ago by Mayor Mitchel of New York city, who at that time appointed a committee of 1,000 citizens from which branches have been established all over the country. It is to be hoped that the colored appointees will be enabled to bring influence to bear among the committee whereby some tangible recognition of the patriotism, valor and loyalty of the colored man as an asset of the State militia will fill a void which has been thoroughly un-American, unwise and discriminating.

## COLORED DEMOCRATS GET ON THE PAYROLL.

Colored Democrats, the few that are left, are going to make some sort of an effort to interest colored voters in President Wilson's re-election in the present campaign, but they have entered upon their task under most discouraging conditions. Under the direction of the National Colored Democratic League, A. E. Patterson, president, and Thomas Wallace Swann, secretary, headquarters were opened this week in New York and Chicago. Patterson, it will be remembered, voluntarily tendered his resignation as Register of the Treasury after having been named by President Wilson.

The Eastern Branch of the National Colored Democratic League is located at 110 West 131st street. Sixteen persons are on the payroll. The Western Branch is at 3100 State street. In Chicago ten are drawing salary and yelling for Wilson.

The money feature seems to be the principal incentive this year. Democratic workers know there are no political plums for colored men even in the event of Wilson's re-election.

## JACKSON REELECTED TO STATE LEGISLATURE

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)  
CHICAGO, Ill.—Although absent with his regiment, down on the Mexican border, Major Robert R. Jackson was re-elected to the State Legislature by a large majority on Wednesday, September 13. Major Jackson was endorsed by the Municipal Voters' League. B. H. Lucas was the only colored man elected, as S. B. Turner of the Illinois Idea was defeated.

Colonel Franklin A. Dennison, commanding the Eighth Illinois Regiment, now on the border, was defeated for municipal judge. He was handicapped by his absence.



## MAYOR APPOINTS

**W. H. TWIGGS TO POSITION AT EVANSTON, ILL.**  
Evanston, Ill., Jan. 14.—Mr. W. H. Twiggs, one of the most reliable citizens in this community was appointed last week to a desk in the office of the commission of public works. As soon as he took his office, his many friends took occasion to offer the new appointee congratulations. The mayor of the city also deserves congratulation for giving one of the race political recognition. This makes the second appointment during his administration.

The mayor has proven his friendship to the race and the citizens of Evanston are determined to see that he will be elevated to a higher place in the gift of the people. Mr. Twiggs is one of our leading business men, being a printer by trade, and this has enabled him to come in contact with the best people of this section. The Defender congratulates him upon his recent appointment.

### W. T. FRANCIS NOMINATED.

The many friends throughout the United States of Attorney W. T. Francis, of St. Paul, Minn., will be delighted to know that he was nominated for the legislature in the Republican Primary last week over his white opponent from the 38th District South, City of St. Paul.

Mr. Francis is one of the brightest Negro attorneys in this country and is ever on the alert in the interest of his race. He will make the race a creditable representative in the legislature of the great State of Minnesota, provided he is elected in the November election. In the city of St. Paul a Republican nomination is equivalent to an election.

The Independent congratulates Mr. Francis on his nomination and election.

## TURPIN FINALLY WINS PLACE AS CONSTABLE

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE

St. Louis, Mo.—By decision of the Missouri Supreme Court, Charles H. Turpin assumes his duty as constable in the fourth district, and will receive his salary for the entire term of four years. *The New York Age*

In the election in 1914, Powers, a white democrat, was given the certificate of election. Turpin went into the courts with an application for a recount, and the circuit court in August, 1915, gave a decision in Turpin's favor, declaring him legally elected. Powers took the case to the higher court, and that court sustains the lower court.

Mr. Turpin was the first colored man to hold an elective office in Missouri, being elected in 1910 to the same position. He is proprietor of the Booker T. Washington Theatre. 3/9/16.

The constable has the appointing of two deputies, who will probably be colored men.

**St. Clair Elected.**  
Former City Councilman H. M. St. Clair, of Cambridge, Mass., was elected to the City Council from the Second Ward recently to succeed the late Nehemiah Henry. St. Clair was opposed by George Stanley, but won easily.

He is well known throughout Maryland, being grand master of exchequer of the Knights of Pythias. He is a merchant.

## COLORED GIRL IS GIVEN CLERKS JOB

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE  
INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—Miss Doneva W. Donnell, a young colored woman, has been appointed by County Treasurer Sourbier to a clerkship in his office. Miss Donnell has had special training in public accounting, is an expert stenographer, and has had extensive experience in newspaper work. She was bookkeeper for the *Indianapolis Recorder*.

Her work in the treasurer's office will include the preparing of spring tax receipts, nearly 300,000 of which are to be made in triplicate.

## BASS AND ASBURY GET CITY APPOINTMENTS

Philadelphia, Pa.—Announcement was made Saturday of the appointments of Attorney Harry W. Bass and Attorney John C. Asbury to the positions of assistant city solicitors at salaries of \$2,500 each per year. *New York Age*

The appointments were made by City Solicitor John P. Connelly, and Mr. Bass and Mr. Asbury reported for duty Monday, February 7. This is the first recognition ever given Negroes in an important appointive capacity in the city of Philadelphia.

Mr. Bass served two terms in the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, being the first Negro elected to that body. Mr. Asbury was for a long time editor of *The Odd Fellows' Journal*, and is now president of the Keystone Aid Society, a large insurance company. 2/10/16.

## REGULAR DEMOCRATS FAIL TO GET CHARTER

In the Supreme Court of Queens county on Monday Justice Blackmar denied the application of the "Regular Colored Democratic Club of Queens Co." for the incorporation of that organization.

Justice Blackmar said in refusing to grant the charter: "I cannot approve the name so long as the word 'regular' is part of the name, for I do not know that it accords with the fact."

The names signed to the application were Winston H. Burrell, William H. Wams, J. W. Porter, Isaac Shanklin, Winston H. Burrell, Jr., all of Long Island City, and Arthur Taylor, 18 Bancroft street, Brooklyn. Attorney Benjamin Lynam, of Long Island City, filed the application.

SUN

New York City

## ATLANTIC CITY SURPRISE.

Negroes Probably Defeated Regular Republicans for Delegates.

ATLANTIC CITY, April 25.—The surprise in the voting in the city was the probable election of two negroes, James A. Lightfoot, a lawyer, and W. F. Cozart, a head waiter, to the National Republican convention as delegates from the Second district over County Clerk Harry L. Knight of Burlington county and Richard M. Moore, a Bridgeton glass manufacturer.

In expressing a choice for President Roosevelt supporters gave him a big majority. Ford, Burton, Root, Taft and Hughes were named, but Roosevelt beat them more than their total combined vote. The same story is told in the returns from the county received up to midnight.

The Democratic vote was solid for Wilson.

NEWS TRIBUNE

Detroit, Mich.

## NEGRO JOB HOLDER STIRS CHEBOYGAN

CHEBOYGAN, Mich., April 4.—Local residents are incensed at the arrival of R. D. Taborn, of Kalamazoo, a Negro, who has been named to succeed John Reid, present deputy collector of customs at this port. Three democratic candidates for the position have been seeking the position in case Comstock won the primary battle, while Reid expected to hold his place if Wood was successful. Taborn brought the news that the position is now a civil service post, and although a republican he was given the appointment on passing the examination.

## FIRST NEGRO DELEGATE FROM STATE AT LARGE

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—For the first time in the State of Pennsylvania, a Negro was sent to the Republican National Convention as alternate delegate from the State at large in the person of Hon. George H. White. *New York Age*

Mr. White is an ex-Congressman, having represented a district of his native State, North Carolina, in the national congress. He lives now in Philadelphia, engaged in the banking and real estate business. 6/8/16

CHRONICLE TELEGRAM

Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Negro Pastor Gets Appointment

The Rev. R. W. Christian, pastor for a year and a half of the Calvary Negro Baptist Church, has resigned to become director of Negro religious statistics in the United States Bureau of Census. He is a Kentuckian and received the appointment through Senator Ollie James.

cived the appointment through Senator Ollie James.

## PHIL BROWN ELECTED

Phil H. Brown, Hopkinsville, Ky., editor of the Hopkinsville News, delegate to the last Republican national convention from the State of Kentucky, one of the leading Republicans in the country and who had charge of the publicity department for Taft four years ago, was elected by the Republican National subcommittee to direct the publicity and promotion this year with headquarters in this city. It is reported that Lee Brown, formerly editor of the Louisville News, will be his secretary, and Len-Haley of the same city one of the assistants.

NEWS

Indianapolis, Ind.

## NEGRO DEMOCRATS MEET.

Elect A. S. Patterson, of Oklahoma, President of League.

CHICAGO, July 12.—Members of the National Colored Democratic League composed of negroes from nearly every state in the Union, held their quadrennial meeting here and elected the following officers: President, Adam S. Patterson, of Oklahoma; vice-presidents, A. E. Manning, James L. Curtis and C. B. Jefferson; secretaries, Thomas W. Swann and A. H. Underdown; treasurer, Robert C. Hudspeth, of Jersey City.

Resolutions indorsing the national Democratic ticket were adopted and plans made to take an active part in the campaign.

Particular reference is made in the resolutions to the international affairs of the country declaring that "by reason of the wise and progressive policies pursued by the President in keeping our country out of war with foreign powers, there has been preserved to the American people a period of unsurpassed prosperity." Referring to the recent skirmish at Carrizal, Mexico, between troopers of the Tenth United States cavalry and Mexicans the resolutions praise the President for having caused the loyal and brave colored troopers that were massacred at Carrizal while heroically defending the honor of the American flag to be reclaimed from Mexican soil and returned and interred with the nation's dead at Arlington without discrimination."

## NEGRO TAKES UP CITY JOB.

W. H. Twiggs Is Installed in New Position in Evanston—First Colored Man in City Hall.

W. H. Twiggs, a Negro, recently appointed head of the bureau of information in the Evanston city hall by Mayor Harry Pearsons, assumed his duties yesterday. Twiggs is on a sixty day appointment, outside of the civil service regulations. He is the first Negro to hold position in the Evanston city hall.



Political - 1916

Office Holding

# OUTRAGED! BY GOV. WILLIS!

## Says Dr. H. C. Bailey for Our Cleveland Ministers

# SALOONMAN APPOINTED

*The Gazette 3/18/16.*

## To Represent Our Good People Over the Vigorous and Long Standing Protests of Cleveland's Leading Afro-Americans---Will Resent It.

### SYD'S JOB!

The Maschke-Davis Faction Gives Him the Promised Appointment.

It was announced, the week of March 6, that Syd. Thompson had been given a place in the city's drain-manhood in this city than the actual age or catch-basin-cleaning department, the job paying two dollars a day. Well! WELL!!

Editor *Gazette*, Dear Sir:—Some time in 1915, Gov. Frank B. Willis appointed as a deputy oil inspector this county, Thomas Fleming, which action in this matter is in direct opposition he held until his election as a councilman, in this city, last November, compelled his resignation January 1, this year. This caused a vacancy in the oil inspecting job. Meanwhile, two or three aspirants applied for it, among the number being a local saloon-keeper who operated on the main thoroughfare of our people, where our church-goers must pass to and fro to their churches, being embarrassed by hangers-out and others passing in and out.

In spite of our vigorous protests (for nearly two months) to Gov. Willis, as ministers of the gospel (representing several thousand Colored church communicants), against the appointment of a saloon-man, recommended largely by the saloon element, the Governor has appointed him and refused to appoint the man we endorsed, one whom we thought the best to represent the race in an official capacity. We, as ministers, sent letters, telegrams and night-letters

Bldg., Cleveland, O.,  
"Wire just received. Learn Mr. Carr has already notified Hudson of his appointment. Thompson withdrew endorsing Hudson."  
F. B. Willis.

In response to a telegram from the editor of *The Gazette* the Governor wired the above reply. It closed a more than two months' contest in which our local clergymen, headed by Rev. H. C. Bailey and Rev. E. A. White, many of our leading men of this community and others participated, protesting vigorously against the appointment of Juriman Hudson, manager of "Starlight's" saloon in Central Ave., to the position of a deputy oil inspector for this county to represent our people. Arrayed with them, in support of Sidney Thompson for the position, were Col. Myron T. Herrick, a candidate for U. S. Senator; the Frank B. Willis Republican club, of which J. B. Ruhl is president; Wm. P. Leech, vice-president and general manager of the *Cleveland Leader and News*; Ex-U. S. District Attorney J. J. Sullivan, Congressman Henry I. Emersop, W. G. Mather, F. H. Caley, Walter B. Wright, Sr., Attorneys Alex. H. Martin, Harry E. Davis and Chas. S. Sutton; L. A. Rogers, Dr. Ellis A. Dale, James A. Rogers, a number of other leading men of both races of this community, and many Ohio employes of the W. & L. E. R. R. Co. Hudson was backed for the position by the Maurice Maschke—Mayor Harry Davis faction of the local Republican party which (for political reasons), from the beginning, had the favor of State Oil Inspector Carr who, time and again, during the contest was prevented from appointing Hudson by Gov. Frank B. Willis. The main opposition to Juriman's appointment arose as a result of his being manager of a saloon, our people of this community feeling that some member of the race other than one so placed would make a far more satisfactory representative in even so small a position. Thompson's withdrawal from the race, as a result of the persistent urging of his opposnests, the Maschke-Davis faction, and without notifying any of his supporters, until it was too late for them to do anything, presents the harrowing phase of the contest, to say the least, and was about as an ungrateful an act as he could possibly have committed in connection with it. It is hardly necessary for us to comment further on this. One thing sure and that is the Governor in acquiescing in the state oil inspector's appointment of Hudson to the position, has brought about a condition, from a political viewpoint, among our lead-

ing and best people of this community, especially the clergymen, that will cost him more votes at this fall's election than the Maschke-Davis faction, which seems to have so little respect for our vote here, can and will care to deliver to him in November, if it could. It is a notorious fact that Maschke and his followers, both white and colored, did not support Mr. Willis for the nomination, a year ago last fall, but supported the candidacy of his opponent, Mr. Todd of Youngstown. It is equally true that they were either lukewarm or opposed his election. The returns of this county for that election, as far as Mr. Willis' candidacy is concerned, prove this statement. It is also true that the Maschke-Davis faction misled State Oil Inspector Carr, who managed Gov. Willis' "presidential-nomination" candidacy, last year, into believing that he might expect their support, only to "turn him down" when the time came and fall in line for Senator Theodore E. Burton's candidacy. And we have no doubt but that, when this fall arrives, Gov. Willis will have a fourth experience, with this same faction, which will be in line with the three others to which we have called attention. We regret exceedingly that the Governor has exhibited so little care for the earnest desire of our clergymen and the great mass of our good people of this county, because he is forcing them to prove to him that while the Maschke-Davis faction of the local Republican party may have political "rings in the noses" of a few discredited Cleveland Afro-Americans, no such condition exists in their case. And when such generally obnoxious appointments are forced on a people, over their long and vigorous protests, they will be resented just so surely as an opportunity is afforded.

Gov. Willis' telegram would suggest that some one thinks he has "played a shrewd political trick" in securing the withdrawal of Sidney B. Thompson and his endorsement of Juriman Hudson for the appointment of a deputy oil inspector for this (Cuyahoga) county. But they haven't! Thompson's endorsement amounts to less than nothing because it represents an individual's only, and has an opposite effect on nearly every one of those who supported his candidacy. Gov. Willis undoubtedly knew this at the time, but seems to have finally given in to State Oil Inspector Carr's pleading for the appointment to please the Maschke-Davis faction of Cleveland. The effect will be directly felt by the Governor, this fall, and not by either Carr or Thompson. As a political blunderer the state oil inspector has honestly won the "past master's" station and the person who listens to his political counsel in the face of what transpired last year, when he trav-

eled over the state, giving out deputyships right and left, boosting the Governor for the Ohio presidential-nomination endorsement, and then "fell down" most completely and ridiculously, when Burton was given it, must certainly be wonderfully inexperienced from a political viewpoint, or credulousness personified.

*The Bee 7/8/16.*  
**NOMINEE FOR RECORDER OF DEEDS.**

Frederick Douglas was the first man of color to be appointed to the position of Recorder of Deeds. This took place under the administration of President Garfield thirty years ago. Since that time J. Monroe Trotter, C. H. Taylor, H. P. Cheatham, J. C. Dancy and Henry Lincoln Johnson have filled this office.

The office of the Register of the Treasury has also been filled for the past thirty years or more by men of color, but under the present administration, numerous applications were made by white men and finally an Indian was appointed.

The office of Recorder of Deeds has remained vacant for the past two years. Now President Wilson has nominated John F. Costello, white, a Democratic National Committeeman, for the district.

Of all the offices to which the colored man was eligible and which he had expected to fill by reason of long-established custom, there are only two for which President Wilson did not desire a change, namely, Minister to Liberia and Justice of District Municipal Court.

His actions contrast strongly with the promises he made to Bishop Waters four years ago in order to get the vote of the colored people. His actions are now speaking louder than his words, asking the colored citizens to vote this year for a friend and not a foe.—*Brooklyn Advocate*.

The Bee wishes to state to its contemporary that the office of recorder of deeds in this city is a closed incident. The democratic administration was not in the least indebted to negro democrats. Every negro democrat, with but one exception, was paid in full for services rendered and the receipts in full held by the treasurer of the democratic campaign committee will show it. Mr. Ralph E. Langston of New York was the only negro democrat who didn't hold out his mit. So far as the democratic administration is concerned, the office of recorder of deeds is a closed incident.

Mrs. W. J. Yerby, wife of W. J. Yerby, D. D., West Africa, is in the city as guest of Prof. W. D. Thomas of State College. 4/22/16.



# NEGROES IN POSTAL SERVICE

*Nashville Globe 10-27-16*  
**How the Democrats Demoralize the Service in Effort to Reach Negro Employees.**

Washington, Oct. 23.—Second only in hideousness and injustice to the Wilson Segregation Policy has been the so-called "Efficiency Rating System," prepared by the direction of the General Superintendent of the Railway Mail Service at Washington, January, 1914. This initiates a system of minus and plus points, from 1-2 to 500, for various offenses and credits; mostly, however, for offenses. Under the system in only one year 300 net minus marks prevent a clerk's meritorious promotion. 400 net minus marks prevent a clerk's successive promotion. 400 net minus marks will result in reduction of grade. 700 net minus marks will result in considering a clerk's removal or retention in the service.

FIRST: The heavier ratio of penalties is not for inefficient service, but is for improper personal conduct, which has only a remote connection with efficiency. A brief comparison of demerits will show this: Leaving mail in car, minus 10-50; altercation or controversy with fellow clerk or use of intemperate or abusive language while on duty, minus 25, 250.

Failure to catch mail, minus 5; waste of time, minus 15. Failure to guard mail, minus 50; smoking in presence of public while on duty, minus 20-50. Loss of mail, minus 25-100; signing arrival and departure record for another clerk, minus 200.

According to this, poor handling of mail is treated lightly, but a bad temper or uncertain conduct is heavily penalized. Yet it is said the system is designed to promote efficiency.

SECOND: The system allows no corresponding accumulation of plus points as it does of minus points. For example: Clerks can receive from 50 to 500 minus points for several offenses; but only "Defending mail at the risk of person or life" can give 500 plus points. For "furnishing information or assistance which results in the arrest of a person for depredation on the mail," 200 plus points are given. For "Protection of, and care of injured clerk at a wreck, as a voluntary act," 200 plus points. Two or three other such provisions are made. These are usual awards and can be made very seldom, perhaps never in the life-time of the average clerk. For efficiency in ex-

aminations clerks may receive from 1 to 60 plus point only. An efficiency system which gives demerits freely and rewards very sparingly is based on a new philosophy which the dull mind of the writer cannot penetrate.

THIRD: The penalties are stated in "blanket" terms so as to be applied with facility at the direction of the superior officers. I have copied, and for convenience numbered a partial list of the heaviest penalties that are emphasizing the point:

(1) When a clerk loiters or malingers on duty and fails to perform proper service, minus 50-200.

(2) When a clerk acts in desultory or half-hearted manner when assisting another clerk, although of his own initiative, minus 50.

(3) Discourtesy: to the public, minus 25-200; to a fellow-clerk, minus 50; to a superior officer, minus 50.

(4) When a clerk's manner of speech or correspondence is indecorous, minus 20.

(5) Imparting incorrect or misleading information to the public regarding conditions of the service, minus 500.

(6) When clerk is disrespectful regarding the service or the personnel of the service, minus 200.

(7) False statement to superior officer, minus 500.

(8) Insubordination, minus 500.

(9) Imparting information to an unauthorized person regarding the work of the office, minus 100.

(10) Lack of interest in the service, minus 50.

(11) Untidiness of person on duty, minus 25; of desk, minus 25.

(12) Imparting information to unpatches or volume of mail, minus 400.

(13) Failure to expedite work, unauthorized persons regarding minus 25.

(14) General carelessness, not otherwise provided for, minus 10-50.

The effectiveness of such a system in removing Negro clerks is better understood by (1) those unfamiliar with Southern prejudice, when it is remembered that they are not welcomed by Democratic administrations because their positions are wanted for white men. In addition, the whites along the mail routes become more annoyed at their presence, and in many places do not allow Negroes to run on mail cars at all. Under this abominable system the best

clerks find it difficult to escape during a year with less than 200 minus points. It is, therefore, quite easy with such general charges, to impose a sufficient complement of points to insure any clerk's removal whose place is wanted.

FOURTH: The effect of the system has demonstrated its injustice. Negro clerks have been dismissed on every side. The official record bristles with dismissal of Negro employees.

Two things have hindered the effectiveness of this system to some degree: the efficiency of the Negro clerks and the difficulty in getting white men to pass the civil service examinations. The best white men in the South, as a rule, are not attracted to the Mail Service, as in the North the colored men are not, and those of less intelligence are frequently unable to pass the examinations. The standard is invariably lowered under a Democratic Administration and white men are urged to try for the Service, but enough of the capable sort do not apply. Were it not that the Service would be seriously affected by the incompetence of the office-seekers, the Negro clerks would have been even more largely removed.

Vote for Hughes and Fairbanks. Turn the Democratic rascals out. R. O. MANN.



REV. H. C. BAILEY  
 BISHOP WALTERS' WIFE  
 GETS POLITICAL POSITION

Mrs. Lelia Walters, wife of Bishop Alexander Walters, has been appointed a clerk in the office of the Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island at a salary of \$100 a month. In naming Mrs. Walters for the place President Wilson is said to have issued an executive order. The appointee, therefore, did not find it necessary to go through the usual lengthy routine prescribed by civil service.

From

Address:

Date

JUN 22 1916

WILSON has taken the one step necessary to drive away from the Democratic party the support of every colored voter. He has appointed a white man to the position of recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia. Cleveland established the custom of placing a colored man in this position. Every president since has observed this custom. During his 1912 campaign Woodrow Wilson assured representatives of the colored race that he would not discriminate against the colored people in the making of appointments. After his election he promised to appoint a colored man to this particular office. His recent appointment of John F. Costello, Democratic committeeman from the District of Columbia, is not only a violation of his promise but a violation of a custom so well established that his act cannot be construed otherwise than as a direct slap at the colored people. One-third of the population of the District of Columbia is colored. There is no question that plenty of qualified men could be found among the members of that race. The position is purely clerical and has been satisfactorily filled by colored men for many years.

## REPUBLICANS

## SWEEP ILLINOIS

*Chicago Defender 11-11-16*

Latest election returns show that the Republicans swept the entire state of Illinois. Colonel Frank O. Lowden won with hands down for governor and the entire state ticket went through. Hoynes was winner over Miller in the contest for state's attorney. Martin B. Madden, a friend of the Race, was elected to be returned to the house of representatives. Medill McCormick was elected to congress. Major R. R. Jackson, fresh from duty with the famous Eighth regiment, was returned to the state legislature, while Lucas was elected to fill S. B. Turner's place in the state body.

Men and women were out to the polls early to vote for only those whom they thought were friends of the Race. Money could not buy a Democratic vote for the President. Hughes seemed to be the choice and the women routed their husbands, brothers and friends out of bed. The watchword seemed to be, "Remember Wilson."

## WOMAN POSTMASTER GETS 4 YEARS MORE

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)  
 MOUND BAYOU, Miss.—The Senate has recently confirmed President Woodrow Wilson's reappointment of Mrs. Mary Cordelia Booze for another term in

charge of this very important postal station, which Uncle Sam rates "A-1," with a unique record among the best of his third-class offices.

Although Mrs. Booze has only been officially designated postmaster of Mound Bayou, since her first appointment by President Taft, June 6, 1911, she has nevertheless been a veritable part of the office since its beginning. Mrs. Booze is the eldest daughter of I. T. Montgomery, founder of the colony, and has really grown up with the office, beginning as a ten-year-old girl to hand out the mail when the front room of her father's home and a cigar box handled the mail business of the two families and half a dozen laborers then making up the population. Twenty letters a week were then big mail. Since then over 2,000 letters alone have passed through the office in a single day, and hundreds of pieces of mail are worked daily. *The New York Age*

Figures showing the postal business transacted since Mrs. Booze has been in office are almost astounding, and a reflection of the business life of the community. Within that short period the stamp sales and box rents have amounted to \$13,123.59; postal savings deposits \$2,544; money orders have been paid to the amount of \$206,598.30 and \$258,201.32 worth have been issued, making in all a total of \$480,467.21. Practically one-half million dollars in four years handled by this postoffice of the Negro town of Mound Bayou and under the direction of Mrs. M. C. Booze, the quiet

the "postmaster."



Political-1916

Office Holding

## THE GOVERNOR'S COOL RECEPTION

Proceeding on the theory that "our best friends tell us frankly of our faults" we want to tell Governor Whitman very frankly why he received the cool reception that he did from the humiliatingly small number of people that assembled at Manhattan Casino last Thursday night on the occasion of his Booker T. Washington Memorial address. Aside from all other considerations, Governor, the fault is primarily your own. When you became District Attorney you promptly and properly appointed a colored attorney a member of your professional staff. Your office prosecuted criminally on one occasion a rich corporation for its cruel and indefensible violation of the Levy law, which forbids discrimination in places of public accommodation on account of race, creed or color. As candidate for Governor, YOU MADE high and splendid PROMISES, express and implied, that YOU WERE GOING TO CONTINUE YOUR BRAVE CONSTRUCTIVE RACE POLICY if you were elected to office. You inspired, as have few other officials of New York, great hope and courage in the breasts of the thousands of colored New Yorkers then as now depressed by the disastrous anti-Negro regime of President Wilson. You found upon coming into office a prejudiced State Boxing Commission, which through its rules had practically put a bold and bald anti-race law upon the statute books of New York State. You found upon coming into office that out of the few colored Democrats in the State several colored Democrats were holding positions both in this State and city. The seventy thousand colored Republican voters who supported you solidly confidently counted upon you to give them a small modicum of their quota of political recognition. **RULE 34, WHICH OFFICIALLY DRAWS THE COLOR LINE IN THE EMPIRE STATE** just as do Mississippi and Georgia draw the color line, **STILL STANDS WITH THE FORCE OF LAW IN THIS STATE, GOVERNOR.** The colored citizens believe that you allow this disgrace upon the Empire State to still openly insult them **BECAUSE THEY KNOW THAT THE NEW STATE BOXING COMMISSIONERS ARE YOUR CREATURES.** Out of the thousands of places and the millions of dollars of patronage at your administration's disposal, Governor, to the hundreds of thousands of the race here YOU HAVE GIVEN BUT ONE POSITION worthy of the name. From you, their trusted friend and champion, they take these as the "most unkindest cuts of all." Despite all the misleading lies of designing, flattering race traitors, you now plainly understand why it is you were not popular with your colored fellow citizens on last Thursday.

The colored people of the State appreciate Governor, YOUR ORDER AT THIS CRUCIAL HOUR for the enlistment of a colored regiment in the New York National Guard. They feel, however, that dearer than their privilege to die for the State is their right to live for themselves and their children. They much prefer to be equal citizens first. When they are made to feel part and parcel of the body politic, through equal rights, equal civic, political

and industrial recognition, they will feel then they have the more to defend. The colored regiment with colored officers must be recruited. An armory of their own must be provided. In the investigations of the case of Max J. Klein, Adjutant General Statesburg insists that there be no religious prejudice in the National Guard. The colored people then insist that there be no race prejudice either. These are plain words, Governor, but they EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION WITH THEM. We would be false to them, unjust to ourselves and hypocritical with you if we spoke otherwise.

## BOB JACKSON RE-ELECTED; LUCAS REPLACES TURNER

Dennison Defeated for Municipal Judge—

Lowden Sweeps State—Litzinger

*The Chicago Defender* and Boyer Win

"Fighting Bob" Jackson, indorsed by the Municipal Voters' League and backed by the Chicago Defender and every member of his race, came through with colors flying Wednesday, and was re-elected to the state legislature as representative by a big majority.

S. B. Turner of the "Illinois Idea" went down to defeat and B. H. Lucas will be the other member of the Race in the state body of lawmakers.

Col. Franklin A. Dennison, commanding the Eighth Regiment, now at the border, handicapped by his own absence, was defeated for municipal judge, although he ran a good race.

Lowden (white), able statesman and choice of the Chicago Defender and thousands of our own people, swept Illinois. Miller (white), Mayor Thompson's candidate for state's attorney, won. T. Boyer (white) won for the state legislature in the fourth district. E. R. Litzinger (white), another friend of the Race, leads for the board of review as we go to press. Chas. Griffin, 3721 Forest Ave., maker of lodge badges, is ahead in the count for member of the board of equalization.

Full details of the count on members of the Race in next issue.  
*Washington Star*

## ASKS SENATE TEST ON NEGRO QUESTION

Bishop Walters Writes Open Letter to President About

in the country, recently saw President Wilson about the recordership of deed of the District, and was told that the President could not give the place to a colored man because of the bitter fight that would be engendered in the Senate.

### Desires to Know Democratic Policy.

This was so disappointing to Bishop Walters that he now expresses the hope that the President "will not hesitate to make the nomination of a colored man to the office or to one of equal importance, where senatorial confirmation is required, for we desire to know whether it is to be the policy of the democratic party to accord to negroes the same rights and recognition granted to other citizens of the nation. Or, in other words, can the democratic party afford to ignore a half million voters on account of their color?"

In his letter to the President Bishop Walters quotes a letter received by him under date of October 16, 1912, in which the President, then democratic candidate for the office he now holds, said that it was "superfluous" for him to "assure my colored fellow-citizens of my earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter, and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. Every guarantee of our law, every principle of our Constitution, commands this, and our sympathies should also make it easy. My sympathy with them is of long standing."

### Seeks Test in Senate.

Bishop Walters, who called at the White House to present his letter, said that the negroes have waited long and patiently to know "what our political status is to be under democratic rule, and we trust that the President will send to the Senate the nomination of a colored man to an important office, so that the test can finally be made and we may understand fully how we stand."

Bishop Walters declared he had every confidence in the sincerity of the President's letter of three and a half years ago, and that all he wanted was for the President to permit the matter of antagonism of the negro to go to the point that the colored man could definitely ascertain what his status is to be.

"We have long known that there are a few democrats in the south who do not wish any of our people to hold office, but we do not believe that this sentiment is strong enough in the Senate to prevail against the broad-minded men of the party there," added Bishop Walters. "The only way we can actually determine how strong this feeling against us is in the Senate is for the President to make a nomination and let the fight come. If a majority of the democrats there do not want to have anything to do with us we will prefer to know it."

### President Wilson's Letter.

The letter President Wilson, then Gov. Wilson, wrote to Bishop Walters was dated at Trenton, N. J., October 16, and was as follows:

"My Dear Bishop Walters:

"I hope that it seems superfluous to those who know me, but to those who do not know me perhaps it is not unnecessary for me to assure my colored fellow-citizens of my earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter, and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. Every guarantee

Bishop Alexander Walters of the A. M. E. Church, president of the Negro Democratic League, the largest organization of its kind among colored people in the country, today addressed an open letter to President Wilson urging the President to put to the test the assertions that the Senate will not confirm a negro to an important federal office.

Bishop Walters, long a staunch friend and admirer of the President, and depended upon by the White House for advice as to the sentiments of negroes



of our law, every principle of our constitution, commands this, and our sympathies should also make it easy. "The colored people of the United States have made extraordinary progress toward self-support and usefulness, and ought to be encouraged in every possible way. My sympathy with them is of long standing, and I want to assure them through you that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of their race in the United States.

"Cordially and sincerely yours,  
"WOODROW WILSON."

#### WILLIS AND THE OIL INSPECTORSHIP.

*The Age* 1/18/16.  
Our esteemed confrere, Editor John Mitchell of the Richmond (Va.) Planet, and doubtless many others throughout Ohio and the country, do not understand the caustic indictment of Gov. Frank B. Willis our ministers and other leading Afro-Americans of Cleveland and the state of Ohio, have filed in the columns of *The Gazette* and placed upon their personal records for future use. What makes it hard for them to understand it, is the fact that all last year we gave the Governor decidedly more credit for barring infamous photoplays from Ohio than he was entitled to. We were not aware of this until Chairman Chas G. Williams, of the State Board of Film Censors, enlightened us in his letter to *The Gazette*, under date, Jan. 21, 1916, more extended reference to which is made in an editorial note elsewhere in these columns. To that date (and since) Gov. Willis let that false impression stand when a word from him would have "set us right," but "nary a word did he utter." Last year, soon after his inauguration, the Governor wrote *The Gazette* that HE intended doing better by his Afro-American constituents, in the way of appointments to office, than any of his predecessors in the office of chief executive of this state. To date HE HAS NOT GIVEN US A SINGLE PERSONAL APPOINTMENT, while those given by his subordinates and other members of his administration, with possibly one exception, are very mediocre indeed, and hardly worth mentioning. NOT ONE FIRST-CLASS APPOINTMENT HAS HE OR THEY MADE DURING HIS TERM OF TWO YEARS, which is rapidly drawing to a close. This, too, in the face of his voluntary and published promise. His attention has been repeatedly called of those of the race in Ohio, compel to the matter, without the slightest indication on his part that he intends, even at this late date, to do so. Assaulting and harmful attitude toward State Oil Inspector Carr's appointment of Hudson as a deputy oil inspector for this county, with Gov. Willis' approval of the same, in the face of the protests of our local ministers and other leading Afro-Americans of

this community, quite enough is said elsewhere in these columns to make clear the fact that our "beloved young Governor" cares about as much for his Afro-American constituents as his broken promise to them and his clearly evident intention to mislead them in the infamous photoplay matter, indicate. They, too, fully justify all that Dr. H. C. Bailey and our other ministers and *The Gazette* say and feel deeply in the case of Gov. Frank B. Willis. Thompson's withdrawal is only incidental and has no direct bearing or influence in the matter. We propose to do exactly what is said, and that is to hold the Governor to strict account for mistreatment that is not only inexcusable but positively insulting and vitally harmful to a struggling constituency that has heretofore been most loyal and helpful to him and the state. This is the most conservative and the only MANLY view of the matter that self and race respecting Afro-Americans of Ohio can take. Gov. Willis must and shall be made to realize that such shameful mistreatment will be resented at the polls, not only by other people, but also by ours. It is our only way to make him and others treat us with the respect and consideration clearly our due in common with all others. In closing his editorial, Editor Mitchell says:

"As for Gov. Willis, following the lead of the brilliantly edited *Cleveland Gazette*, we are not yet ready to lose either faith or confidence in the bold Chief Executive of Ohio." Well, brother, if you are following the lead of *The Gazette*, which Governor wrote *The Gazette* that HE intended doing better by his Afro-American constituents, in the way of appointments to office, than any of his predecessors in the office of chief executive of this state. To date HE HAS NOT GIVEN US A SINGLE PERSONAL APPOINTMENT, while those given by his subordinates and other members of his administration, with possibly one exception, are very mediocre indeed, and hardly worth mentioning. NOT ONE FIRST-CLASS APPOINTMENT HAS HE OR THEY MADE DURING HIS TERM OF TWO YEARS, which is rapidly drawing to a close. This, too, in the face of his voluntary and published promise. His attention has been repeatedly called of those of the race in Ohio, compel to the matter, without the slightest indication on his part that he intends, even at this late date, to do so. Assaulting and harmful attitude toward State Oil Inspector Carr's appointment of Hudson as a deputy oil inspector for this county, with Gov. Willis' approval of the same, in the face of the protests of our local ministers and other leading Afro-Americans of

#### St Louis *Opus* ELECT A NEGRO COMMITTEE 6/30/16

The Seventeenth Ward has now a fine opportunity to elect a Negro member of the city Republican Committee. We badly need a Negro representative on that most important board of party management.

The 17th ward has the largest Negro vote of any ward in St. Louis and it should be represented on the City Republican Committee of St. Louis. Up to recent years the City Committee always had a colored member, sometimes two and three, and the preliminary affairs of that party were never arranged without consultation with the Negro.

Now is the time to elect a committeeman, don't put it off any longer. Find a good, strong man. A man of honor and brain, and he can do wonders for the great body of Negroes. We must not let our individual aspirations interfere with the success of the movement. If we can't get the man we want, why, then agree on any other good fellow. Get together, vote for one Colored man for the committee, and he will be elected.

The Negro polls over 75 per cent of the vote in the entire ward. Precincts 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, and 15 are almost solid Negro votes. Precincts 5, 9, 10 are over 50 per cent Colored.

Your political powers are measured by your voting strength. So now is the time to show your loyalty and support a Negro for Committeeman from the Seventeenth Ward.

Saturday, July 1, 1916

*The Southern Reporter* 7/1/16

#### GOVERNOR MANN NG'S BACK DOWN

Of supposedly strong men competitors have caused the positive action is expected. Governor to chance his mind. The very fact that a man is and as a result he has revoked strong and courageous carrier the Commissions of all the Colored Notaries Public in Charleston and, possibly, throughout the State. Clearly this is an unjust and unexplainable backdown on the part of the Governor and an evidence that he is weak and vacillating and deserves defeat at the hands of the electorate next November.

Believing that Governor Mann was just such a man the war general rejoicing among the Colored people of the State when he was elected to his present office and especially when he appointed several Colored men as Notaries Public. The belief that once again the Governor was in the Governor's chair man regardless of color would recognize his worth and merit and give the Colored man social equality? Verily it seems

as if it is the purpose of some people to do all they possibly can to humiliate and degrade the Negro. Such actions as were mentioned tend in that direction.

But such a course cannot last forever. An end must and shall come. It is simply a question of time. And when it does come happy indeed will those white friends be who in every way they could helped bring it about.

#### ardly Pleads the Gov.

Washington, Jan. 11.—President Woodrow Wilson again to-day and what is perhaps most significant of all on the eve of the Presidential election, declared in no unmeaning terms, his opposition to the political equality and recognition of the colored race. He told Bishop Walters in effect that he will not appoint a colored man as Recorder of Deeds or to any other office that would offend the Southern members of his party in Congress. This in plain words is that no colored man will get another Presidential appointment. Any Presidential appointment of a colored man would excite discussion upon the part of the Vardaman and Tillmans and Hoke Smiths. This the President and everybody else knows. The bold and monstrous announcement of the President therefore means that he has closed his books on the colored race with the removal of practically every colored man who held a Presidential appointment or its equivalent, when he went into office, and the sum total of appointments of one—minister to Liberia. So quietly and insidiously has the work of Southern destruction of the race's political status gone on that neither the colored citizen nor his friends are fully aware of its completeness at this time.

Washington, Jan. 12. — President Wilson yesterday told Bishop Walters, who is president of the National Negro Democratic League, that he would not appoint a colored man as Recorder of Deeds for the District. The place has been filled by colored men for a long time. The President said he would like to appoint a colored man, but he understood that it would precipitate a discussion of the race question in the Senate.

The President advised the Bishop to call on Postmaster General Burleson and Secretary McAdoo and see if he could not find some positions that could be filled with colored men without exciting opposition.



Politics, - 1916

Washington Herald

## GLOBE DEMOCRAT

St. Louis, Mo.

JUN 22 1916

### NEGROES OF 17TH WARD OPPOSE OUSTER OF SLATER

The Seventeenth Ward Negro Republican organization last night in the Union Memorial Church, Twenty-eighth and Pine streets, opposed the movement to oust Frank Slater as a member of the City Republican Central Committee so that a negro might get the position.

The move was started by Ralph Turner. The negro vote is in the majority in the ward and Turner said he believed a negro should hold the committee office.

Those who spoke for the retention of Slater were: Rev. W. P. Donovan, William Matthews, Hutchin Inge, W. Moore, I. H. Bradbury and Richard Barrett. Turner was the only speaker opposed to Slater.

SUN

Baltimore, Md.

CT 29 1916

### Colored Democrats Rally.

The Fifth Ward Colored Democratic Club, composed entirely of colored voters affiliated with the Democratic party, held a meeting Friday night in its club-rooms, 1108 East Lexington street, and indorsed the candidacies of Woodrow Wilson for President; Thomas R. Marshall for Vice-President, and David J. Lewis for United States Senator. Several addresses were made, including one by Jacob C. Nicholas, colored. George Sly, president of the club, presided. Robert Tasco is secretary.

HERALD

DULUTH, MINN.

### Colored Club for Hughes.

Organization of a Republican club of colored men was effected last evening at a meeting held at Rowley hall, and the following officers were elected: O. W. Steele, president; George B. Kelley, secretary; Luther Dawson, treasurer, and J. Harry Harris, chairman of the executive committee. The latter and newly elected president addressed the club in behalf of Mr. Hughes, the Republican candidate for president, and C. L. Hood, representing the Young Men's Republican club, also gave an address.

EVERY EVENING

### COLORED REPUBLICANS OF DISTRICT ORGANIZE

Twenty-two Election Districts Amalgamate—Will Announce Platform Later.

Delegates from colored Republican clubs in thirteen of the twenty-two election districts in the District met Friday night at 494 Louisiana avenue northwest and perfected an organization.

A decision was reached that the clubs represented would support a ticket to be announced at a later date. Meanwhile, invitations are to be extended to other Republican clubs in the city to join the organization at the coming primaries. Samuel E. Lacy, secretary, of 504 E street northwest, will communicate with clubs desiring to join.

Benjamin L. Gaskins and Samuel E. Lacy were elected secretary and treasurer, respectively, of a joint committee composed of one member from each club. A select committee was appointed to consider the names of candidates and report at the next meeting. William H. Walker, Richard C. Brooks and Peter D. Morris were elected members of this committee to act in conjunction with the chairman and secretary of the joint committee.

The delegates present were Samuel Jones, Clarence Tignor, Smith Adams, Royal A. Hughes, B. L. Gaskins, Warren E. Bowser, Peter D. Morris, George H. Horton, John E. Collins, Samuel E. Lacy, J. L. Neill, Fred Thompson, William Freeman, William Henderson, Chapman Thornton, Elphonso Freeman, Arthur Martin, Dr. W. J. Howard, Charles H. Briscoe, George Thomas, William H. Walker, Robert Johnson, John Truman, Charles Dorsey, William Cameron, W. C. Dennis, Samuel Brown, Robert Campbell, Richard C. Brooks, Thomas F. Harper, B. D. Williams, J. T. Rhines, J. H. Johnson, S. D. Washington, and S. H. Brooks.

Wilmington Del.

### Negro Voters to Meet.

Negro voters of New Castle will hold a rally there tomorrow evening, under the auspices of the Grimshaw Club. P. Rolly will be chairman of the meeting. The speakers will be M. J. Anderson, J. Bradley, William H. Buker and John W. Wade.



Political - 1916

Election

## POLICE WOMAN

Chicago Defender 11-18-16



MRS. GEORGIA A. ROBINSON

Appointed Policewoman by Chief of Police Shively of Los Angeles and Who is the First Woman of Her Race to Be Appointed to Such a Position

## The Passing of the Colored Politician.

By Wm. H. Ferris. 10-1916.

THE psalmist, David, while gazing in rapture, the stars, which thou hast ordained; adoration at the starry Heavens above, what is man that thou art mindful of him and cried out to his Creator, "When we consider the son of man that thou visiteth him?"

And the glory and grandeur of man resides in the fact that he possesses reason and will, that he can set an objective before him and calmly and patiently set out to realize it. In other words, the man who can map out and carry out a programme is the man who is most man. Ex-Senator Winthrop Murray Crane of Dalton, Mass., a man of thought, who says little and makes no public speeches and who is one of the powerful forces in that brilliant group of men known as the "Old Guard" of the G. O. P., possesses in a pre-eminent degree the two qualities of mind and

spirit which are the crowning glories of human nature. He showed the wisdom and the self-possession to hold the situation firmly in hand until the psychological moment to play the card that won.

As I sat in the galleries of the Coliseum and moved among the crowds in the street I heard even followers of the popular Teddy and the cautious President Wilson express admiration for the calm deliberation, mathematical calculation and the machine-like precision with which the "Old Guard" mapped and carried out its programme of selecting a candidate to lead the Republican hosts.

To the superficial observer it looked as though the "Old Guard" would be overwhelmed and swamped by the Roosevelt enthusiasm. The demonstration for Senator Root, when he was nominated for president lasted sixteen minutes, and the demonstration for Senator Burton lasted thirty-six minutes. But, when Senator Fall of New Mexico presented the name of Theodore Roosevelt to the conventions, pandemonium reigned in the galleries for three quarters of an hour. Women screamed and men yelled. Mrs. Rutherford of Chicago stepped upon a table and spread out a pennant bearing the name of Roosevelt. Then she waved flags with both hands. Men and women waved hats, umbrellas and canes; tore off flags from the walls and gallery rails, waved them and threw them down among the delegates.

The spectators sat still as Chairman Warren G. Harding, tall, commanding and handsome, with an intellectual brow, benign face, perfectly modulated voice and self possessed manner stepped forward and announced that the Republican convention could proceed to make the nominations. Some state yielded to New York and Governor Charles S. Whitman came forward to put the name of Charles E. Hughes in nomination. The audience saw a tall, black-haired and rather nervous man, with a nervous quiver to his voice that had an elocutionary effect, speak in a telling manner of the crisis in this country's history, of the artificial character of the temporary prosperity brought on by the European war and of the ability, character and achievement of Charles

E. Hughes. His mentioning the name of Ex-President William Howard Taft brought forth an outburst of applause, and when he closed his speech by saying, "I nominate for President of the United States Charles Evans Hughes of New York," the delegates cheered,

yelled and swung rattles for several minutes, and the delegations from Oregon, Vermont and Mississippi marched around the hall.

Chairman Harding announced Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of New York. Then the spectators leaned forward to hear the distinguished president of Columbia University. They saw a stalwart man of medium height, with a quick elastic step, who bore his head like a dome on the shoulders of Atlas and whose countenance beamed with benevolence, serious earnestness, forethought and determination, step forward

And when he spoke, it was *ex-cathedra*, as one who had authority. He seemed a born ruler, compeller and master of men.

When he began his speech by saying, "These are no ordinary times. The world is in upheaval. Forces, long believed confined, are loosed in the world, spreading death and destruction. The United States is in the midst of a great world storm. The winds of prejudice and hate are threatening the craft of civilization," the spectators in the galleries realized that they were listening to something that was profound and philosophical. And then he proceeded to pay tribute to the statesmanship, eminent public services and high character of Elihu Root. And when Dr. Butler closed his remarkable address by this peroration, "Beyond today's raging storm of war I see forming a rainbow of promise. This rainbow is the symbol of our dear America. Each separate color marks an element of race or creed. But when the white light of day absorbs them they exist only as indistinguishable parts of a single and sufficient brightness. So under competent and compelling leadership I see a single united America. This America will know its mind and do its will because it shall have found a leader and a voice. To be the Republican candidate for President of the United States I name Elihu Root of New York." A demonstration followed which lasted nearly twenty minutes. It was not an artificially worked up and prearranged affair, but it was a real tribute to a remarkable nominating speech and a laurel to the distinguished statesman who was eulogized in that speech.

As I came out of the Coliseum where the Republican Convention was held, on Friday and Saturday afternoons, I was surprised to see a vast array of Colored political, educational, national and religious leaders, standing in front of the Coliseum, discussing the issues of the day. They seemed to be holding a con-



# "IF YOU SEE IT IN THE SUN"?

*n. y. news 6/24/16*  
 Report has it that the New York Sun dropped its slogan, "If you see it in the Sun, it's so," after a wronged New Yorker had succeeded in his libel suit against that old Dana publication. The elder Dana would turn in his grave, we verily believe, if he could see now what is apparently the news policy of that publication toward the colored race, whom he did so much to help and encourage. Indeed, almost the reverse of the slogan is generally true of nearly every general news article featuring colored people. Of a piece with the "Leopard," Thomas Dixon's "Birth of a Nation," which seeks to conceal the author's black soul and motive by showing a film of Hampton Institute was the article on the colored delegates at Chicago appearing in a last week's issue. That article told of the alleged cold reception and studied snubbing of the colored delegates and visitors at the Chicago convention. The concluding paragraph mentioned a wealthy colored Tennessean, Robert R. Church, as a new and better type of colored Republican coming to the convention. For the rest the article bristled with artful and insinuating falsehoods. One of the most encouraging aspects of the convention in fact was the reawakening of the old-time friendship and interest in the colored brother. Every contest against the lily whites was won cleanly by the colored contestants. The managers of every candidate, the Sun notwithstanding, properly sought the vote of colored delegates. Everywhere they were accorded due consideration and on all sides the colored visitors were cordially and courteously welcomed. Good fellowship reigned between white and black without reserve just as it did in days of yore. "If you see it in the Sun" about the brother in black, we do not say IT IS NOT SO; we do advise that you find out IF IT IS SO.

## PLATFORM MUTE ON RACE ISSUE

Republican National Convention Ignores the Negro Question.

### WAS RACE'S PLEA PRESENTED?

B. J. Davis, of Georgia, Member of Platform Committee, Says that No Delegation from Race Appeared Before Committee.

### NEGRO NOT REPRESENTED

*N. Y. Sun 6/24/16*

*6/24/16*  
 Mr. Napier of Tennessee and Cozart of New Jersey Declare that Delegation Did Go Before the Committee and that it was Only Through the Influence and Efforts of Davis that Hearing was Granted.

The failure of the Republican party at the Chicago convention to make any pronouncement concerning the civil and political rights of the Negro has aroused considerable comment. There is a difference of opinion as to the cause. In last week's AGE, Hon. J. C. Napier of Nashville stated in an interview that it was only by the efforts of B. J. Davis, member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions from Georgia, that the delegation representing the interest of the Negro was heard, and that it was because of Davis' energy that recognition was given to the resolutions presented by the delegation.

In its issue of June 17, the Atlanta Independent of which B. J. Davis is editor, contains a leading article written by Mr. Davis in which he declares that no delegation of Negroes appeared before the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, although, he says, "before the committee every man and interest had an opportunity." "There was no

effort to shut out anybody," and "the committee was sincerely in favor of giving everybody a hearing and the man or cause that was not heard to his heart's content had nobody to blame but himself." Mr. Davis cites the fact that of all the interests presented to the committee for consideration, the only cause that had no organized effort behind it was the race question.

#### Says Memorial Not Presented.

Continuing, he says: "In Chicago, on Monday night, or motion or suggestion of Col. Henry Lincoln Johnson, a committee of one hundred men, more or less, was appointed to present a protest against lynching and to have the party include in its platform a protest against lynching and a declaration in favor of the reduction of Southern representation in Congress as provided for in the fourteenth amendment in as much as the party had recognized the genius of this amendment in the reduction of representation from the South in the Republican National Convention. This committee was to meet at the Appomattox Club and write a memorial. If it met, it never reported and there would have been nothing at all for the race before the committee had it not been for the effort of Hon. Edward H. Wright, an attorney of Chicago. At the last moment after having waited until the eleventh hour for action by the committee, this gentleman got in a word for the race which Senator Borah promptly moved to table shutting off all debate and making it impossible for the committee to do anything we hoped for. \* \* \* The Negro alone had no organization, no leader, no man in court to insist upon their rights. Yet they constitute ten million of our population. The Negro constitutes one-tenth of the people of this great country, yet they are so disorganized they were not able to come together and demand of the party such recognition as Lincoln provided for them in the constitution of the United States. We seem prepared to fight one another. The only preparedness we believe in is that preparedness which prepares us to fight and squabble among ourselves. There is no organized effort, either state or national, in the race that stands for the manhood rights of black people.

#### Cozart Scores Committee.

It will be noted that Mr. Davis, by inference, does not accept the credit given him by Mr. Napier for energetic and effective work in the committee in behalf of the race.

That the delegation did go before the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, however, is also declared by Winfield F. Cozart of Atlantic City, who went to the convention as a delegate from the second congressional district of New Jersey. Mr. Cozart writes that while it was a mistake to say that any part of the resolutions presented by the Negro delegation was adopted as part of the platform, he can corroborate the statement that it was only through B. J. Davis that the committee was heard,

as Mr. Cozart writes, "Mr. Lodge had at first refused a hearing."

In his letter, under date of June 17, Mr. Cozart writes to the editor of THE AGE as follows:

Allow me as one of the delegates who attended the Republican National Convention to say that my good friend, the Hon. J. C. Napier, made a mistake when he stated that the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, at the Republican National Convention, received and adopted a part of the resolution presented to it by a committee of race leaders. I know whereof I speak, as I was one of the general committee, out of which a committee of fifteen lawyers were selected to draw up the resolution. I was present when it was presented and corroborate that part of the statement that it was only through B. J. Davis that our committee was heard, as Mr. Lodge had at first refused a hearing.

#### Voted Against Platform.

But the Committee on Platform and Resolution did not incorporate any of the resolution presented, and, so far as in its report, our committee, as well as the race, was completely ignored. It was for this reason that I, as a delegate, stood with my right hand uplifted and voted "NO" when the vote was taken on adoption of the platform. I was the only delegate in the convention who voted against adoption of the platform because I opposed what it said, but for what it did not say as requested by our race committee. The rules of the convention would not allow me to state why I voted "no," so I accepted the only opportunity available and rose upon my feet with uplifted hands as a protest against the ignoring of my race. I contend that the Republican party is drifting from its moorings and cowardly deserting the race, which has been its most loyal supporter in the days of need. The Republican Platform Committee went on record as condemning all crimes committed on sea, abroad or on land in any part of the world, and especially the killing of American citizens in Mexico, but was too cowardly to go on record as being against the lynching and burning of the men and women of our race, and to incorporate a plank making the same a Federal crime. They were also too cowardly to go on record as being in favor of the reduction of representation in congress in those States where a certain part of its citizens are denied the right of franchise, and representatives are sent to congress on their numerical strength. The National Convention adopted the recommendations, without the said additions, and the members sat supinely by and only one voice was heard in the wilderness as a protest.

#### What About the Negro Committeemen.

There were two Negroes, members of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Benjamin J. Davis of Georgia and Dr. S. D. Redmond of Mississippi. The question that is being asked by many folks, and the question that seems to re-

quire some kind of an answer, is, "What did Davis and Redmond do, as members of the Negro race, to have the Platform Committee make a strong and definite pronouncement on Lynching, the Franchise, Segregation and other vital phases of the race question? As members of the committee, they undoubtedly had a voice in its proceedings. There are many who would like to know—Did Davis and Redmond make any fight in the committee for the insertion in the platform of a plank that would present the rights of the race as one of the fundamental principles for which the Republican party will stand?"

## 22 JAN 10 NEGROES CITE WILSON 1912 LETTER; ASK JOB

A. M. E. Bishop Produces Note as Showing Right to Expect "Liberality."

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21.—President Wilson was confronted to-day with a letter he wrote in the 1912 campaign in which he assured the negroes of the United States of "justice executed with liberality" if he were elected to the Presidency.

Alexander Walters, a bishop of the A. M. E. church and a leading negro Democrat, sent the letter to the President along with the suggestion that he make good on his promise by appointing a negro Recorder of Deeds in the District of Columbia.

The letter said:  
 My Dear Bishop Walters—I hope that it seems superfluous to those who know me, but to those who do not know me perhaps it is not unnecessary for me to assure my colored fellow citizens of my earnest wish to see justice done them in every matter, and not mere grudging justice, but justice executed with liberality and cordial good feeling. Every guarantee of our law, every principle of our Constitution, commands this, and our sympathies should also make it easy.

The colored people of the United States have made extraordinary progress toward self-support and usefulness, and ought to be encouraged in every possible way. My sympathy with them is of long standing, and I want to assure them through you that should I become President of the United States they may count upon me for absolute fair dealing and for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interests of the race in the United States. Cordially and sincerely yours, WOODROW WILSON.



Political - 1916

# Election CALL FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION 1916

*The Atlanta Independent 1-29-16*

To the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the Republican National Convention of 1912, the Republican National Committee now directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, at 11 o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the 7th day of June, 1916 for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1916, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Republican electors for the several States and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and all other electors without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican Party and endorse its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said Convention. Said National Convention shall consist of four Delegates at Large from each State, and two Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress; one Delegate from each Congressional District; an additional Delegate for each Congressional District in which the vote for any Republican elector in 1908, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in 1914, shall have been not less than 7,500; two Delegates each from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. All Delegates from any State may, however, be chosen from the State at large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs so provide. Alternate Delegates shall be elected to this Convention for each unit of representation equal to the number of Delegates elected therein. In the absence of any Delegate at Large or Delegate from a Congressional District, the roll of alternates for the State or the district shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention.

Delegates at Large and their alternates, and Delegates from Congressional Districts and their alternates,

the Republican Party in such Territory and insular possessions.

All Delegates and alternates shall be elected not earlier than thirty days after the date of this call, and not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of the Republican National Convention, for which this call is issued, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

The credentials of each Delegate and alternate prior to May 24, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at the office of the National Committee, Wilkins Building, Washington D. C., promptly upon such election. The credentials of each Delegate or alternate elected after the 23d day of May, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill. Where more than the authorized number of Delegates is reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist, and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the ground of contest, which must be filed with the Secretary of the Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in cases where Delegates are chosen by law within that period, and then at any time prior to the meeting of the National Convention.

In promulgating this call the Secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to send a copy to the members of the National Committee from each State, and enclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary by the member of the National Committee.

The appointment of Delegates to the National Convention called hereby shall be as adopted by the National Committee at its meeting December 16, 1913, and ratified by Republican State Conventions of States which cast a majority of votes in the Electoral College, schedule of which is appended hereto.

Upon the basis of official election figures furnished to the National Committee, the apportionment of Delegates to the Convention is as follows:

Alabama—Six Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other Congressional Districts—total sixteen.

Arizona—Six Delegates at Large.

Arkansas—Four Delegates at Large; two each from the third, fourth, fifth and seventh Congressional Districts; one from each of the other districts—total fifteen.

California—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Colorado—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Connecticut—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen.

Delaware—Six Delegates at Large.

Florida—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eight.

Georgia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total seventeen.

Idaho—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Illinois—Eight Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fifty-eight.

Indiana—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty.

Iowa—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Kansas—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Kentucky—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Louisiana—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maine—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maryland—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Massachusetts—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Michigan—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty.

Minnesota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-four.

Mississippi—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Missouri—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Montana—Eight Delegates at Large. Nebraska—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Nevada—Six Delegates at Large.

New Hampshire—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

New Jersey—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-eight.

New Mexico—Six Delegates at Large.

New York—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 12th, 13th and 20th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total eighty-seven.

North Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 1st, 2d and 6th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

North Dakota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Ohio—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total forty-eight.

Oklahoma—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Oregon—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Pennsylvania—Twelve Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total seventy-six.

Rhode Island—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

South Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eleven.

South Dakota—Two Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Tennessee—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 5th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

Texas—Eight Delegates at Large; two each from the 14th and 15th Congressional Districts; one from each of the other districts—total twenty-six.

Utah—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Vermont—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the 9th Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total 15.

Washington—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen.

West Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Wisconsin—Four Delegates at



Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Wyoming—Six Delegates at Large.

Alaska—Two Delegates at Large.

District of Columbia—Two Delegates at Large.

Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico—Two Delegates each (without vote except by action of the Convention).

CHARLES D. HILLES, Chm.

JAMES B. REYNOLDS, Sec'y.

Washington, D. C., Dec 14 1915.

OBSERVER  
TABLET

## THE BETTER VIEW

Judge Gilbert T. Stephenson of Winston-Salem was one of the speakers at the recent Southern Sociological Congress in New Orleans and he advanced some views in regard to what is generally known as "the negro problem," that represent the best thought of the South. He laid down the proposition in the beginning that the negro is entitled to his money's worth in every branch of public service. The attitude of most municipal governments in the South toward the constantly increasing negro population in urban communities is cited in proof of this declaration. Judge Stephenson adverted to the growing conviction among the white people that every opportunity should be given the negro to improve his earning capacity. The Houston Post, which finds itself in accord with the views of Judge Stephenson, takes this to indicate the belief that "the economic as well as the moral condition of the negro race is bettered by the highest compensation he can earn and the very best standard of living he can attain." The Observer has always felt inclined to hold up to the negro as an offset against his complaint of disfranchisement—a complaint that is growing weaker and weaker every day—the tremendously overshadowing advantage growing out of the corresponding disappearance of race prejudice, which on part of the whites has been in the past the greatest drawback to the moral and economic advancement of the negro in the South. The Post argues with the truth to sustain it that the political embarrassments which estranged the races long ago, "bother no longer, and since they disappeared it has not been difficult to consider the negro question upon rational grounds. With the problem

cleared of unnecessary obstructions it has been possible to make good progress. No doubt within the next decade the negroes will be able, with the sympathy and encouragement of their white neighbors, to increase their earning capacity by 50 per cent. and in another generation when educational systems have been adjusted to their needs we shall behold not less than double their present earning capacity per capita."

When the negro was lifted out of politics he was also lifted out of bondage, and just now and at the present moment, the very best service he could do for himself and his posterity would be to seal his ears against the voice of the politician and apply himself the more diligently to the pursuits of industry in which he has been making such gratifying progress.

STAR  
HARRIS CITY, MO.

## FORGOT 1861 AND NEGRO

HARDING'S KEYNOTE SPEECH BROKE A RECORD YESTERDAY.

From the Senator's Remarks, Irvin Cobb Concludes That Sectionalism Is Dead and the Black Vote Is No Longer an Asset.

BY IRVIN S. COBB.

CHICAGO, June 8.—Yesterday the keynote of the temporary chairman of the Republican national convention contained no direct reference to the war



IRVIN COBB.

In his speech he referred neither directly nor indirectly to the debt of gratitude which the Republican party is supposed to owe the negro nor to the debt of gratitude which the negro is assumed to owe to the Republican party. As I recall, he did not mention the black

race once.

THE UNSPOKEN NAME.

In his speech he called the roll only of national leaders who are dead. He spoke of Lincoln, but he did not mention a single living leader by name nor hint at a single one by inference, and most particularly did he avoid all reference of whatsoever nature to a certain gentleman now living and in the very pink of health and condition, who, as a Republican, sat in the White House for one full term and the larger part of another term. At another convention proceeding, simultaneously, elsewhere in Chicago the delegates did mention this person—mentioned him with marked enthusiasm for upwards of an hour and a half continuously. But not so Senator Harding. He walked as wide of Colonel Roosevelt as though the colonel had been a pesthouse.

Finally, Senator Harding in his keynote speech made no open play for hard money within the party. He threw out the case—I want to make a guess as to no direct overtures of peace and reconciliation to the faction who left the reservation four years ago, taking most of the reservation with them.

From these developments, which, as I said before, I have for the sake of convenience lumped together in the significant column, it is possible that the reader may draw divers deductions. He may go so far as to assume the following:

1. That the ghost of sectionalism is finally buried for good and all, in all the parties.
2. That the Republican party is ceasing to regard the negro as a political asset, since in the states where he is most numerous he does very little voting anyway and is making a bid for the "white vote of the heretofore heavily Democratic far South."
3. That Senator Harding believes that all the great Republicans are dead, or at least that none of the living ones is of sufficient amplitude of bulk to entitle him to mention.
4. That the senator couldn't exactly figure out in his own mind what sort of an explosion would follow the mention of Colonel Roosevelt's name in a regular Republican convention at this parlous period of the proceedings and wasn't taking any chances either way.

THE NEW CHAUFFEUR FAILED.

Or, then again the reader may not so deduce. As for me I make no deductions. I am merely reminded of a little story of a New York man who hired a negro chauffeur down in Virginia and took the negro with him. Although the new hand professed to know all there was to know about the insides of a car, subsequent developments proved his acquaintance with mechanics to be such that no prudent person would trust him with a nutpick.

Everything went along very beautifully, though, until one pleasant afternoon over on Long Island when the white gentleman's car suddenly developed a low, hacking cough and began to spit blood, and finally, with a deep sigh, came to a dead stop.

The negro climbed down from his seat, slipped on a pair of overalls, took an armload of tools out of the kit box and crawled under the halted car. There he stayed for some time, violently

beating the balky thing in the abdomen with a monkey wrench and unscrewing caps which permitted hot grease to spurt into his eyes.

Eventually he crawled out, so coated with oils and spilt gasoline that had he caught fire at that moment he probably would have burned for some hours with a clear, blue flame and sat up in the dust.

"Boss," he said in a tone of resignation to his employer, "I reckon you'll have to git back to town de bes' way you kin."

"What's the trouble?" inquired his master.

"Trouble! Ain't nothin' but trouble, boss. They's foah sep'rit things de mat-tah wid dis here car—and I doan know whut nary one of 'em is."

ROOSEVELT IS THE TROUBLE.

If there are four separate things the matter with the Republican convention at this moment—mind you, I don't say such is the case, but only that if such is the case—I want to make a guess as to at least three of them.

Three of these things are Colonel Roosevelt, and possibly he's the fourth one, too. However, it ill becomes me to guess at this hour of the day—the forenoon being now well advanced—it behooves me to go out and see what progress the regular Republicans have made with their platform and what progress the Progressives have made with their We need not worry over the first name—it is a dead moral certainty that ins far as the platform is concerned they'll be safe, sane and orthodox. But the Bull Moosers have such a way of becoming precipitately passionate when the colonel's name, or even his initials crop up in the course of the convention conversation that one cannot afford to take

"In the light of past experience, I hope to escape the dangers and pitfalls which follow the use of the wrong word in the wrong spirit and will not engage in personal abuse of any candidate who aspires for office. In this campaign I am for Harry S. New for the United States senate. He is an honest and intelligent exponent of all the fundamentals that have made the Republican party the greatest constructive force the nation ever produced. He is the happy mien between two extremes, and the mention of his name does not arouse the baser passions in the hearts of the Republicans of Indiana.

No Nonresident Influences.

"His candidacy is not aided by nonresident influences which have disregarded party expediency in this state by mailing checks into the state representing thousands of dollars to be used to defeat the purpose for which the candidacy of Harry S. New stands—a unification of all the elements which have made the record of the Republican party of the past one of momentous achievements.

"Entire credit is due Harry New for the first group of colored men to be appointed deputies in Marion county offices. The men who owe their introduction of official life in Indianapolis are W. H. Jackson, Joseph H. Broyles, Gabriel Jones, W. W. Walden, Bruce Bagby, James N. Sheldon and Allen Sims. Mr. New indorsed Dr. Henry Furniss for a diplomatic position, and secured his appointment. Later he indorsed Gabriel L. Jones for a position in the revenue service, and also secured for him the nomination for representative from Marion county.

Appeals to Reason of Negro.

"Harry New did all that was done to elevate the martial spirit of the negro soldiers in Indiana. It was he who demanded of the war department that the two colored companies provided by Indiana during the Spanish-American war be officered by colored men. This was done, and Captains Jacob Porter and J. J. Buckner are living testimonials of this fact.

"Mr. New is not a juggler of the nine parts of speech, but he is the embodiment of the fundamentals that have made the Republican party the one and only constructive party the country has ever produced, and made the negro an important unit, as one of the component parts of its organized life. Mr. New does not appeal to the emotion of the negro, but to his reason and intelligence."

COLORED DEMOCRATS

GO TO LONG BRANCH  
LONG BRANCH, N. J.—A delegation of leading colored Democrats attended the notification ceremonies in which President Wilson was the central figure last Saturday. Among those in evidence were William E. Gross of New York City, James A. Ross of Buffalo, Thomas Wallace Swann of Chicago, and William E. Freeman of Jersey City. Mrs. Edward D. Bell of Montreal, Can.; Miss C. Brown of Lancaster, and Miss O. Davis of Ohio were also present.

The atmosphere was distinctly anti-Negro, and the colored brethren received little, if any, encouragement.

## BREWER MAKES SPEECH IN BEHALF OF H. S. NEW

POINTS OUT CREDIT DUE HIM FROM COLORED REPUBLICANS.

UNIFICATION OF ELEMENTS

Gurley Brewer addressed a meeting of colored Republicans at the Garfield Baptist church in Norwood last night in behalf of the candidacy of Harry S. New for the nomination for United States senator. He said in part:



Political—1916

## Election

# CALL FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION 1916

*The Atlanta Independent*

For the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the Republican National Convention of 1912, the Republican National Committee now directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, at 11 o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the 7th day of June, 1916, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1916, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it.

The Republican electors for the several States and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and all other electors without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican Party and endorse its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said Convention. Said National Convention shall consist of four Delegates at Large from each State, and two Delegates at Large for each Representative at Large in Congress; one Delegate from each Congressional District; an additional Delegate for each Congressional District in which the vote for any Republican elector in 1908, or for the Republican nominee for Congress in 1914, shall have been not less than 7,500; two Delegates each from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. All Delegates from any State may, however, be chosen from the State at large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs so provide. Alternate Delegates shall be elected to this Convention for each unit of representation equal to the number of Delegates elected therein. In the absence of any Delegate at Large or Delegate from a Congressional District, the roll of alternates for the State or the district shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention.

Delegates at Large and their alternates, and Delegates from Congressional Districts and their alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary elections, in accordance with the laws of the State in which the election occurs, in such States as require by law the election of Delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries; provided, that in any State in which Republican representation upon the board of judges or inspectors of elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(2) By Congressional, Territorial or State Conventions, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional, Territorial or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the call for such Conventions shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the District, Territory or State. In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

No Delegates or alternates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any Convention to elect Delegates to the National Convention who were elected prior to the adoption of this call.

Delegates presenting certificates of election from the Canvassing Boards or officer created or designated by State law to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to the National Convention shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by this Committee.

The election of Delegates from the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction and supervision of an Election Board composed of Charles Linkis, Charles H. Bauman and Jesse H. Foster, of the District of Columbia. This Board shall have authority to fix the date of said Convention, subject to the provisions of this call, and to arrange all details incidental thereto; and shall provide for a registration of the votes cast, such registration to include the name and residence of each voter.

The delegates from Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall be elected in conformity with the rules and regulations adopted by this Committee, copies of which will be furnished to the Governing Committee of the Republican Party in such Territory and insular possessions.

All Delegates and alternates shall be elected not earlier than thirty days after the date of this call, and not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of the Republican National Convention, for which this call is issued, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

The credentials of each Delegate and alternate prior to May 24, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at the office of the National Committee, Wilkins Building, Washington, D. C., promptly upon such election. The credentials of each Delegate or alternate elected after the 23d day of May, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill. Where more than the authorized number of Delegates is reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist, and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the ground of contest, which must be filed with the Secretary of the Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in cases where Delegates are chosen by law within that period, and then at any time prior to the meeting of the National Convention.

In promulgating this call the Secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to send a copy to the members of the National Committee from each State, and enclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary by the member of the National Committee.

The appointment of Delegates to the National Convention called here-by shall be as adopted by the National Committee at its meeting December 16, 1913, and ratified by Republican State Conventions of States which cast a majority of votes in the Electoral College, schedule of which is appended hereto.

Upon the basis of official election figures furnished to the National Committee, the apportionment of Delegates to the Convention is as follows:

Alabama—Six Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other Congressional Districts—total sixteen.  
Arizona—Six Delegates at Large.  
Arkansas—Four Delegates at Large;

California—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.  
Colorado—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Connecticut—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen.

Delaware—Six Delegates at Large.  
Florida—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eight.

Georgia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total seventeen.

Idaho—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Illinois—Eight Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fifty-eight.

Indiana—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—thirty.

Iowa—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional district—twenty-six.

Kansas—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Kentucky—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Louisiana—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maine—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maryland—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Massachusetts—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Michigan—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty.

Minnesota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-four.

Mississippi—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Missouri—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Montana—Eight Delegates at Large.  
Nebraska—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Nevada—Six Delegates at Large.  
New Hampshire—Four Delegates at

Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

New Jersey—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-eight.

New Mexico—Six Delegates at Large.

New York—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 12th, 13th and 20th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total eighty-seven.

North Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 1st, 2d and 6th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

North Dakota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Ohio—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total forty-eight.

Oaklahoma—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Oregon—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Pennsylvania—Twelve Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total seventy-six.

Rhode Island—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

South Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eleven.

South Dakota—Two Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Tennessee—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 5th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

Texas—Eight Delegates at Large; two each from the 14th and 15th Congressional Districts; one from each of the other districts—total twenty-six.

Utah—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Vermont—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the 9th Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total 15.

Washington—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen.

West Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Wisconsin—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional



District—total twenty-six.

Wyoming—Six Delegates at Large.

Alaska—Two Delegates at Large.

District of Columbia—Two Delegates at Large.

Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico—

Two Delegates each (without vote except by action of the Convention).

CHARLES D. HILLES, Chm.

JAMES B. REYNOLDS, Sec'y.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 14, 1915.

## POST

Washington, D. C.

## ALLEGES COLORED VOTERS ARE NOW OPPOSED TO WILSON

Editor Post: In this presidential campaign the Republican party has witnessed the return of not only Col. Roosevelt and his Progressive adherents, but also thousands of colored Republicans who voted the Democratic ticket in 1912.

For nearly a half century colored voters stood almost as a unit in their loyalty to the Republican party. During this time two colored men served in the United States Senate and twenty in the House of Representatives, while numerous other positions, such as registrar of the Treasury, Minister to Haiti and recorder of deeds of the District of Columbia, were awarded to colored politicians by Republican Presidents.

This party of Lincoln, Grant, Frederick Douglass, Kelly Miller and Booker T. Washington was the party of 10,000,000 colored Americans when Mr. W. H. Taft became President in 1908. Unfortunately President Taft's Southern policy as regarded the appointment of colored men to political positions in the South aroused so much dissatisfaction among the members of the colored race that several withdrew from the party and organized the "National Negro Democracy of America." Bishop Alexander Walters, of the A. M. E. Zion Church, was elected president.

In the presidential campaign of 1912 this organization was reinforced by another well-known colored organization, which went so far as to appoint a committee to ascertain the Democratic candidate's attitude on the race problem and to inform him that colored voters were bitterly opposed to mob rule, lynching, segregation and all unconstitutional State laws in the South. Mr. Wilson was also apprised of the fact that colored men were clamoring for a fair show in the benefits of public expenditures and an equal opportunity in public office and public service.

Mr. Wilson, it is claimed, assured the committee that he was strenuously antagonistic to any act of discrimination on account of race, creed or color. As a result of this assurance eloquent and influential colored orators toured this country in behalf of Wilson and the Democratic party. But conditions have changed. The colored Democrats who lauded Mr. Wilson in 1912 are the loudest in advocating his defeat in 1916. They contend that the President has failed absolutely to keep his pre-election promises, inasmuch as he has introduced segregation into the governmental departments at Washington and has practiced discrimination in governmental appointments. He has not only

deprived the colored race of such positions as registrar of the United States Treasury and recorder of deeds for the District of Columbia, but he has also appointed a white man as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Haiti, a colored republic.

In short, the President has taken from the colored race seventeen public offices, representing \$65,000 in salaries. Consequently, colored Democrats are disgusted, and they are rapidly turning to Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, who stands "for an Americanism which knows no ulterior purpose, for patriotism which is single and complete, whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed."

Washington, D. C. UZZIAH MINER.

## NEGROES TO HAVE THEIR OWN TICKET

### LINCOLN REPUBLICAN LEAGUE RALLY TO SUPPORT OF CANDIDATES

*The St. Louis Argus*  
Memphis, Tenn., Chairman Wm. Gray, of the Shelby County election commission, today received a legislative ticket from the Negro population of Memphis. He says the Negroes will have a complete ticket in the field.

The Colored Republican voters of Shelby County and the Tenth Congressional district are rallying around their ticket as never before in the history of the race, and they are simply "shell-ing the woods" and "beating the bushes" for votes in November for the entire Republican ticket, from president on down the line.

### Lincoln Republican League Bring Out the Voters

On Friday night, September 15, the voters from over the county districts and throughout the 29 wards of the city stormed the "fort" at Church's Auditorium as never before in the history of Memphis.

### Old Men and Young Men Out 2,500 Strong

Negroes are marching, and mean to keep moving, to the "tune of the times," and the "bugle call" of patriotism and manhood rights.

The meeting was called to order by President R. R. Church and was opened with prayer by Rev. Binford. Secretary J. T. Settle was kept busy enrolling names and addresses. They were there from every corner of the county and apparently every hamlet was represented.

### THEIR MODEST REQUESTS.

A newspaper man has been looking over the file of printed bills introduced by Democrats in Congress on the first day of the present session and calling for money from the treasury for private or selfish or political reasons. The documents are a vivid commentary upon the ingenuity of Democratic statesmen in devising schemes to get public funds for their own political benefit and for the benefit of their communities.

These bills also produce additional evidence, if any were needed, that the South is in the saddle and that the great bulk of Federal "pork" money is designed to be distributed in the

Southern States. For instance, a representative from Arkansas proposes that the Federal Government shall pay each Confederate soldier and each widow of such \$500 in a lump sum and a pension of \$30 a month during the remainder of their lives, and asks the modest sum of \$100,000,000 for this purpose. A member from Louisiana demands that the Government establish homes for disabled Confederate soldiers, their wives and widows, and wants \$720,000 appropriated. Three members—hailing from Mississippi, Oklahoma and Arkansas, respectively—want the cotton tax refunded to the Southern planters who paid it in Civil War times. Two of these bills demand \$68,000,000 each for this purpose, while the third asks for "such sums as may be necessary."

Senator Fletcher of Florida wants \$4,000,000 to combat a disease which affects the orange trees of his state while Congressman Harrison of Mississippi wants \$2,000,000 for the same purpose. For fish hatcheries, monuments to dead Democratic leaders, extensions to public parks, public buildings, Government workshops and other purposes equally frivolous and needless but all calling for Federal money to be spent in the South, various Southern Democrats are clamoring for a total sum of nearly \$10,000,000. Senator Tillman wants \$11,000,000 for a Government armor plant. This makes nearly \$200,000,000 which Southern Democrats asked from the treasury on the first day of

the session.

Their Northern brethren were more modest, knowing, doubtless, that they have few rights in the party organization which is officered almost exclusively from the South. Yet Northern Democrats, on the first day of the session, came forward with a varied list of demands for "pork," ranging from an annual sum of \$4,000,000 for a military training camp in each state down to \$10,000 for a commission to investigate commissions. And yet it is good betting that the next Democratic platform, like the last, will have a resounding plank in favor of economy.

## TRIBUNE

Providence, R. I.

JUL 2 1916

### Negro Democrats for Hughes.

To the Editor of The Sunday Tribune:

In the presidential campaign of 1916 the Republican party will witness the return of not only Col. Roosevelt and his Progressive adherents, but also thousands of negro Republicans who voted the Democratic ticket in 1912.

For nearly a half century negro voters of this country stood almost as a unit in their loyalty to the Republican party. During this time two negroes served in the United States Senate and 20 in the House of Representatives, while numerous other positions, such as Registrar of the Treasury, Minister to Haiti and Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia were awarded to negro politicians by Republican Presidents.

This party of Lincoln, Grant, Frederick Douglass, Kelly Miller and Booker T. Washington was the party of 10,000,000 negro Americans when William H. Taft became President in 1908. Unfortunately, President Taft's Southern policy as regarded the appointment of negroes to political positions in the South aroused so much dissatisfaction among the members of the negro race that several withdrew from the party and organized the National Negro Democracy of America. Bishop Alexander Walters of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, was elected President.

In the presidential campaign of 1912 this organization appointed a committee to ascertain the Democratic candidate's attitude on the race problem and to inform him that negro voters were bitterly opposed to mob rule, lynching, segregation and all unconstitutional State laws in the South. Mr. Wilson was also apprised of the fact that negroes were clamoring for a fair share in the benefits of public expenditures and an equal opportunity in public office and public service.

Mr. Wilson, it is claimed, assured the committee that he was strenuously antagonistic to any act of discrimination on account of races, creed or color. As a result of this assurance, eloquent and

influential negro orators toured this country in behalf of Wilson and the Democratic party. But conditions have changed. The negro Democrats who lauded Mr. Wilson in 1912 are the loudest in advocating his overwhelming defeat in 1916. They contend that the President has absolutely failed to keep his pre-election promises, inasmuch as he has introduced segregation in the governmental departments at Washington and has practiced discrimination in governmental appointments. He has not only deprived the negro of such positions as Registrar of the United States Treasury and Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, but he has also appointed a white man as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Haiti, a negro republic.

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U. M.

Providence, June 27.

## COLORED MEN BARRED AT WILSON'S NOTIFICATION

*Amsterdam News* 9-6-16  
B. L. Gaten, of the New Amsterdam Musical Association, in a statement to the Amsterdam News, says that with the Monmouth delegation from Asbury Park he attended the notification meeting held by the Democrats to notify President Wilson of his nomination last Friday at Long Branch.

There were, Mr. Gaten says, something like one hundred colored delegates, comprising the Randolph Association of Newark and the men of the Monmouth, but when they reached the Summer White House, situated on Shadow Lawn, the colored men were halted at the gate by uniform police and told they would not be allowed to enter.

The leader of the delegation, Mr. Gaten says, was "Chick" Brown, of Newark, and Sam Ward, alias "Cocky."

We thank Mr. Gaten for this news, but we are amazed to learn that there are still some colored organizations of a political nature who are silly enough to try to agin admittance to the Democratic party and its conference when the administration, headed by President Wilson, has repeatedly shown them that they are not wanted.—Ed.

Washington was graced early this week with the presence of Messrs. Lawrence A. Newby, J. Gray Lucas and Thomas Wallace Swann, of Chicago who stopped over to interview a number of the leaders of their party and to confer with members of Congress, representing the State of Illinois. They were en route to Chicago City, to pay their respects to the Democratic National Headquarters, preliminary to entering the campaign. They may be given charge of the work among the colored voters of the West with headquarters at Chicago. The local end of the colored democratic organization is in the hands of Deputy United States Marshal James H. W. Howard.



Political - 1916  
Elections.

CALL

New York City

Chicago Tribune

FEB 13 1916

By JAMES ONEAL.

# THE IDEALS OF AMERICA

WE are assured in some quarters that America in this state.

is worth saving because of its ideals. Just what this abstraction means Comrade Russell and others have not yet revealed, but, if it is anything more than a phantom, it can only be found in our history and the reality of contemporary life. Ideals that have no basis in the institutions of society are simply the personal baggage of the possessor.

What are "American ideals" as expressed in economic institutions, in political parties, in political oratory, in Congress, in literature, and so on? I venture the assertion that an analysis of all these, which are surely expressive of "American ideals," will reveal a continuity of the coarse, the vulgar and shoddy throughout. In many respects they cannot stand comparison with the development of many European nations without suffering by contrast.

Is it not a fact, for example, that human slavery and the trade in slaves lasted longer in this country than in any other modern nation? Slavery itself gives us a good perspective of "American ideals." In the second half of the nineteenth century one might stand on the banks of the Potomac, within the shadow of the Federal Capitol, and gaze across at Virginia, a State where blacks were mated and paired with the view of raising Negroes for sale in the Southern market. They were herded, bred and raised like cattle. Negro "bucks" with exceptional physique were groomed and cared for because of their special fitness for breeding purposes, and their offspring found their way into the terrible rice swamps of the Carolinas or the cane brakes of Louisiana.

The Democratic, the Whig and the "Know-Nothing" parties that juggled with the question of slavery had the excuse that the Constitution did not give power to the Federal Government to interfere with slavery in the States. But in the District of Columbia the Federal Government was supreme. How were "American ideals" expressed in the District, where State rights offered no bar to Congress?

TION

Atlanta, Ga.

LET DEMOCRATS TAKE NOTE!

What may be characterized as no less an opportunity than a duty confronts the democratic party of Georgia today, particularly in the light of the developments in the two

factional republican conventions just held

Both of these republican conventions—one in Macon and the other in Atlanta—were conspicuous by the fact that the color line was altogether eliminated. It was as if both republican factions had made a bid for the "colored brother," with the result that he split up just as did the white republican camp.

The significance of this situation becomes extraordinarily striking, in view of past professions. We have heard much about the reorganized republican party upon the basis of the elimination of the negro. And yet today the negro becomes seemingly the most important factor in the situation.

Whether or not the republicans feel that a combination of past professions and the renewed coddling of the negro vote will strengthen their position in this state, there is undoubtedly a warning lesson to be drawn from the line-up. It is a lesson that points the way to present democratic duty. Under these circumstances, if there was ever a time when the white people of Georgia, irrespective of past differences, of criminations and recriminations, should get together in solid phalanx, it is now. We have been too much in the habit of pondering on the political past instead of devoting our energies to shaping the political future.

Present democratic attitude demands accord and harmony. What we want to do, what we must do, to maintain that party prestige which always has kept and always will keep Georgia in the right place as long as we remain together, is to maintain a solid and irresistible organization that shall continue to sweep everything before it.

We cannot hope to do this if we live in the past; we must consider the present and look to the future. We must put the differences of the past behind us, overlooking them in so far as possible, and call upon all white democrats to rally to the party standard.

The republican fires have been lighted. Just how far and just how rapidly they will burn, no man can say, but it would certainly be the height of democratic folly to spread

a brush heap before the flames. We must clean it up—now!

The situation with all the lights before it is in the hands of the party authorities, who must deal with it in a wise spirit of pacification, rather than with a purpose to impose any penalty, even that alleged justice might dictate. Wisely managed, party affairs in Georgia will know no reversion from that which has been so well and successfully written into Georgia's political pages.

It would be an awful thing to see Georgia white men divided in factions contending for the negro vote.

The warning has been sounded in the two republican conventions, both divided on all things except one, and that the most serious to white supremacy—political racial equality.

Let democrats take note!

P. M. *The Dallas Express* 5/6/16  
**ARKANSAS GOING BACKWARD.**

The fact that the Arkansas Republican State Convention elected only white men to the Chicago convention, as delegates-at-large is significant. Either the black wing of the party under Bush, Jordan and Jones, did not do their duty in getting out the "black troops" or the white wing under Remmel, conspired to have only white men elected. There are mutterings in other Southern states which forebode nothing good for the party if it is to ever build and take its place in a local way in shaping the destiny of the State. In our own proud Texas, the white leaders, McGregor, Baer, Darling, Beck, Rockhald, McDowell, Marshall and others, are not imbued with the idea of building the party by the process of elimination. They know that the Republican party is not a party of races and therefore welcome in its folds all men who believe in its deathless principles and progressive policies. At the Texas Republican State Convention which meets in Fort Worth, May 23, will be found working side by side with the white men above mentioned and others of character and strength, such colored republicans as Hon. Wm. McDonald, Lawyer Broyles, A. S. Wells, Perkins, Price, Goree, Johnson, Mason, McCauley, and other black men who are willing to make any sacrifice to bring success and triumph to the party of Lincoln, Grant and McKinley.

black men, women and children driven through the streets in chains. A procession which might include the President-elect on the way to his inauguration might go its way up one avenue while handcuffed slaves marched at the crack of a whip down another.

Washington newspapers of that time were filled with advertisements of "likely Negroes of both sexes for sale," or "Cash for Negroes; the subscriber wishes to purchase," etc. A few hundred dollars was all that was necessary for the dealer to secure the license required to engage in this traffic, a license granted under an act of Congress. Petitions were repeatedly received by Congress to abolish the trade in the District of Columbia, yet the Southern gentry, with their Northern allies dependent on the slave production of the South, managed to thwart any legislation for the abolition of the slave trade.

The Fugitive Slave law was a concrete expression of this American "ideal," but it is not generally known that white men and women were also victims, for the "best blood" of the South flowed in the veins of Negroes. This was due to the loose relations between masters and the black women of the plantations. In 1835 a Maryland slave owner arrested a fugitive young woman in Philadelphia. The girl proved that she was of Irish parentage and had not a drop of Negro blood in her veins. Nevertheless, the races had become so mixed because of the ante-bellum "free love" which Congress sanctioned that advertisements of fugitives frequently stated that the runaway "is so white as very easily to pass for a free white man."

For many years the marshal of the District was authorized to seize any black as a suspected fugitive. If the unfortunate could not prove that he was a free man, the marshal sold him at public auction. A penniless Negro, without friends, had no means of summoning witnesses or securing legal advice. In fact, his captor was judge and jury, and from his decision there was no appeal. The marshal became a manufacturer of slaves, as the funds realized from the sale of suspects went into his pocket and served as a constant bribe. The free Negro was sold with the real fugitive, for the law required the Negro to pay all fees and rewards for his apprehension and keep, and not one in a hundred free Negroes could pay the jail fees when he was arrested.

But all this belongs to the past, we are told. True, but it has a modern application. In February, 1912, the centenary of Charles Dickens' birth was celebrated. In the 40's of the last century Dickens visited the United States, and later, in his "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," he gave his impressions of America. Dickens was not a snob; he was not a patriotic Englishman, like many who came to our shores. He was as keen in his criticism of British society and its institutions as he was in dealing with ours. He gave to the world one of the most scathing reviews of American society, particularly the institutions of slavery and the slave trade, and the responsibility of the government for them.



More than sixty years had passed when the world celebrated the centenary of the great British author's birth in 1912. Slavery and its related abuses had long since passed away. Another generation had appeared on the scene. Yet how was Dickens' centenary received in this country? The files of the newspapers, and many of the literary reviews, show that the new ruling class had not forgotten or forgiven the lashing Dickens had given the slavers and their slave government and servile press. While paying homage to his genius as a writer, they could not help offering protests against Dickens because of his "bias." "American ideals" had not, in the first quarter of this century, escaped from the charm of the old regime, and the literary police launched their bitter invectives at the big-hearted Dickens because, forsooth, he "did not understand American ideals."

The slaver psychology is still a part of "American ideals," as expressed by the official and unofficial spokesmen of our ruling class, who shape and determine these ideals. If anything else were needed to confirm this estimate of "American ideals," the black hand of American capitalism in the affairs of Mexico should be sufficient. One does not have to look far to find journals and "statesmen," representative of "American ideals," using all the resources at their command to restore Mexican slavery, a regime sustained by a governing mafia of police, slavers and assassins.

This aspect of "American ideals," at least, is not calculated to engender much enthusiasm for saving our "fatherland" from prospective vandals who may covet our American "Kul'tur."

## CALLOW REPUBLICANS NAME NEGRO DELEGATES

Fulton Meeting Fails to Make Recommendation for President or Governor.

FULTON, Mo., Feb. 19.—Emmett Gibbs, a negro laborer, to-day was elected a delegate to the Republican State Convention at Excelsior Springs April 6 by the Republican County Convention and Giles Bell, a negro barber, was named as one of the six delegates to the Congressional Convention at Warrenton March 2. Two years ago the Republican convention was a wild scene as the result of the demand of the negroes that they be given representation. This year the negro delegates were named without contest.

The Republican leaders explained that because of their large vote in the party they were entitled to recognition. J. L. Babler, State chairman, and former Gov. Herbert S. Hadley were endorsed as two of the delegates to the national convention. The convention also pledged its support to L. D. Thompson of New Bloomfield, a native son, who is a candidate for State Treasurer.

No indorsements were made as to President or Governor because of chaotic conditions in the party, it was explained.

new york age  
6/15/16  
FLORIDA POLITICS

According to the estimates of the recent primary election in Florida, Governor Trammell, of that state, has been elected to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Bryan.

In this election, the paramount issue was anti-Catholicism. Some three years ago Senator Bryan had one of his personal friends who is a Roman Catholic appointed to the postmastership at Jacksonville, and it was around this appointment that the fight against him was chiefly made; Governor Trammell being his principal opponent. Here we have an explanation of the Governor's action several weeks ago in ordering the arrest of two Catholic sisters of charity in St. Augustine, on the ground of violating a law which was considered a dead letter.

Trammell took that action to appeal to the anti-Catholic element which was fighting Bryan; for if the motive had been merely to enforce the law, he could have ordered the arrest of some of the white teachers in one of the schools at Jacksonville maintained by Northern philanthropy, but that would not have had just the political effect that was desired.

However, the arrest of two sisters of charity for teaching colored children in a religious school caused such a sensation that the Governor felt called upon to put up some sort of defense for his action, and this is how he did it. In some of his printed campaign matter the following statement was made:

A few have attacked him (Governor Trammell) because he took a firm stand for the enforcement of the law prohibiting white teachers from teaching Negro schools, but the hosts of Democrats who believe in white supremacy approve his stand.

And so, whatever might be the issue, the Negro still remains the "bogey-man," the buffer, the football of Southern politics.

## NEGROES AT PARKER MEETING INVITED BY PLEASANTITE

Declaring that the negroes who attended the Parker meeting in Bunkie were there at the solicitation of Lee Lanier, a Pleasant supporter, editor of the Bunkie Record, and owner of the theatre where the meeting was held, J. E. Williams has sent a statement to The Item refuting the claim of Mr. Lanier, published in The Daily States, that the independent candidate's meeting was a negro affair. Mr. Williams charges that Mr. Lanier attracted the negroes to the Parker meeting by advertising that Charlie Chaplin was to be seen there in moving pictures. He further claims that Mr. Lanier provided especial seats for the negroes. The Lanier theatre is the only one in Bunkie which seeks negro patronage.

The statement, which is signed by five

other well known Bunkie citizens, states that there were three times as many people at the Parker meeting as at the Pleasant rally and that the difference was represented by negroes and not whites. It follows:

Bunkie, La., April 7.

"Editor, New Orleans Item, New Orleans:

"In the Thursday morning edition of The Daily States appears a statement from Lee Lanier, editor of The Bunkie Record, to the effect that the Parker meeting held here Monday 3, was a kind of third rate negro affair. As an old time Democrat and supporter of the peerless J. M. Parker and his reforms, I want to correct a few misleading statements in Mr. Lanier's effusion. The 73 negroes referred to by Lanier are regular attendants at Lanier's Park theatre, drawn there by his advertisement of Charlie Chaplin ev-

ery Monday night, Monday night being the night that this rousing meeting was held in Lanier's Park theatre. The matter needs no correction here where the people know Lanier and his consuming desire to please the bosses, but elsewhere it might do our town and its great number of staunch Parker supporters an injustice. The negroes who went to see Charlie Chaplin were there at Mr. Lanier's solicitation for whom he has made special arrangements for seating, Mr. Lanier's theatre being the only theatre where negro patronage is solicited. Bunkie is a white man's town and won't stand for any advertisement to the contrary. The Parker meeting was three times as large as the pleasant meeting the difference in numbers being white not negroes. There were negroes at the Pleasant meeting and it was not Charlie Chaplin night. We heard expressions from several Pleasant supporters which justify us saying they do not endorse this rot."

(Signed) J. E. WILLIAMS,  
W. F. JACKSON,  
M. R. WEISS,  
P. E. NOLSEN  
O. L. M. BROSSER,  
D. B. DAVIS.

er had been pledged  
new york age  
TYLER IS DEFEATED  
BUT MADE GOOD RACE

CLEVELAND, O.—At the primary election held Tuesday, April 25, for the election of delegates to the Republican National Convention, less than 100,000 Republican votes were cast, about one-fifth of the total Republican vote in the State. In Cuyahoga county, the home of Senator Burton, Ralph W. Tyler, the first colored man to run on a State ticket for delegate-at-large, ran more than one thousand ahead of William Percy Procter. George A. Myers, who took charge of Tyler's interests in this county, fought a great fight for his choice, and Tyler is said to have received every colored vote cast in this county.

In speaking of the result, Mr. Myers says that the vote cast for Tyler in Ohio, exceeding thirty thousand, is a notice to party leaders that colored men are together here, and that they must be given greater consideration. In the five big counties of the State in which there is the heaviest colored vote, Hamilton, Cuyahoga, Montgomery, Clark and Lucas, Tyler polled nearly 20,000 votes, and in Toledo and Lucas County he ran ahead of Sullivan.

Much feeling has been engendered against Senator Burton among colored voters for the reason that all his forces opposed Tyler, the colored candidate. Colored voters accepted this as an indication that Senator Burton is not overly friendly to the interests of the race.

Although losing, the fight made by Tyler and his friends for race representation has resulted in a big victory for the race.



Political - 1916

# Elections Leslie Shaw, Who Would Bar Negro From Office

Star



## LESLIE SHAW URGES G.O.P. PLANK TO BAR NEGRO FROM OFFICE

**Declares This Would Swing Four  
States From "Solid South"  
to Republicans.**

Leslie M. Shaw, twice Governor of Iowa and Secretary of the Treasury under Roosevelt, who argued before the City Club today for a merchant marine, under the topic, "Trade Expansion," discussed with a reporter for The Star at the Planters Hotel this morning certain political issues of the day, both ac-

string every horse in the stable because a few kick.

"If this condition continues, it will be the fault of business men. They have retired from business, scared white, and can now be found in alleyways and behind hedge-rows, trembling like cowards.

"The time has arrived for the business man to put himself in evidence, and to take his appropriate part in public affairs. The need was never so great, and his presence was never as welcome."

He said in his interview that he became "infected with the political germ" at a Bryan free silver speech in 1896, and was elected Governor of Iowa on his opposition to the issue. He said he was re-elected, refused a third term, and accepted a portfolio in the Roosevelt Cabinet in 1902, which he held for five years. Shaw said he had been in politics ever since, campaigning in all States of the Union, except South Carolina and New Mexico.

"I would rather campaign in the States of the so-called 'Solid South,'" he declared, "for just as soon as the Southerner realizes no unkind words are in store for him or his party, he will listen to a presentation of the real issues in a most inspiring way.

"If I could have my way, the Republican party would put into its platform a plank like this: 'We believe in equal rights, equal opportunities for all, equal protection under the law, equal accountability to the law, but in the selection of officers, conditions being as they are, we deem it the part of wisdom to select from that race which for all times has been, and for all times must be, the governing race.'

"Such a plank would put Louisiana, Alabama, Virginia and North Carolina in the Republican column."

Conditions this year, Shaw said, are similar to those in 1896. He declared the party differences of 1912 had disappeared, and urged Republicans, instead of attacking Wilson, to present affirmative issues as to why the Republican party should be restored to power.

"Preparedness is the big issue in this campaign," he said. "Preparedness for certainties, first, and for eventualities, second. Under this latter classification is included everything pertaining to business.

"We will need 1,000 more ships to take the places of those withdrawn from our trade. Unless we have a merchant marine, we will be at a great disadvantage, and we will need every advantage for trade advancement."

Shaw said he expected to remove his family to California for future residence.

**PHILADELPHIAN GETS  
INSPECTORSHIP JO**

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—After five years in the Transcriber's office at City Hall, William L. Games of Pine street, has been appointed Mayor Smith as Inspector of Highways at \$1,500 per year and use of an automobile.

Mr. Games is one of the old citizens of Philadelphia and a member of Thomas' Church.

## CALL FOR REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION 1916

*The Atlanta Independent*

To the Republican Electors of the United States:

In accordance with established custom and in obedience to instructions of the Republican National Convention of 1912, the Republican National Committee now directs that a National Convention of delegated representatives of the Republican Party be held in the City of Chicago, in the State of Illinois, at 11 o'clock A. M., on Wednesday, the 7th day of June, 1916, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, to be voted for at the Presidential Election on Tuesday, November 7, 1916, and for the transaction of such other business as may properly come before it. 2/12/16.

The Republican electors for the several States and the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and all other electors without regard to past political affiliations, who believe in the principles of the Republican Party and in its policies, are cordially invited to unite under this call in the selection of delegates to said Convention. Said National Convention shall consist of four Delegates at Large from each State, and two Delegates at Large or each Representative at Large in Congress; one Delegate from each Congressional District; an additional Delegate for each Congressional District in which the vote for any Republican elector in 1908, or for the Republican nominee for President in 1914, shall have been not less than 7,500; two Delegates each from the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands.

All Delegates from any State may, however, be chosen from the State at large, in the event that the laws of the State in which the election occurs so provide. Alternate Delegates shall be elected to this Convention for each unit of representation equal to the number of Delegates elected therein. In the absence of any Delegate at Large or Delegate from a Congressional District, the roll of alternates for the State or the district shall be called in the order in which the names are placed upon the roll of the Convention.

Delegates at Large and their alternates, and Delegates from Congressional Districts and their alternates, shall be elected in the following manner:

(1) By primary elections, in accordance with the laws of the State in

which the election occurs, in such States as require by law the election of Delegates to National Conventions of political parties by direct primaries; provided, that in any State in which Republican representation upon the board of judges or inspectors of elections for such primary election is denied by law, Delegates and alternates shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

(2) By Congressional, Territorial or State Convention, as the case may be, to be called by the Congressional, Territorial or State Committees, respectively. Notice of the call for such Conventions shall be published in a newspaper or newspapers of general circulation in the District, Territory or State. In a Congressional District where there is no Republican Congressional Committee, the Republican State Committee shall issue the call and make said publication.

No Delegates or alternates shall be deemed eligible to participate in any Convention to elect Delegates to the National Convention who were elected prior to the adoption of this call.

Delegates presenting certificates of election from the Canvassing Boards or officer created or designated by State law to canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to the National Convention shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention by this Committee.

The election of Delegates from the District of Columbia shall be held under the direction and supervision of an Election Board composed of Charles Linkis, Charles H. Bauman and Jesse H. Foster, of the District of Columbia. This Board shall have authority to fix the date of said Convention, subject to the provisions of this call, and to arrange all details incidental thereto; and shall provide for a registration of the votes cast, such registration to include the name and residence of each voter.

The delegates from Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands shall be elected in conformity with the rules and regulations adopted by this Committee, copies of which will be furnished to the Governing Committee of the Republican Party in such Territory and insular possessions.

All Delegates and alternates shall be elected not earlier than thirty days after the date of this call, and not later than thirty days before the date of the meeting of the Republican National Convention, for which this call



is issued, unless otherwise provided by the laws of the State in which the election occurs.

The credentials of each Delegate and alternate prior to May 24, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of Republican National Committee, at the office of the National Committee, Wilkins Building, Washington D. C., promptly upon such election. The credentials of each Delegate or alternate elected after the 23d day of May, 1916, must be forwarded to the Secretary of the Republican National Committee, at Congress Hotel, Chicago, Ill. Where more than the authorized number of Delegates is reported to the Secretary of the National Committee, a contest shall be deemed to exist, and the Secretary shall notify the several claimants so reported and shall submit all credentials and claims to the whole Committee for decision as to which claimants shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the Convention.

All notices of contest shall be submitted in writing accompanied by a printed statement setting forth the ground of contest, which must be filed with the Secretary of the Committee twenty days prior to the meeting of the National Convention, except in cases where Delegates are chosen by law within that period, and then at any time prior to the meeting of the National Convention.

In promulgating this call the Secretary of the Republican National Committee is directed to send a copy to the members of the National Committee from each State, and enclose therewith copies of the call for the Chairman and Secretary by the member of the National Committee.

The appointment of Delegates to the National Convention called hereby shall be as adopted by the National Committee at its meeting December 16, 1913, and ratified by Republican State Conventions of States which cast a majority of votes in the Electoral College, schedule of which is appended hereto.

Upon the basis of official election figures furnished to the National Committee, the apportionment of Delegates to the Convention is as follows:

Alabama—Six Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other Congressional Districts—total sixteen.  
Arizona—Six Delegates at Large.  
Arkansas—Four Delegates at Large; two each from the third, fourth, fifth and seventh Congressional Districts; one from each of the other districts—total fifteen.

California—Four Delegates at

Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Colorado—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Connecticut—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen

Delaware—Six Delegates at Large.

Florida—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eight.

Georgia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the seventh Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total seventeen.

Idaho—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Illinois—Eight Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fifty-eight.

Indiana—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty.

Iowa—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Kansas—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Kentucky—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Louisiana—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maine—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Maryland—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Massachusetts—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Michigan—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty.

Minnesota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-four.

Mississippi—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total twelve.

Missouri—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total thirty-six.

Montana—Eight Delegates at Large

Nebraska—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Nevada—Six Delegates at Large.

New Hampshire—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

New Jersey—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-eight.

New Mexico—Six Delegates at

Large.

New York—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 12th, 13th and 20th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total eighty-seven.

North Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 1st, 2d and 6th Congressional Districts; 2 from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

North Dakota—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Ohio—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total forty-eight.

Oklahoma—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty.

Oregon—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Pennsylvania—Twelve Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total seventy-six.

Rhode Island—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

South Carolina—Four Delegates at Large; one from each Congressional District—total eleven.

South Dakota—Two Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total ten.

Tennessee—Four Delegates at Large; one each from the 5th, 9th and 10th Congressional Districts; two from each of the other districts—total twenty-one.

Texas—Eight Delegates at Large; two each from the 14th and 15th Congressional Districts; one from each of the other districts—total twenty-six.

Utah—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Vermont—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total eight.

Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from the 9th Congressional District; one from each of the other districts—total 15.

Washington—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total fourteen.

West Virginia—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total sixteen.

Wisconsin—Four Delegates at Large; two from each Congressional District—total twenty-six.

Wyoming—Six Delegates at Large.

Alaska—Two Delegates at Large.

District of Columbia—Two Delegates at Large.

Hawaii, Philippines, Porto Rico—

Two Delegates each (without vote except by action of the Convention).

CHARLES D. HILLES, Chm.

JAMES B. REYNOLDS, Sec'y.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 14, 1915.

## MAYO WON ELECTION BY SMALL MAJORITY

Defeated Dr. Riddick, Independent Candidate, By Only Fifty-

*The source of the guide is 1/17/16*

The city Democratic organization received the surprise of its life in Tuesday's election, when Dr. James G. Riddick, independent candidate for mayor, came within fifty-three votes of defeating Capt. Mayo, the incumbent and candidate of the regular Democratic organization. In the April primary for the Democratic nomination Capt. Mayo defeated Mr. Steele by over 600 majority. When it is considered that Dr. Riddick ran as an independent candidate with no faction or party organization behind him, the vote that he received is not only a high compliment to the man, but it is an expression of resentment and protest on the part of the people against machine rule and unfair manipulation in politics, and shows that where the people are given an opportunity to vote according to the dictates of their conscience the so-called solidarity of the Democracy is very much dissolved.

The election shows also that the Democrats cannot defeat the purposes of fairly conducted general elections by holding primaries in which none but white voters are permitted to take part. When honest opposition develops the primary pledge amounts to very little.

The time is coming when the Democratic machine will not be able to govern the municipality through a party primary system that gives a voice to only one class of voters.

The regular Democratic Mayor has very little to feel proud of as a result of the election.

From *Raleigh, N. C.*

Address

Date *MAR 17 1916*

## NEGRO REPUBLICANS TO HOLD CONVENTION

Would Throw Off Yoke of  
"Bosses;" Invite "All  
True Republicans"

H. H. Taylor, chairman of the North Carolina Republican executive committee, colored, has issued a call for a convention to be held in RA-LEIGH, April 24, at noon. He asserts that the negroes of North Carolina can no longer be made foot-balls of by the bosses.

A part of the call reads as follows: "All true Republicans, of whatever race or color or previous condition, are invited to join us in this movement and assist us in building up a party whose old and honorable landmarks and whose grand achievements have shed lustre upon the republic and whose victories have brought blessings to mankind the world over.

"This action has been taken by reason of the many letters coming to these headquarters from negro Republicans in various sections of the state, and in accordance with the unanimous concurrence of the officers of this organization in informal conference with a number of the executive committee and other leading negro Republicans. It is hoped that those attending the convention will come with the one purpose of formulating such a course of action as will secure to all Republicans of the state of every class and color their rights and privileges in the party organization and in promoting the peace and progress of our grand old commonwealth.

"It is hoped that negro Republicans in each county will bestir themselves to the end that their county be represented by a large delegation of their most thoughtful citizens.

"We can no longer afford to be made the football of the bosses and designing politicians. With us there is a great and fundamental principle at stake, for which we must stand  
**NEGROES ELECT DELEGATES.**

### Old Contest for Representation in Republican Convention Is Revived.

The Black and Tan Republicans will hold a state convention in the Screw-men's hall, Blenheim and Exchange Alley, at noon Thursday to elect four delegates-at-large from Louisiana to the Republican National Convention, which meets in Chicago in June. This action will again stage the old-line and "Lily White" factions of the Republican party.

Ever since the "Lily Whites" held their convention at the Granewald Hotel, where the negroes were not permitted to attend, Walter Cohen and the other leaders of the old-line Republicans have been preparing to present their grievances to the national Republican convention. Tuesday night mass meetings were held in every ward throughout the city and delegates were elected to attend the convention. It is reported that there will be a large number of old time white Republicans present at the convention. Among the delegates mentioned for selection to the national convention are Emile Kuntz, Dr. D. A. Line, Mayer Cohen, Walter L. Cohen, B. V. Barance, J. Madison Vance and C. A. Bell. It has been decided that the delegation shall be equally divided, six white men and six negroes. The "Lily Whites" recently met and elected an entire white delegation. At one time it was thought that Governor H. C. Warmoth would be on the Cohen delegation but the ex-governor prefers not to be a delegate but will be on hand in Chicago to help the old-line delegation. It is understood that the delegation will not be instructed for any candidate.



JAN 1916

## Elections.

### THROWING THE NEGRO OUT

The first of the contests over seats in the Republican Convention in Chicago, came up from Alabama and resulted in a victory for the "lily-white" faction. This same faction might as well be called an Old Guard faction, for it is made up of such veteran Republicans and job holders as Pope M. Long, Prelate D. Barker, O. D. Street, James J. Curtis, William L. Chenaut and James M. Aitken.

Every name, at one time or another, has ornamented the official pay roll. Now that they are seated, how will they vote? They will vote for any candidate who might be elected and who promises a return of the old jobs. The platform upon which the Alabama winners stand is simple, "The Old Guard, the Old Flag and the Old Jobs."

The decision was significant, however. It marks, so far as we are informed, the first evidence that a Republican Convention would consent to cut loose from the negro vote. The faction of Alabama Republicans which won out in Chicago, stood for cutting loose from the negro vote. This fight has been in progress in Alabama since 1901, when the new constitution was adopted and the negro vote was greatly restricted. Heretofore, the national leaders of the Republican party have rebuked Southern Republicans who tried to bar the negro from party counsels. It was not that these leaders needed or cared for the votes of the negroes in the South that moved, but the possible effect which the exclusion of the negro would have on the negro voters in the doubtful States of the North and Middle West.

The die is cast: the Republican party seems to be willing to cut loose from the negro. This, we may assume, is one result of the bitter fight within that party in 1912, when the Southern delegates were called representatives of "rotten boroughs," and when various harsh things were said of the negro and his leaders.

In the Chicago hearing, O. D. Street, a Republican from North Alabama, charged that a majority of the registered negro voters in Alabama voted the Democratic ticket. This may not be so bad for the negro after all. A division of the votes of the registered negroes may prove that some of them have learned discretion and that they have learned the folly of following blindly corrupt leaders, as they did in the past.

Still, the informed man must be surprised at the action of the party of Lincoln and of Grant, which throws the negro bodily out of its council and convention halls.

## PRIMARY STATES MAY CONTROL THE G. O. P. CONVENTION

**Twenty-One of Them Will Have 536 of the 993 Delegates to the Chicago Meeting, Which Is Considered Victory for the Progressives.**

### LAWS MADE AFTER ROOSEVELT'S FIGHT

**Some Delegates Must Name Choice for President, in Ten States Choice Is Binding—Total Democrats Not Determined.**

Twenty-one states, having 536 out of 993 delegates to the Republican National Convention in Chicago June 7, will choose their delegates by presidential preference primary election. These elections will be held under the provisions of state laws, and under the control of legal election officials.

The same states will elect in the same manner their delegates to the Democratic national convention in St. Louis June 14, but as Texas, one of the states, will have 40 delegates in the Democratic convention, and but 26 in the Republican convention, the 21 states will have a total representation of 550 delegates in the Democratic national convention. The number of delegates in the Democratic convention has not been determined by the National Committee.

**Elected Delegates in Majority.** The primary elected delegates in the Republican national convention will outnumber the convention elected delegates by 79. There will also be a clear majority of primary elected delegates in the Democratic national convention.

The Republican National Committee, in its official call for the national convention, issued yesterday, made provision for the election of delegates and alternates under the laws of states having preferential primaries, and said that delegates, presenting certificates of elec-

tion from canvassing boards or officers created or designated by state law, may canvass the returns and issue certificates of election to delegates to the national convention shall be placed upon the temporary roll of the convention the committee.

W. F. McCombs, chairman of Democratic National Committee, sent letters to the chairman of state committees calling their attention to declaration of the Baltimore platform which directed the national committee to incorporate in its call for the convention of 1916 that where the election delegates by primary was not obligatory by law, it was advisable for the party organization to arrange for unofficial primaries. Delegates from some states were selected by unofficial primary elections in 1912.

#### More Elected Than in 1912.

In the Republican national convention of 1912 there were 316 delegates from states elected by primary. Since 11 additional states have passed preferential primary laws, but the Vermont law must be referred to the people for their ratification before it comes effective, so that, in all probability, primaries will be held in 10 additional states. There will be primary elected delegates in the Republican convention of 1916 than in 1912.

The states in which presidential preference primary elections will be held under state laws, and the number of delegates in the Republican national convention to which these states are entitled, under the call of the national committee, are:

California .....	26	New Jersey .....	16
Indiana .....	30	North Dakota .....	16
Idaho .....	8	Ohio .....	16
Illinois .....	58	Oregon .....	16
Iowa .....	26	Pennsylvania .....	16
Maryland .....	16	South Dakota .....	16
Massachusetts .....	36	Texas .....	16
Michigan .....	30	West Virginia .....	16
Minnesota .....	24	Wisconsin .....	16
Montana .....	8		
Nebraska .....	16	Total .....	536
New Hampshire, 8			

#### Victory for Progressives.

The recognition of the presidential primary system by the present Republican National Committee is a decided victory for the progressive element of the party. The stand-pat National Committee of 1912, which absolutely dominated the national convention of that year, by manipulating the temporary roll so that the Taft men would always be in a majority, demonstrated in every way possible its hostility to the idea of the people selecting their national convention delegates by primary election.

The committee ignored the California statute by unseating two Roosevelt delegates from one of the San Francisco districts. The California law provided for the election of all delegates at large.

The National Committee has always adhered to the principle of selecting delegates from each congressional district.

It appeared from the figures released upon by the National Committee that the two Taft delegates from one of the San Francisco districts had received a

higher vote in the district than two Roosevelt delegates, and despite the statement of election officials that it was impossible to segregate the vote of this district from the vote at large, the two Taft delegates were seated by the National Committee, and voted upon all contests brought before the convention, including the one in which their own seats were contested.

#### Errors Are Corrected.

In several of the states legislation has been enacted to correct conditions which developed in the Chicago convention of 1912, where the Republican party went to pieces. In that convention there were delegates from at least three states, instructed by a vote of the people for Roosevelt, who were Taft sympathizers, and who, upon every crucial test in the convention, as between the Taft and Roosevelt forces, voted with the Taft men, thus aiding in bringing about the defeat of the man for whom they were instructed to vote.

A majority of the delegates from Oregon, under Roosevelt instructions, voted for the Taft program throughout the convention, and the same was true of a group of Roosevelt instructed delegates from Massachusetts and Maryland.

The Roosevelt instructed delegates from these three states, by voting to seat Taft delegates in every contest, and to sustain every ruling of the National Committee calculated to bring about the nomination of Taft, were able to aid materially in striking down the candidate who was the choice of their constituents.

To correct such evils the laws of several states provide that the candidates for delegates must file a declaration of their choice for President. This is true in Illinois, where the name of the candidate for President favored by the delegate is printed underneath the delegate's name on the ballot. In Illinois the candidate for delegate has the option of stating that he has no choice for President, and this statement must appear on the ballot.

In Ohio, the candidate must state a first and second choice for President, but has the alternative of stating that he will vote for the candidate who receives the highest number of preferential votes.

#### Choice for President.

In New Jersey the candidates for delegate and alternative may have their names printed on the ballot, under the name of their choice for President. In New Hampshire, South Dakota and California the choice for President is similarly expressed only through the choice for delegates. In California, South Dakota, Oregon and Montana the delegates are elected at large. The California law provides that groups of candidates, equal to the number of delegates the State is entitled to, may file, but it must be shown that each group has the endorsement of the candidate for President. In Illinois, New Jersey, New Hampshire and Ohio, the delegates are elected by primary elections in the

several congressional districts.

In 10 states the choice expressed by the delegates is binding upon them. They are bound by law to vote for the candidates whose cause they espoused. These states are California, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Montana, North Dakota, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Oregon.

In 12 states the people, under the primary laws, express their choice direct for the presidential candidates. These states are Iowa, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, New Jersey, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin.

In Ohio the people of the entire State not only express their choice for the presidential candidate, but also vote on the candidates for delegates in the different districts. It might happen in that State that the candidate receiving the highest preferential vote would fail to have his delegates elected in a majority of the districts. In most of the states electing delegates to the convention of 1912, by primary, there were split delegations.

#### Old System in Missouri.

In Missouri the old convention method of electing Republican delegates will prevail. Thirty-two of the 36 delegates will be elected by the 16 congressional district conventions held under the direction of the district committees, and the four delegates at large will be elected by State convention, comprised of delegates from each county.

The county delegates are selected at mass meetings, held under authority and control of the county committees.

In all of the states having preferential primaries the Democratic and Republican delegates will be elected in the same manner. In Missouri, unless there should be an unofficial primary, the convention method of selecting Democratic delegates will be used.

In 1912 unofficial primaries were held to determine whether the State delegation should be instructed for Clark or Folk.

The delegates selected from the different counties met in convention at Joplin and selected four Clark delegates at large, and the delegates from the different districts held separate meetings and also elected Clark delegates. Folk having withdrawn the day before the primary was held.

### THROWING THE NEGRO OUT.

The State Republican convention at Birmingham, again "threw the fat in the fire." A majority vote of the delegates elected all negroes from participation in party affairs, and refused them seats in the convention. "The Seventh District Crowd," was held responsible for this action. The Seventh District has more Republican voters in it than any other congressional district in Alabama. It was the last of the Republican districts to be redeemed, and now even in these days Congressman John L. Burnett has a hard fight every two years. A considerable number of the State leaders are educated in Re-



publican politics in the Seventh District. It would appear that the "Seventh District Crowd" had determined to divorce the Republican Party in Alabama from the brother in black in the hope of strengthening the Republican Party in the Alabama hills. In many of these North Alabama counties there are thousands of industrious, every day farmers who vote the Republican ticket, as they and their fathers have been voting it since the war. These Republicans of the hill had no love for the Confederacy on the one hand, nor did they have any love for the negro on the other. Rightly, or wrongly, the North Alabama Republican leaders believe that the white Republican vote can be largely increased provided a permanent divorce can be had from the negro vote.

The action, however, gives but short shrift to the negro. It must be admitted that as long as the negro had his vote unrestricted, it was at the disposal of the Republican Party. Even when experience taught him the futility of expecting the "forty acres and a mule," he continued to go up to the ballot box and vote a Republican ticket, regardless of candidates, issues or conditions. Perhaps, it would have been better for the negro, if in the old days he had divided up his vote. In blindly following the political bosses of the old Republican Party in Reconstruction days, he presented himself as an unintelligent and dangerous voter, and he solidified the white vote, wherever there was a large negro population.

As a result, of his own error and the mismanagement of men whom he elected to power, the wholesale suffrage of the negro was trimmed when the Democrats came into power. A considerable number of them, even under existing restrictions, have the vote and nearly all of them vote the Republican ticket. Yet, the former allies of the negro turn upon them and throw them out of the Republican Party.

There is bound to be another chapter, to this action. The Republican Party needs and must have the negro vote in such doubtful States as Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Chicago convention can hardly put its stamp of approval upon the action of the Alabama Republicans, in kicking the negro out of a Republican convention. The negroes and some of their political allies evidently had this idea, for they immediately organized a new convention and named a new set of delegates for Chicago. This mixed delegation will go to Chicago saying to the assembled Republicans, "Can the party of Lincoln afford to lose the negro vote in the North by going on record as banishing the negro?" Alabama, therefore will present a neat little contest to the Chicago convention.

If memory serves us right, a similar Lily White movement to purify the Republican Party in Alabama, inaugurated in 1902, went to smash. The new constitution had just been adopted, and the negro electorate had been greatly restricted. The effort was made then to cut the Republican Party loose from the negro vote. If our memory is not at fault, it was participated in by some of the leading Republican office-holders of the State, and it had the approval of no less a person than Theodore Roosevelt. At least it was said at that time to have Roosevelt's approval. But if it did, Roosevelt quickly changed his tactics. He repudiated the movement warmed up to the negro vote and punished some of the men who took part in the Alabama Lily White movement. Several easy and well paid jobs went by the board, because of this unsuccessful attempt.

**THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AND THE NEGRO**

*Southern Reporter*  
There was a time when the Negro vote in National Republican Conventions counted for something. In those days a usually held the balance of power and could, therefore make such terms as would guarantee the continued exercise of his rights in the party and official recognition in the event of the party's success at the polls. His State Conventions were generally visited by representatives of the leading candidates for the nomination for President, and Vice-President and he was made to feel that he was a factor that had to be reckoned with. His one hundred and more votes in the National Council counted for something.

But all of that has changed with the result that at this time he hardly has any power at all and the official recognition amounts to nil. At the Convention recently held he had but twenty-five votes and was not even wanted. Instead of being sought out he was almost

left to himself. Indeed so insignificant has become his contribution to the party's success that no mention was made of his political disfranchisement in the South in the party's platform nor was any guarantee of future political recognition given him.

Thus has the Negro become a cipher instead of a digit. Thus has he been given to understand that he is not wanted and is simply tolerated and that so far as his political future is concerned he must take care of that himself.

Who is to blame for this? The Negro himself. Had he been alive to his own interests and stood together such conditions as here mentioned would not obtain. He has simply sold his birthright for a mess of pottage. Personal gain rather than principle has controlled him. Jealousy, prejudice, and envy have caused him to prefer white leadership rather than his own with the consequence that he is gradually being read out of the party the whites now controlling the party machinery not caring for him.

It may be that he will learn his lesson and in course of time be given such recognition as his political prestige in the South may justify.

**TRIUMPHANT IN DEFEAT.**

*The Richmond Planet.*

6/17/16  
We cannot see what more Col. Theodore Roosevelt wants in the light of his past achievements. He was shamefully treated by the National Republican Convention in 1912. In order to get even, he organized the National Progressive Convention, ran upon a ticket named by that independent party, defeated the candidates

of the National Republican Party and "rubbed it in" so to speak, by polling more votes than the regular organization.

He framed a radical platform, and this year, by calling his national convention at the same time and in the same city as the one in which the National Republican Convention was held, scared the leaders of that body out of their wits, so to speak, and succeeded in having a Progressive platform adopted in a National Republican Convention. He even went so far as to make useless the candidacy of the "old line" Republicans and forced them to name as a candidate for the presidency a distinguished scholar and statesman that the bosses did not want.

It was not that they hated him less, but that they hated Roosevelt more, and in accepting him, they saved

party organization and gave themselves a breathing spell of just a few years. They have practically assured themselves of success by the movement. If Col. Roosevelt meant what he said in his letter sent to Chicago his purposes have been accomplished. To have been nominated for the presidency by both of the political parties would have meant a personal triumph but he would have been the target for every enemy he has in the land which he represents triumphs despite the personal set-back that he himself has received. HON. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, in his brief message

CHAIRMAN HASTINGS, used language rhetorically chaste and politically binding. He stands squarely upon the platform of the National Republican Convention as adopted at Chicago, and the National Republican Convention platform as adopted at Chicago is the platform which has its origin in the mind of the distinguished leader at Oyster Bay, New York.

COL. ROOSEVELT says that he is out of politics. He can afford to be, in the light of recent events for the cause which he represents is ably championed by the brightest mind in two political parties. Everywhere appears the earmarks of Roosevelt and the principles for which he has so vociferously contended. Selah!

**Many States Will Have Less Representatives in National Convention**

Washington, Jan 2—The call for the Republican National Convention of 1916 was sent out to-day by Charles D. Hilles, chairman of the National Committee. The body will open in Chicago at 11 a. m., June 7. In pursuance of the resolution of the committee, adopted Dec. 16, 1913, and since ratified by the State Committees, the representation of the south will be reduced about one-third in the convention.

The changes in the number of delegates in the states affected are as follows:

	1912	1916
Alabama .....	24	16
Arkansas .....	18	15
Florida .....	12	8
Georgia .....	28	17
Louisiana .....	20	12
Mississippi .....	20	12
New York .....	90	87
North Carolina.....	24	21
South Carolina.....	18	11
Tennessee .....	24	21
Texas .....	40	26
Virginia .....	24	15
Hawaii .....	6	2

The original calculation of the committee in 1913 was that Illinois would lose two delegates, Kentucky one and Pennsylvania one, but it worked out later that the number would not change remaining at 58 from Illinois, 26 from Kentucky and 76 from Pennsylvania.



Releigh

## SAVOYARD'S LETTER

### "A RISING RACE."

The negro question was up in Congress the other day and the debate was quite lively for a while. We have had that question with us since before the formation of our glorious Union for it will be recalled that in the Constitutional Convention solid New England was assisted by the Carolinas and Georgia in forcing on Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, Clause 1, Section 9, Article I, that perpetuated the African slave trade till the year 1808. From the close of the Mexican war until the inauguration of R. B. Hayes as President the negro question was the paramount in American politics, a period of thirty years and momentous years they were.

At present the negro question presents this phase: At the North he is emboldened to be a politician and not allowed to work, while at the South he is encouraged to work and not permitted to grasp the reins of political power. All the North cares for the negro is for his vote; at the South they care a great deal about the negro's labor and there he is aided to uplift himself by honest toil and harmless life, the only way even a white man can "uplift" himself. At the South it is no uncommon sight for a white man and a negro to work for the same wage side by side at the same bench; at the North that is an industrial absurdity and an industrial impossibility.

We Southerners are the only Americans who understand the negro and we are the only real and practical friends the negro has. There are hundreds of thousands of people at the North, sincere folk, pious Christians, benevolent philanthropists, who are honest in the absurdity that the South hates the negro, oppresses him, crushes him, annihilates him. They have been taught to believe that from their infancy, and they will believe it until death reveals to their miserable prejudices the radiant light of triumphant truth.

The story of the material progress of the negro at the South since 1877, when he ceased to be a politician and became a laborer, is one of the most marvelous in the experience of man-

kind. It reads like an oriental tale except that it is stubborn fact and not riotous fancy. It is just simply impossible that a down-trodden people, even though Caucasian, could accomplish what the negro at the South has victoriously achieved—his vast real estate holdings and his millions and tens of millions of personality.

My life-long personal friend and fellow-Kentuckian, N. D. Thompson, is a successful book publisher of St. Louis, Mo. He is as Southern as an okra plant and a brother of that Ed Porter Thompson who, as captain of his company in the glorious "Orphan Brigade" of the Confederate Army, went into the battle of Murfreesboro on crutches, suffering from grievous wounds. Dave Thompson, as his friends knew him, sent me a copy of his book, "The Story of a Rising Race," printed some fifteen years ago, and it is a revelation. It is the history of the negro at the South since emancipation. It discovered the negro for what he is—one of the most dexterous and successful imitators of all the human family. It shows us the negro in the field of politics, of journalism, of law, of medicine, of Divinity, in literature, in the fine arts in business, in industries, and in all the other legitimate walks of life.

Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, and if I may be pardoned a repetition of how I characterized them in a former writing—these two, a combination of Hell and Utopia, paid African slavery at the South a most fulsome compliment when by constitutional amendment they decreed that centuries of it had fitted the negro for equal citizenship in the grandest nation on earth; but this book that a Southern white man has published to encourage the negro and cement the friendship between the whites and blacks of our Union is a living testimony that the condition of the negro at the South prior to emancipation was the mildest and most beneficent slavery ever known. It is a fact, the most extravagant truth in history, that during the four years of war, 1861-'65, there was not a single outrage perpetrated by the negro at the South upon a white woman. The eulogy of slavery is found in the fact that nowhere at the South was there ever "a shade of a suspicion" of a servile insurrection—such as the lunatic John Brown hoped to foment—during the entire four years of war.

Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington were the greatest men of the negro race our country ever knew. The influence of the first was altogether vicious and finally it proved impotent even for evil, while the example of the second was altogether beneficent and it was stronger and stronger and stronger as the years go by. Douglass urged the negro to fight for his rights if need be; Washington counseled the negro to work for an honest living and sooner or later his rights inevitably

would follow. Fortunately for both white and black the negro accepted the preaching of Washington. As for his right to life, liberty and property, the Southern negro is now on an exact equality with the Southern white. The law-abiding of both races are perfectly secure, the vicious of both races are in mortal danger.

When I first came to this town in 1880 Blanche K. Bruce, a negro, was a Senator from Mississippi in the Forty-sixth Congress. The story is told that one day he went to his colleague Mr. Lamar, and made this statement:

"Mr. Lamar, my old master is here, and he is much reduced in fortune. He is as proud as Lucifer and would perish ere he would accept a political favor at my hand. The President offers to appoint him to a place in the treasury, the salary of which will keep the wolf from his door. May I ask you to present him with the appointment as coming from you?"

Lamar grasped his hand and shook it convulsively, and with trembling voice exclaimed:

"Bruce, you are a gentleman, of the most delicate and refined feelings. Nature's nobleman. I am proud to call you friend, and gladly will I comply with your request."

The thing was done and that old slave-holder died in office without ever knowing that he was indebted to his former slave for the place.

That is an incident that precisely reflects a phase of slavery as it existed at the South, an institution now happily gone forever. Nobody understands the negro except the few of us, now aged, who remember the old-time corn-shucking. That is why we have urged the Southern people—whites—to erect somewhere at the South a monument, cloud "capped its summit," to the old black Mamma and Uncle. At least one such exists in South Carolina; but we want one in the rearing of which all the South from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, can participate, to the end that future generations may have some conception of the genuine love that existed between master and slave in the old South.

It is the most docile of races; it has enormous capacity for innocent enjoyment; it is the easiest satisfied laborer in the world, and while your vicious negro is horrid, your harmless negro is altogether admirable.

Help him along, or, better, continue conditions that enable him to help himself along. He'll do it.

Washington, May 11.  
THE NOMINATION AT CHICAGO.

*The Richmond Planet*

No conservative citizen will doubt that the National Republican Convention at Chicago last Saturday, in nominating MR. JUSTICE CHARLES EVANS HUGHES as its candidate for the chief office in the nation named the next President of the United States. It was a clear case of the

office seeking the man and not the man the office. The reply sent by MR. HUGHES in response to the telegraphic notification of the action of the Convention is a magnificent production and squares from every point with the high opinion held of him by the best thinking people in this country.

It shows that he understands the situation, that he is prepared to make the canvass and that he will lead the Republican Party from the lowlands of defeat to the table-lands of a glorious success. For our part, we cannot see that the Republican Party could have done better. Transcendent wisdom was displayed in the selection of the candidate. PRESIDENT WILSON should now be able to see the handwriting on the wall. When the Republicans nominated CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, his fate was sealed.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT may make mistakes, but he is no fool. He cannot consistently oppose a man from his own State with the skill and ability of the nominee of the Republican Party. He played at the political game and lost. The Republican bosses desired to beat him, and in nominating CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, they have accomplished the task. It was not what they wanted. They could not have one of their own kind and calibre, but they wanted to be rid of him.

They have succeeded in their undertaking and have scored a half-hearted victory. Ex-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT cannot consistently oppose Candidate HUGHES. It is not that he "hates HUGHES less, but WILSON more. If he will subordinate his desires and his prejudices to the general good, he may be the transcendent figure looming up in 1920. The National Republican Convention has done well. It has named the next President of the United States. Selah!

PUBLIC LEDGER

Philadelphia, Pa.

## NEGRO DEMOCRATS FOR HUGHES

To the Editor of Evening Ledger:

Sir—In the presidential campaign of 1916 the Republican party will witness the return of not only Colonel Roosevelt and his Progressive adherents, but also thousands of negro Republicans who voted the Democratic ticket in 1912.

For nearly a half century negro voters of this country stood almost as a unit in their loyalty to the Republican party. Dur-

ing this time two negroes served in the United States Senate and 20 in the House of Representatives, while numerous other positions, such as Registrar of the Treasury, Minister to Haiti and Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia were awarded to negro politicians by Republican Presidents.

This party of Lincoln, Grant, Frederick Douglass, Kelly Miller and Booker T. Washington was the party of 10,000,000 negro Americans when Mr. W. H. Taft became President in 1908. Unfortunately, President Taft's Southern policy as regarded the appointment of negroes to political positions in the South aroused so much dissatisfaction among the members of the negro race that several withdrew from the party and organized the National Negro Democracy of America. Bishop Alexander Walters, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, was elected president.

In the presidential campaign of 1912 this organization appointed a committee to ascertain the Democratic candidate's attitude on the race problem and to inform him that negro voters were bitterly opposed to mob rule, lynching, segregation and all unconstitutional State laws in the South. Mr. Wilson was also apprised of the fact that negroes were clamoring for a fair share in the benefits of public expenditures and an equal opportunity in public office and public service.

Mr. Wilson, it is claimed, assured the committee that he was strenuously antagonistic to any act of discrimination on account of race, creed or color. As a result of this assurance, eloquent and influential negro orators toured this country, in behalf of Wilson and the Democratic party. But conditions have changed. The negro Democrats who lauded Mr. Wilson in 1912 are the loudest in advocating his overwhelming defeat in 1916. They contend that the President has absolutely failed to keep his pre-election promises, inasmuch as he has introduced segregation in the governmental departments at Washington and has practiced discrimination in Governmental appointments. He has not only deprived the negro of such positions as Registrar of the United States Treasury and Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia, but he has also appointed a white man as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Haiti, a negro republic.

In short, the President has taken from the negro race 17 public offices representing \$65,000 in salaries. Consequently negro Democrats are disgusted and they are rapidly turning to Hon. Charles Evans Hughes, "who stands for an Americanism which knows no ulterior purpose, for patriotism which is single and complete, whether native or naturalized, of whatever race or creed."

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., June 26.  
HERALD

Boston, Mass.

## TREATMENT OF NEGRO REAL TEST OF DEMOCRACY

Mrs. Woodbury Speaks to Women's Home Missionary Society.

Mrs. Ida Vose Woodbury, in an address before the Women's Home Missionary Society at the Park Street Church yesterday, declared that the real test of democracy in the United States would be our treatment of the Negro rather than the assistance given



to immigrants.

"The immigrant," she continued, "is welcomed with open arms. The schools, the churches, the parks and the highest political offices are held open to the newcomer to our shores, and he and his children are urged to take advantage of them. It is wise that we should do so, because such a policy is making this country great.

"But, on the other hand, how different is our treatment of the Negro, who was forced to come to this country against his will, for it is a matter of fact that not less than a few thousand Negroes migrated to this country of their own accord. We do not hold open to the Negro the same chance for improvement that we give to the immigrant."

The Rev. Vincent Ravi Booth of Cambridge spoke on "Opening the Doors in Latin-America." He said that there were two doors, the door of darkness and the door of opportunity, and that the missionary society was more interested in the former than in the latter. The door of darkness, he explained, was the need of a religious awakening among the natives of South America who mingled their old idol worships of the sun god with Christianity in the religion which they practised today.

The Rev. Benjamin A. Wilnot of Roxbury said that the motive which should govern a missionary should not be that of fear or self-preservation, but the motive of the love of Christ.

The Rev. Charles E. Burtin of New York spoke at the morning session on "Service by Proxy." He referred to missionary work carried on in Montana, Idaho, Oregon and Utah, and places nearer home, and even here in the heart of Boston.

Mrs. C. H. Patton of Newton presided. There were 500 delegates present.

## NEGRO RACE CONGRESS CALLED IN NEW JERSEY

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.—A thorough dissecting of the rights of the Negro citizens of New Jersey under the New Jersey Civil Rights Bill is expected to mark the session of the Negro Race Congress called to meet at Cape May on September 5. The Negro citizens, especially the Republicans, were asked by a joint meeting of the Negro American Alliance and the League of Negro Republicans to assemble in this congress.

Unfavorable conditions in New Jersey, indicating that discrimination and segregation in violation of the State law are increasing with failure of the State legislature to consider bills providing for a Negro regiment in the National Guard, cause the members of the executive committee to feel that this is the proper time to ascertain the views of the men who are asking the suffrage of the people. There is to be elected a United States Senator, a governor, several congressmen, State senators and members of the lower house of the State legislature.

Officers of the organization calling the congress are: J. A. Lightfoot, president; John J. Johnson and A. T. Bowman of Camden, vice-presidents; J. F. Bourne, secretary; Reuben Rose, Burlington, and H. Richardson, Cape May.

## THE FATE OF THE

For twenty years after the war. Republican platforms were largely devoted to demands and promises relating to the negro. Then for another score of years utterances on this subject were intermittent and half-hearted. Finally, in 1912 they ceased altogether. In the meantime the emphasis once placed upon the color issue was more and more laid upon tariffs, subsidies, imperialism and pensions.

For two decades after the civil war every national Republican convention took pride in the large attendance of black delegates from the South. They were the colored brethren to whose welfare, social and political, the party was devoted. As object lessons they were useful in a way. Then for another twenty years or more, when the mixed delegations from the South had come to be regarded as mercenaries only, they were looked upon as an incubus, having no influence as to nominations, and, if mentioned at all in platforms, given far less consideration than plutocracy and privilege.

Is the convention that assembled in Chicago, fewer than twenty-five negroes claimed membership, and some of them were contested. They belonged to delegations reduced by the authority of the Republican party itself. The states and that race undertook to represent was discriminated against in grand council of Republicanism as sharply as by various devices in the election laws of some southern commonwealths the whites have reduced the colored vote and two constitutional amendments to a nullity.

First sentimentality palavered and coddled; then bought and traded in like live stock; then abandoned and kicked out—such has been the fate of colored brother at the hands of a party which long ago turned from human rights to embrace commercialism, foreign adventure and monopoly.—New York World.

## MAYOR AINSLIE'S RE-ELECTION.

*The Richmond Planet*  
1/17/16  
MAYOR GEORGE AINSLIE can scan the figures from the election returns last Tuesday with a smile of satisfaction. He has been able to "keep the saddle" to the discomfiture of his enemies in a manner that has been gratifying to his host of friends in this city. It is utterly impossible to please everybody, but a Mayor should endeavor to do his duty fearlessly and to regard with zeal and veneration his oath of office.

When elected, he becomes the Mayor of all the people, without regard to race, color or creed. This distinguished Virginian has impressed us as being an individual who means well. He is young and energetic, practically a boy in years, but he is learning all the time. Few cities have placed upon the shoulders of such a citizen the added responsibilities of an already onerous position. If he can handle the additional duties, and be "foot-loose and fancy free," getting a good night's rest and enjoying peaceful slumbers three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, he will be an individual of iron nerve and giant intellect.

Here are our best wishes for the success of his administration.

## RELIGIOUS ISSUE STIRRING FLORIDA

State Committee Proposes to Bar Democrats in Primary Whose Votes Would Be Affected by Religious Beliefs.  
*Constitution*  
1-24-16

Tampa, Fla., January 23.—Despite the fact that Governor Trammell and several democratic organizations are said to have recommended another meeting of the state democratic executive committee to rescind resolutions adopted placing additional restrictions on democratic voters of this state, Chairman Rainey is said have stated in an open letter to committeemen received here today that he would not call another meeting.

The resolutions in question were adopted at the executive committee meeting in Jacksonville January 7, and would debar from voting, it is said, any democrat whose vote would be in-

fluenced by his religious beliefs or his affiliations with secret organizations.

Governor Trammell in an open letter advising reconsideration of the resolutions issued early this week states that he believes they will work against party unity.

Chairman Rainey holds that the meaning of the resolutions has been misinterpreted.

The resolutions adopted are in the form of rules for the qualification of democratic voters at the state primaries. After setting forth that a qualified voter must be white, believe in the principles of the party and intend to support the various democratic party nominees, they say:

"That he will not be influenced in voting for or against any candidate by any religious test on account of religious belief, denomination or sect with which the candidate is affiliated."

"That he is not a member of any secret organization which attempts in any way to influence political action and purposes of which organization will justify him in refusing to support any nominee of the party."

The state law provides that executive committee action applies to state primaries only.

## Negro Delegates 5-14-16 Refused Seats in Jefferson Co. G. O. P.

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., May 13.—Refused seats in the Jefferson county republican convention, negro delegates, elected from the legal organizations in three beats which they controlled withdrew to another hall, held a county conference of their own today and elected 22 delegates to the state and district conventions, thus paving the way for a contest before the national republican convention in June. The contention of former Postmaster T. H. Aldrich, Dr. U. G. Mason, J. O. Diffay and T. S. Sansom, negro political leaders in these beats, that their organizations were regular and entitled to seats, were not recognized by the county executive committee, which held that a sub committee which it appointed had the right to go into these beats and organize separate beat conventions of white men.

The white men were seated. Only one negro was permitted to remain in the convention held in the chamber of commerce and he being a Mulatto, was mistaken for a white man. Spirited speeches made by the negro delegates in their separate meeting were intensified by the report which this mulatto brought from the white convention.

## J. CRAWFORD WINS, TWICE

*The Guardian*  
COLORED REPUBLICAN LEADER OF WARD 13, BOSTON, SICK IN HOSPITAL, SECURES NOMINATION TO LEGISLATURE AND WARD COMMITTEE HE LEADS—SWEEPS EVERYTHING BUT STATE COMMITTEE-MAN.

The legions of friends of Lawyer J. A. Crawford, Republican leader of Ward 13, present chairman of the Republican Ward committee, anxious about the result of the Crawford ticket because this leader has been an invalid all the campaign, were rejoiced when the returns of Tuesday's

primaries showed Crawford a big winner for the nomination to the legislature, with Mr. Stevenson, white, as running mate, giving the desired mixing of the races, and the entire Ward committee ticket headed by Crawford elected. Mr. Crawford led the vote in both cases. Burrell and Hoxter were defeated in Cambridge.

Crawford Got 436 Votes, Stevenson 306, Outlear 220.

**The Ward Committee Vote.**  
With precinct 1 not heard from: Crawford, 217; Guppy, 196; Stevenson, 212; Scott, 191; Ross, 203; Jackson, 196; Jones, 205; Newstadt, 183; Nichols, 184; Carey, 191.

The opposition ticket scored as follows: Rainey, 131; Young, 127; Hill, 125; Tuggle, 125; Winter, 118; Dodge, 117; White, 118; Gow, 118; Reid, 116; Kitson, 113.

(For other news of primaries see page 2, columns 1 and 2.)  
Cutting Bureau in the World

## THE WELFARE OF THE NEGRO

Political embarrassments which estranged the races long ago bother no longer, and since they disappeared it has not been difficult to consider the negro question upon rational grounds. With the problem cleared of unnecessary obstructions it has been possible to make good progress. No doubt within the next decade the negroes will be able, with the sympathy and encouragement of their white neighbors, to increase their earning capacity by 50 per cent, and in another generation when educational systems have been adjusted to their needs we shall behold not less than double their present earning capacity per capita.

That of itself means much for the moral and material betterment of the negro and incomputably much for the country in an economic sense.

The sociological congress, inaugurated by former Governor Hooper of Tennessee several years ago, is an important annual event for the South, and the welfare of the negro is by far the greatest question that it considers. It is well for the whole South that this is so.—The Houston Post.

**EVO. NEWS**  
Baltimore, Md.

Negro delegates from the Southern States are feeling the effects of Democratic "hard times." Four years ago each had a roll of bills on him that looked like a dime's worth of lettuce, and a "piece o' alum" shining in his tie. This year it's hard to get a meal ticket and the delegates sitting in the hotel lobbies get no more attention than the bellhops.



Political - 1916

## Election THE NEGRO'S WORK AT CHICAGO CONVENTION

Hon. J. C. Napier of Nashville, Tenn., is in the city en route home from the National Republican Convention at Chicago. He is here for the purpose of attending the meeting of the board of trustees of Fisk University. Asked by a representative of THE AGE as to the results achieved at the Chicago convention by the colored men attending a delegates, Mr. Napier gave an interesting account of the effort made to have incorporated in the platform a plan which would insure the restoring of the franchise to the colored voter in the Southern States.

A meeting was held by the colored men and the situation discussed in its phases. It was finally decided to send a delegation before the Committee on Resolutions, with a suggestion embodying the plan agreed upon, the suggestion tending to regulate the franchise situation in the South by a manipulation of the reduction of representation in Congress idea.

After some trouble a hearing was secured for the delegation, largely, said Mr. Napier, through the efforts of Benj. J. Davis of Georgia, one of the two Negro members of the resolution committee, and a modification of the plan suggested was finally inserted in the platform as agreed upon.

New Orleans, La.

25 1916

**NEGROES AT CHICAGO.**  
New Orleans, La., June 17, 1916.  
Editor Daily States:

In reading the article headed "Black and Tans Sit With Lily Whites," which was published in your paper last Wednesday, June 14th, 1916, I notice particularly in Walker Cohen's comments on the results of the outcome, he states in the following words: "One thing we were glad to see the Lily Whites had to bring a few negroes to the convention to give them a certificate of good Republicanism."

If Cohen has not been especially requested to withhold from publication the names of the negroes who had the common brassy nerve to make the trip to Chicago to hold up the end of the Lily Whites who shut doors in the face of the negro in this state despite his loyalty to the party and who would continue such conduct had their action met with approval at the convention, I do implore Cohen to furnish us through the columns of your newspaper the names of the negroes who went from Louisiana to Chicago and gave evidence or a certificate of the Lily Whites good Republicanism.

It is well that the many negroes of Louisiana know these men, who after reading and learning of how the blacks were shut out of the State convention, by meeting at the Grunewald Hotel, allowed the so-called Lily White party to induce them to be taken to the National Republican convention to attest their action as honest and fair play to the negroes of the Republican party.

We are glad Cohen won out and his

faction was seated, but would now appreciate still the more knowing the names of the blacks who opposed you. SPEAK MR. COHEN to the SYMPATHIZERS OF THE BLACK AND TANS.

## EVENING TRANSCRIPT

Boston, Mass.

## NEGROES CRITICISE WILSON

Praising Carrizal Dead, They Urge Revocation of Federal Segregation

At a memorial meeting in Faneuil Hall last night for the negro troopers who fell at Carrizal, President Wilson was criticised by more than one speaker, and a resolution, which was adopted, was to the effect that "President Wilson should, in the presence of the massed bodies of the colored soldiers in Mexico, revoke Federal segregation because of the color."

Emory T. Morris of the Equal Rights League presided and the resolution was offered by W. M. Trotter. Allen W. Whaley said: "They are erecting a monument to a white man who died at Vera Cruz. What will they do for these brave negroes who gave their all in Mexico?"

Dr. Ernest H. Gruening said that history shows the negro to have been at the forefront in defence of the republic since the days of the Boston Massacre, and he urged his hearers to take the same unflinching stand in their fight for recognition in civil life.

Governor McCall, sending a letter of regret at not being present, declared that the men who fought at Carrizal showed themselves worthy comrades of the soldiers of whatever race or origin who have served this country.

## BLACK AND TANS STRONG FOR TEDDY AND GOV. HENDERSON

(Special to The Advertiser.)

CALERA, ALA., April 22—The Black and Tans held their fourth congressional convention at Calera, Alabama, Friday, April 21st, 1916, with W. H. Mixon, of Selma, chairman; A. M. Pope, of Calera, as secretary. The chairman gave a brief outline of the meeting.

They elected a full executive committee. *Advertiser*

Delegates to the national bull moose republican convention, which meets in Chicago, June 7th, 1916, were elected as follows: W. H. Mixon, of Selma; W. E. Simmons, of Talladega. Alternates, A. M. Pope, of Calera; G. T. Jackson, Shelby county. They go to the convention uninstructed but it is understood they will vote for the nomination of Teddy Roosevelt. After the transaction of the usual business resolutions were adopted endorsing Governor Henderson and Teddy Roosevelt.

HERALD

PULUTH, GEORGIA

NOV 2 1916

## YOUNG REPUBLICANS HEAR W. W. THOMAS

Former Diplomat From  
Portland, Me., Chief  
Speaker at Club.

At a meeting of the Young Men's Republican club, held in Foresters' hall last evening, William W. Thomas of Portland, Me., former minister to Sweden, was the chief speaker. Mr. Thomas made a typical Republican speech on the tariff question, combining briefly therewith a T. Roosevelt talk on the Mexican situation and the administration's policy concerning that country.

He recited conditions under Grover Cleveland to prove that that is what should have been the case under Woodrow Wilson and which he declared will ultimately come. The present prosperity he attributed to the war, and gave the administration no credit for the nation's stability.

Mr. Thomas' only concession to the Democrats was to say that had such a man as Cleveland been president, the Lusitania would never have been sunk. State Senator Charles E. Adams was another speaker, and declared that Mr. Hughes is the best friend of the laboring man.

J. Harry Harris announced that a Negro Men's Republican club has been formed and that the colored men will solidly vote for Mr. Hughes.

John E. MacGregor predicted that the county would go Republican on Nov. 7.

TIMES

WATER TOWN, N. Y.

The colored Republican club of Jefferson county, known as the Hugo club, will form a part of the escort in honor of Governor Whitman Wednesday noon. About 50 members of the club are expected to participate in the procession, which will move from the New York Central terminal to the opera house. The colored contingent will be headed by Sam Langford and William Orndoff, president and secretary, respectively, acting as marshals.

Archie C. Ryder, chairman of the Republican county committee, announced this morning that the Saturday matinee performance of The Blue Envelope at the City opera house has been cancelled, that Charles E. Hughes, Republican candidate for president, may speak there. The chairman for the meeting has not yet been selected.

A big parade of Republican voters and flag-decorated automobiles will be reviewed by the candidate prior to the meeting.

Cast out as absolutely not wanted by the white Republicans the negro Republicans of North Carolina are again this year starting up a revolt against the powers that control the party to which they give their allegiance, and are demanding that they be given a showing. Well, what the Republican party has done to the negro Republicans was only to be expected. It was the vote of the negro which the Republicans were after and when the negro vote became negligible the Republicans cast him off, and have since that time been parading themselves as a party of the "respectable" kind, when all the world knows that if the negro should become useful again with his vote the white Republicans would go chasing after him. The negro has a right to feel aggrieved at the Republican party, for he was a good pack horse for that party to ride on to get into office and having served his day he feels that he ought to be remembered. But to the Republicans of the South the negro is a squeezed lemon, and therefore he is cast into the trash heap as being of no more good. The negro Republican meeting which was held here this week arranged to send delegates to Chicago to ask for representation, but we do not think that they are very hopeful. The Democrats of the South have shown that they are the best friends of the negro, for it is because of legislation which they have made that the negro is going forward in material affairs. Politics has been his curse and his undoing, and he has lived to see the day when the party which the ballots of his race upheld in its hours of need has turned its back on the negro. And the negro, knowing the reason for this, has a right to feel outraged, and to call for a change in his behalf.—Raleigh News & Observer.

TRIBUNE

Providence, R. I.

## MEETINGS PLANNED

Woman Suffrage Party Will Be Busy Soon.

Wednesday, Nov. 1, is the date selected for the annual meeting of the city committee of the Providence Woman Suffrage party. The session will be held at the Community House, Washington Park. During the afternoon a suffrage coffee social will be conducted by Miss Ellen Day, chairman of the church committee. In the evening an informal dinner will be served, followed by a business meeting. Rev. Myron E. Genter, pastor of the Washington Park Methodist Church, will speak on "The Hour's Need." Miss Mary Jackson, Mrs. John W. North and Miss Ellen Day have been appointed to serve on the nominating committee.

Following is the program of Sunday afternoon meetings arranged by the Providence Civic Forum: Nov. 5, Mrs. William Codman Sturgis of Colorado Springs, "Good Citizenship from the Woman's Point of View;" Nov. 12, "Baby Day," speaker to be announced later;

Nov. 19, program to be under the direction of the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People; Nov. 26, special "Suffrage Day;" Dec. 3, "Irish Day," with Lord and Lady Aberdeen and Dr. Kate Waller Barrett as speakers; Dec. 10, "Single Tax Day." Motion pictures and music will form a portion of the program on each of these dates.

## NEGROES INDORSE COLONEL

South Side Organization Resolves  
He Is "World's First  
Statesman."

Negro support for Col. Theodore Roosevelt for president was given impetus last night when seventy-five Negroes met at 3605 South State street and organized a movement to be national in scope for the election of national Republican delegates friendly to the former president. Resolutions portraying Col. Roosevelt as "the world's first statesman and the purest American patriot" were adopted. W. D. Allimono, a young business man, is president of the organization. Dr. W. Alex. Venerabbe was elected secretary and treasurer. John M. Harlan and City Clerk John Simon were indorsed for delegates at large to the national convention.

## EVENING WORLD

New York City

## NEGROES SEGREGATED AT REPUBLICAN MEETING

Students of University and Others  
Not Allowed in Main Part of  
Hall in Washington.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31.—Harry D. Estabrook of New York City, who was a candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination at the Chicago Convention, being among those who "afro ran," was the star spellbinder last night at a mass meeting of Republicans at Convention Hall.

A striking feature of the meeting was that the large delegation of colored students from Howard University and other colored men, all of whom have votes in other States, were not permitted to occupy seats in the main part of the hall, but were segregated in the galleries, just as is done in the Southern States.

## NEGRO LAWYER IS APPOINTED ASSISTANT STATE'S ATTORNEY

St. Louis, Mo., Nov. 17.—N. W. Pardon, Negro lawyer of East St. Louis, has been appointed an assistant state's attorney by Hubert Schaumieffel, of Belleville, who was elected on the Republican ticket Nov. 7. Pardon's salary will be \$1,200 per year.



# Negro Republicans of Kentucky Call Another State Meet

(Associated Press.)  
LEXINGTON, Ky., March 2.—Negro delegates to the republican state convention held at Louisville yesterday announced that they would call another state convention within the next thirty days to select an entirely new delegation at large consisting of only four members.

At the Louisville meeting yesterday the delegation at large was increased to eight members with each man having half a vote, one of them being a negro. In recent years a negro representative a full vote was made one of the four delegates at large, and the negro delegates here today claimed that the enlarging of the delegation to eight members with half a vote each is illegal.

Tennessee

Nashville, Tenn.

## Judge Hughes and Scent-a-tor Hooper.

(An unreported colloquy between Judge Hughes and ex-Gov. Ben W. Hooper during Judge Hughes' address to the Nashville negroes.)

By CHARLES P. SIMONTON.

"Ben, what's that strange, o'erpow'ring scent

"Among those blacks and tans?"  
"Judge, that's the body scent-I ment  
Of Hughes' true Africans."

"Then, Ben, I'll leave your sunny south,  
Ere that scent stronger grows;  
My whiskers shield my face and mouth—  
But they don't shield my nose."

Hughes hastened out, away he ran,  
Forgot his hat and spouse,  
Lest more aroma African  
His eloquence might rouse.

Then Hooper cried out: "Woe is Me!  
I've got to stand that smell."  
If scent-a-tor poor Ben will be,  
That scent the tale will tell.

Hughes flirts with suffragettes out west;  
They smile on him, 'tis true.  
But maids like beardless men the best—  
Hence, Wilson's "coming through."

## SPEAK OUT, DELEGATES.

B. J. Davis, of the Atlanta Independent, has told of his efforts in trying to have inserted in the Republican platform a plank condemning lynching and offering the civil rights of the Negro. THE NEW YORK AGE in its latest issue, commenting thereon, calls upon the other Negro delegates, among them Dr. J. R. Levy and Maj. J. H. Fordham, to give an account of their stewardship. We think that is proper. We have a faint recollection of the great promises made by some of our delegates before the State Convention along this same line. Speak up, brethren. Don't wait until you become candidate again. Nothing was done. Now, why, and what did you do?—The Southern Indicator, Columbus, S. C.

New York City

## CHEER ROOSEVELT'S NAME WHENEVER MENTIONED

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 27.—Delegates from Arkansas to the Republican national convention in Chicago will go uninstructed, and for the first time in twelve years there will be no Negro delegate at large among the number. The "Lily White" faction of the party was in control of the state convention which met here and elected the national convention delegates.

A motion that the delegates be instructed to support Colonel Theodore Roosevelt for the presidential nomination received only a few votes on roll call. Mr. Roosevelt's name, however, was cheered whenever it was mentioned.

H. L. Rummel of Little Rock was re-elected national committeeman, and also a delegate at large to the national convention. Wallace Townsend of Little Rock was nominated for governor.

## NEGRO REPUBLICANS HELD RUMPT CONVENTION.

New Orleans, La., Apr. 29.—A convention of the colored Republican voters of Louisiana is being held today, and a separate delegation will be selected to represent the state at the Chicago convention. When the Republican state convention opened a month ago, the colored delegates were refused admittance to the hotel. The negroes charged that the holding of the convention on the hotel which barred the colored delegates was a ruse by which the whites eliminated the negroes. It is expected that the colored delegation, and will demand that they be seated instead.

## LOSS OF DELEGATES.

Under the new apportionment in the National Republican convention, intended mainly to eliminate the Southern negro vote, three districts from Tennessee will each lose a delegate—the Tenth, Ninth and Fifth. The first two mentioned are in

West Tennessee, and both have considerable negro population, especially the Tenth. But why the Fifth district is to suffer a cut is not clear.

However that may be, Tennessee is to lose three votes under the new apportionment of delegates, and only twenty-one Republicans from the state can sit in the convention at Chicago instead of twenty-four, as was formerly the case.

## Negro Paper Ordered

### Not to Print Libel

### About H. S. Jackson

Augusta, Ga., March 4.—(Special.)—Judge Henry C. Hammond granted temporary restraining order today enjoining A. W. Wimberly, colored, from publishing in his paper, The Plain Dealer, alleged libelous matter about Henry S. Jackson, of Atlanta, former collector of internal revenue and prominent republican.

Jackson, who is national republican committeeman from Georgia, alleges that Wimberly is insolvent, and he is thus prevented from proceeding against the negro editor for damages. An action has already been begun charging Wimberly with criminal libel. Arguments on the matter will be heard March 18.

## THE NEW YORK AGE NORTH CAROLINA'S G. O. P. DELEGATES

RALEIGH, N. C.—At the Republican State Convention in this city April 24, the following delegates to the National Republican Convention were elected: S. H. Vick of Wilson, D. E. Lane of Raleigh, W. E. Hagans of Goldsboro and R. F. Butler. Alternates: J. T. Avery of Burke County, George Harris of Frank County, Alex. Pease of Granville County and J. R. Evans of Brunswick County.

H. H. Taylor was elected chairman of the State committee, with C. N. Hunter as secretary.

TELEGRAPH

APR 27 1916

## NEGRO REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

New Orleans, La., April 27.—A convention of the colored republican voters of Louisiana is being held today, and a separate delegation will be selected to represent the state at the Chicago convention. When the republican state convention opened a month ago, the colored delegates were refused admittance to the hotel. The negroes charged that the holding of the convention in the hotel which barred the colored delegates was a ruse by which the whites eliminated the negroes. It is expected that the colored delegation that will be sent to Chicago will contest the seating of the white delegation, and will demand that they be seated instead.

From

Address:

Date

That the National Negro Democratic League, composed of representative negroes from all parts of the United States, will throw to Wilson more than the 300,000 negro votes which they gave him in 1912, was the belief expressed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the league in Chicago, where the members will select officers and prepare to prosecute a vigorous campaign for the Democratic ticket. Globe-Democrat.

PIONEER PRESS

St. Paul, Minn.

## GOVERNOR STIRS NEGROES

Wisconsin Meeting Incensed by Philipp's Memorial Day Address.

(By Associated Press.)  
Oshkosh, Wis., June 23.—Governor E. L. Philipp received severe criticism last night at the concluding meeting of the first annual state convention of negroes, held for permanent organization and of the Co-operative Development and Progressive Association of Wisconsin. George H. De Reef, a negro attorney of Milwaukee, attacked the governor's Memorial day utterances at Baraboo, Wis., in which the executive was credited with saying the Civil War had accomplished nothing in freeing the slaves.

## KENTUCKY'S G. O. P. COLOR LINE

Race Loses Usual Percentage of Delegates.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., March 1.—Kentucky Republicans in State convention here tonight sat upon their negro brethren when it was decided to send eight delegates at large to the national convention in Chicago with one-half vote each. The negroes always have had one-fourth representation among the delegates at large.

The committee on resolutions presented a clause in which the Kentucky Republicans indorsed the candidacy of Charles W. Fairbanks for President, but the delegates were not instructed for him.

EVENING JOURNAL

Chicago, Ill.

## 600 NEGROES OUT FOR WILSON

Former Supporters of Roosevelt Denounce Republicans

An organization of 600 negroes, former supporters of Col. Roosevelt, was formed to participate in the campaign of Woodrow Wilson for president among the colored voters of the nation at a meeting in Chicago Civic League hall, 3916 South State street. The members denounced the attitude of those in authority at the recent republican convention and declared against Charles Evans Hughes as unfriendly to their race.

SUN

New York City

## Arkansas Negro Delegates Lose.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., April 26.—The "lily white" delegations from Pulaski and Hempstead counties to the Republican State convention were seated this morning by the State central committee after a session which lasted all night. Credentials of the contesting negro delegates were ordered nullified. Harry C. Meyers, ex-Superintendent of the Government reservation at Hot Springs, who championed the cause of the negroes, announced that he will take the fight to the floor of the convention.

JOURNAL

COLUMBUS

## TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO.

Editor Ohio State Journal:

In your issue of April 30 Mr. William W. Hicks, in his letter of criticism upon the stand taken by the editor of The State Journal in your comment on ex-Secretary Shaw's position, says: "If treating the negro differently from the white race is antipathy, then God showed more antipathy to the negro when he created him than is possible for us to show." I confess my lack of ability to follow the gentleman's argument, and challenge him to produce from history facts to sustain his position that "when God created the negro" he treated him differently from the white race.

EDWARD L. GILLIAM.  
Columbus, May 1.

DISPATCH

APR 27 1916

## Consider Negro Conditions

Local divisions of the Afro-American League of Pennsylvania have received calls from the league headquarters at Philadelphia for a meeting of the general assembly to be held in Philadelphia, May 1. This call asks that delegates be prepared to describe the political conditions of Negro citizens of their respective communities.



Political - 1916

# Election NEGRO IS BARRED FROM REPUBLICAN DISTRICT MEETING

Executive Committee Re-organized and New Chairman Named; Hugh Dent Is Commended Fairness

Republicans of the Second Congressional District held their convention Tuesday noon in the assembly room of the Chamber of Commerce, and elected a new chairman, delegates to the State convention and also the national convention at Chicago. They also elected a presidential elector and alternate.

Eight counties were represented, Wilcox being left out, as that county did not cast twenty-five or more votes for either Taft or Roosevelt three years ago.

A troublesome situation arose during the morning, prior to the time of the meeting, when it was learned that a negro from Montgomery County was entitled to a seat in the convention. A. J. Jeter had a half vote with E. Stratton, the other delegate from this county.

**Upheaval Averted.**  
A delegate from one of the counties south of Montgomery is authority for the statement that when the delegates heard this, indignation was expressed and there would likely have been a balk in the procedure to the meeting place had not the local men taken the situation in hand and averted a small sized upheaval of race prejudice in politics. It was a certainty that some of the delegates were not going into a session with the negro delegate, and thereby showed the predominance of "lily white" sentiment. The chasm was bridged by Warren Reese acting as proxy. Mr. Reese also took a prominent part in the proceedings of the meeting.

It was said that Chairman Schad did not care for the office any longer. And it was also said that it was a contention between Schad for chairman again, while another side wanted Brawner. It resulted in the election of Brawner for chairman, and Mr. Schad was given several other honors.

Business was put through expeditiously and without a hitch. The name of Roosevelt was not mentioned throughout the proceedings.

Delegates from the counties were as follows:

**Delegates Attending.**  
Baldwin, C. E. Saylin and J. P. Mix;

Butler, Peter Wesley and D. S. Perdue; Covington, J. W. Barnes, J. F. Brawner and E. A. McFerrin; Conecuh, W. B. James and A. B. Kennedy; Crenshaw, J. S. Johnson, L. S. Knight and J. F. Baker; Escambia, W. F. Schad and William Wagner; Montgomery, Asa E. Stratton and A. J. Jeter, Warren Reese having the proxy of Jeter; Pike, W. G. Starke and A. J. Collier.

Chairman Schad called the meeting to order. Asa E. Stratton was chosen temporary chairman and James F. Brawner, temporary secretary.

A committee on credentials was appointed composed of Messrs. Johnson, Reese and Brawner. The committee retired to frame a report. As Mr. Brawner was temporary chairman and absent from the room, J. W. Barnes was appointed to act during his absence. He had nothing to do and commented to the effect that there was no trouble filling the position. All that was lacking was the salary.

On motion the temporary chairman and secretary were made permanent, and the credentials committee made its report.

**Stratton Made Delegate.**  
Warren Reese moved that Asa E. Stratton be selected delegate to the Republican national convention at Chicago, June 7, next, and J. F. Johnson alternate. The motion carried.

J. W. Barnes, of Andalusia, W. S. Reese of Montgomery and B. S. Perdue of Greenville were recommended to the State convention as members of the State executive committee from this district, and W. F. Schad delegate from the southern district.

The officers of the executive committee of the Second Congressional District were then nominated and elected. They were J. F. Brawner, chairman, and W. B. James, secretary.

Members of the committee from this district to go to the State convention were selected as follows:

**State Delegates Named.**  
Baldwin County, J. P. Mix and R. M. Mabler; Butler County, Peter Wesley and D. S. Perdue; Conecuh County, W. B. James and A. B. Kennedy; Covington County, J. W. Barnes and B. S. Perdue; Crenshaw County, J. S. Johnson and J. J. Baker; Escambia County, G. F. Schad and William Wayne; Montgomery County, A. E. Stratton and A. J. Jeter; Pike County, W. C. Starke and A. J. Collier; Wilcox County, not represented.

The committee endorsed the election of Pope M. Long as State chairman, and O. D. Street as Republican national committeeman.

It also passed a resolution endorsing the work and conduct of the office of national committeeman of the retiring member, P. D. Barker, who declined to serve another term. He was thanked by a rising vote for the duties he had performed.

**Dent Is Endorsed.**  
The committee also passed a resolution favoring Congressman Dent. The resolution stated that as the Republicans did not have a candidate for Congress and appreciating the fairness of Congressman S. H. Dent, Jr., towards the Republicans, they endorsed his candidacy.

G. F. Schad of Escambia, the retiring chairman, was chosen Republican presidential elector from the Second

Congressional District, and L. S. Knight of Crenshaw, alternate.

After extending a vote of thanks to the Chamber of Commerce for the tender of the assembly room, the committee adjourned sine die.

## PLATFORM NOTE ON RACE ISSUE

Atlanta  
Republican National Convention  
Independent  
Ignores the Negro

Question. 7/1/16

WAS RACE'S PLEA PRESENTED?

B. J. Davis, of Georgia, Member of Platform Committee, Says That No Delegation From Race Appeared Before Committee.

NEGRO NOT REPRESENTED

But Napier, of Tennessee, and Cozart, of New Jersey, Declare That Delegation Did Go Before the Committee and That It Was Only Through the Influence and Efforts of Davis That Hearing Was Granted.

The failure of the Republican Party at the Chicago Convention to make any pronouncement concerning the civil and political rights of the Negro has aroused considerable comment. There is a difference of opinion as to the cause. In last week's Age, Hon. J. C. Napier, of Nashville, stated in an interview that it was only by the efforts of B. J. Davis, member of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions from Georgia, that the delegation representing the interest of the Negro was heard, and that it was because of Davis' energy that recognition was given to the resolutions presented by the delegation.

In its issue of June 17, the Atlanta Independent, of which B. J. Davis is editor, contains a leading article written by Mr. Davis in which he declares that no delegation of Negroes appeared before the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, although, he says "before the committee every man and interest had an opportunity." "There was no effort to shut out anybody," and "the committee was sincerely in favor of giving everybody a hearing and the man or cause that was not heard to his heart's content had no

body to blame but himself." Mr. Davis cites the fact that of all the interests presented to the committee for consideration, the only cause that had no organized effort behind it was the race question.

Says Memorial Not Presented.

Continuing, he says:

"In Chicago, on Monday night, on motion or suggestion of Col. Henry Lincoln Johnson, a committee of one hundred men, more or less, was appointed to present a protest against lynching and to have the party include in its platform a protest against lynching and a declaration in favor of the reduction of Southern representation in Congress as provided for in the fourteenth amendment in as much as the party had recognized the genius of this amendment in the reduction of representation from the South in the Republican National Convention. This committee was to meet at the Appomattox Club and write a memorial. If it met, it never reported and there would have been nothing at all for the race before the committee had it not been for the effort of Hon. Edward H. Wright, an attorney of Chicago. At the last moment after having waited until the eleventh hour for action by the committee, this gentleman got in a word for the race which Senator Borah promptly moved to table shutting off all debate and making it impossible for the committee to do anything we hoped for. . . . The Negro alone had no organization, no leader, no man in court to insist upon their rights. Yet they constitute ten million of our population. The Negro constitutes one-tenth of the people of this great country, yet they are so disorganized they were not able to come together and demand of the party such recognition as Lincoln provided for them in the constitution of the United States. We seem prepared to fight one another. The only preparedness we believe in is that preparedness which prepares us to fight and squabble among ourselves. There is no organized effort, either State or national, in the race that stands for the manhood rights of black people.

Cozart Scores Committee.

It will be noted that Mr. Davis, by inference, does not accept the credit given him by Mr. Napier for energetic and effective work in the committee in behalf of the race.

That the delegation did go before the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, however, is also declared by Winfield F. Cozart, of Atlantic City, who went to the convention as a dele-

gate from the second congressional district of New Jersey. Mr. Cozart writes that while it was a mistake to say that any part of the resolutions presented by the Negro delegation was adopted as part of the platform, he can corroborate the statement that it was only through B. J. Davis that the committee was heard, as Mr. Cozart writes, "Mr. Lodge had at first refused a hearing."

In his letter, under date of June 17, Mr. Cozart writes to the editor of the Age as follows:

Allow me as one of the delegates who attended the Republican National Convention to say that my good friend, the Hon. J. C. Napier, made a mistake when he stated that the Committee of Platform and Resolutions, at the Republican National Convention, received and adopted a part of the resolution presented to it by a committee of race leaders. I know whereof I speak, as I was one of the general committee, out of which a committee of fifteen lawyers were selected to draw up the resolution. I was present when it was presented and corroborate that part of the statement that it was only through B. J. Davis that our committee was heard, as Mr. Lodge had at first refused a hearing.

Voted Against Platform.

But the Committee on Platform and Resolution did not incorporate any of the resolution presented, and, so far as in its report, our committee, as well as the race, was completely ignored. It was for this reason that I, as a delegate, stood with my right hand uplifted and voted "No" when the vote was taken on adoption of the platform. I was the only delegate in the convention who voted against adoption of the platform. I did not vote against the platform because I opposed what it said, but for what it did not say as requested by our race committee. The rules of the convention would not allow me to state why I voted "no," so I accepted the only opportunity available and rose upon my feet with uplifted hands as a protest against the ignoring of my race. I contend that the Republican Party is drifting from its moorings and cowardly deserting the race, which has been its most loyal supporter in the days of need. The Republican Platform Committee went on record as condemning all crimes committed on sea, abroad or on land in any part of the world, and especially the killing of American citizens in Mexico, but was too cowardly to go on record as being against the lynching and burning of the men and women of our race, and to incorporate a plank mak-



ing the same a Federal crime. They were also too cowardly to go on record as being in favor of the reduction of representation in Congress in those States where a certain part of its citizens are denied the right of franchise, and representatives are sent to Congress on their numerical strength. The National Convention adopted the recommendations, without the said additions, and the members sat supinely by and only one voice was heard in the wilderness as a protest.

#### What About the Negro Committee-men.

There were two Negroes, members of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Benjamin J. Davis, of Georgia, and Dr. S. D. Redmond, of Mississippi. The question that is being asked by many folks, and the question that seems to require some kind of an answer, is, "What did Davis and Redmond do, as members of the Negro race, to have the Platform Committee make a strong and definite pronouncement on lynching, the franchise, segregation and other vital phases of the race question? As members of the committee, they undoubtedly had a voice in its proceedings. There are many who would like to know—Did Davis and Redmond make any fight in the committee for the insertion in the platform of a plank that would present the rights of the race as one of the fundamental principles for which the Republican Party will stand?"

In an issue of the New York Age of June 22nd, appeared the above news item criticising and reviewing the Republican platform for not making special mention of the Negro question in its declaration of principles. At the close of the article, this question is asked: "What about the Negro committeemen, did they do their duty?"

"There were two members, Hon. Benjamin J. Davis of Georgia, and Dr. S. D. Redmond of Mississippi. What did they do?"

The Committee on Resolutions and Platforms is composed of fifty members, forty-eight of whom were white men, and largely the most representative white men in the country. Dr. Redmond, the colored member from Mississippi, never met the committee. I was present at every session and know well that he did not attend a session.

I again take this opportunity to deny that Senator Lodge, the Chairman of the Committee, refused to hear the colored delegation. In the first

place, no colored delegation appeared, that was being brought to bear to of being mere dummies and limber jacks; they are men full fledged men who pay taxes on millions of dollars worth of property. They are law-abiding and God-fearing, only asking for that which is guaranteed them by the Constitution of the state and nation.

Friend Cozart of New Jersey, claimed exact a report from the committee. The convention was in waiting, and was present and know of my own personal knowledge that no delegation appeared, no representatives from the committee appointed to draw up a memorial. If the Appomattox meeting provided for on Monday night met and appointed a committee of fifteen lawyers to appear before the Committee on Resolutions and Platform, they failed to discharge their duty. They did not put in their appearance. The question is now asked: What did Davis and Redmond do.

When the Hon. E. H. Wright came to the committee and saw his Congressman, Hon. Martin D. Madden, and Mr. Madden failed to give him a hearing, he reported to me. I went to Mr. Lodge and the Senator assured me that Mr. Wright should be heard as soon as President Gompers of the Federation of Labor concluded his arguments, and Mr. Wright was heard and given all the time asked for, but there was no committee with Mr. Wright.

At the conclusion of Mr. Wright's presentation, the matter of reduction of representation in Congress from the South was referred to the sub-committee, which was composed of seventeen white members. No Negro member. This sub-committee was charged with the responsibility of framing the declaration of principles, which were to constitute the platform that night and report them on the next morning to the full committee. The committee met at the Congress Hotel, formulated the platform, and reported it to the full committee the next morning, leaving out any reference to the Negro question. The report of the sub-committee was in charge of Senator Fall of New Mexico. At this meeting there was no colored committee. A white member of the committee got up and stated to the committee, that he had received from a gentleman a protest against lynching and a memorial in favor of the reduction of Southern representation in Congress on the ground, that the National Convention had reduced representation in its body.

Senator Borah asked him from whom did it come, and he said he did not know, that both papers were unsigned and he presented them by request. Senator Borah promptly moved to table the paper, and the committeeman from Virginia seconded the motion, and it was tabled. I was the only one of the two colored members present. There was nothing I could do under the great pressure

that was being brought to bear to of being mere dummies and limber jacks; they are men full fledged men who pay taxes on millions of dollars worth of property. They are law-abiding and God-fearing, only asking for that which is guaranteed them by the Constitution of the state and nation.

The Shelby County Negro is standing up for his rights in a manly way and deserves success.

The Negroes of other counties of the state should emulate their Shelby brothers by demanding a part of the crumbs that fall from the political table. Too long has the Negro been patiently waiting for recognition and the time is now ripe for him to demand to be heard. We extend our most distinguished consideration to the black men of Shelby County assuring them that we are with them with all of our heart, mind and soul. You are doing that which should have been done years ago. Go on, fight for the principles of Lincoln, Douglas and Sumner, strive no longer to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. Be men sure enough men fighting for a righteous principle.

The ticket put out is an exceptionally strong one, composed of men of sterling integrity and worth.

Wayman Wilkerson, the candidate for Congress, a successful business man if he be elected would add grace and dignity to the house of representatives. Bert Boddy, H. M. Bomar and B. V. Burchett would make ideal state senators; E. D. Lewis, J. B. Willis, J. T. Settle, N. F. Clowers, Dr. G. W. Atkins, A. E. Cloaston and T. H. Hayes would ably represent their constituency in the lower house. The above gentlemen are intelligent property owners, standing high in the estimation of all; they are the peers of any who may be put forth by the opposition, they are alert, aggressive and parliamentarians of no mean ability. Here is hoping that the Negroes of Shelby County will give their ardent support to the cause of political righteousness by working early and late for the success of the Negro ticket. Go on, and win. Under the intrepid leadership of R. R. Church, Jr., know no such word as fail.

B. J. DAVIS  
Nashville Globe 8/25/16  
SHELBY COUNTY POLITICS.

The Negroes down in Shelby County are again in the political limelight. You can always rely upon the black brother in that neck of the woods to demand that which rightfully belongs to him and he voices his demands in tones too loud to be misunderstood. It appears that the lily whites of Shelby County have gone ahead in a star chamber proceedings placed a legislative ticket in the field without deigning to notice the black the least little bit. Now there is one fact that stands out in bold relief, the Negro is the equal voting power of the party in Shelby County and does not propose to be shoved aside like so much rubbish, they propose to have their day in court and to this end a full legislative ticket composed entirely of the flower of Shelby County's black manhood will be placed in the field to be voted for in the November election. Now this conclusion is right. The Shelby countians are men of brain and integrity. Measuring up in every particular in all the requisites to those who are trying to make them "go away back and sit down." These Negroes are tired very tired of pulling the political chestnuts out of the fire for the lilly whites, tired

## COLORED DEMOCRATS NOW CRITICISE WILSON

Meet at Buffalo and Condemn Segregation and Failure to Appoint Negroes to

The New York Office  
STRONG RESOLUTIONS PASSED

While Colored Democrats of New York State Want to Conduct Vigorous Campaign They Find Themselves Embarrassed by Wilson's Record—Negroes Not Enthusiastic for Wilson as Four Years Ago.

Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—The anti-Negro policy of President Wilson and the Democratic Administration at Washington was strongly denounced at a meeting of colored Democrats held here last week. Resolutions were passed condemning the segregation of Negroes in Governmental departments and the failure of President Wilson to appoint competent colored men to prominent positions.

Although the meeting was well attended, representatives being present from the various sections of the State, there was no enthusiasm. Everybody admitted that President Wilson's unfriendly attitude toward the Negro had not made him supporters among the colored voters of the country. Despite the discouraging prospects ahead, however, the colored Democrats of New York State plan to conduct a vigorous campaign this fall.

At last week's meeting an organization was formed, to be known as the Colored Democratic League of New York State, and the following officers were chosen to serve for two years: James A. Ross, Buffalo, chairman; the Rev. J. R. White, New York, vice-chairman; John Morris, New York, treasurer; E. W. Duke, Buffalo, secretary; John McNeil, New York, assistant secretary; F. C. Morton, New York, chairman Advisory Committee; Rufus L. Perry, Brooklyn, chairman Executive Committee; W. Derror, Buffalo, chairman of Committee on Organization; W. F. White, Rochester, chairman of Field Agents; S. Lark, Brooklyn, chairman Speakers' Bureau; Charles W. Lett, New York, sergeant-at-arms.

The speakers openly confessed that prospects for a Democratic victory were not as bright as four years ago, and that hundreds of colored voters who were enthusiastic Wilson men in 1912 are to-day opposed to his election.



# Election

## REPRESENTATION AT CHICAGO

The candidacy of Ralph W. Tyler for delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention from Ohio, subject to the April primary election, represents the marshalled protests not alone of the colored electors of Ohio, but of the colored electors of every Northern State. For many decades they have been as effectually disfranchised of representation in national conventions as the race in the Bourbon States of the South has been disfranchised at the polls. The Northern white politicians have on the stump, during campaigns and in convention platforms, much to say denunciatory of the South's denial of the right to vote at elections, yet with an inconsistency that is marked, and hypocrisy that is galling, they refused colored men in the North representation in national conventions.

It is no more inconsistent for colored voters in the North to contend for representation in conventions called to nominate men whose election they are depended upon, and called upon, to bring about than it was for the American Colonists, prior to 1776, to adopt the slogan: "No taxation without representation." Various Northern States, New York and Ohio included, have at times sent alternates. They will do so this year. Alternates have no votes, they are merely, as a rule, superfluous attendants. So far as colored men are concerned the empty honor is mere sop to still protests, to fool the unwitting members of the race.

Tyler is the only member of the race North of the Mason and Dixon line now standing as a candidate for actual voting representation for his race. No member of the race here in nearly half a century has been sent as a delegate to a Republican National Convention. His candidacy becomes of national concern, instead of mere local Ohio concern. It invites the interest and support of every colored man in the North who is sincere in the belief that the more than a million colored voters in the Northern States are, by right, entitled to representation in the national councils of the party. The race has no representation whatever on the National Committee, Judson Lyons of Georgia being the last to go the way of predecessors by a policy of unjust elimination. The National Committee last Fall reduced the South's representation in conventions. This reduction falling heaviest on the colored contingent of the South, in effect, approves the Democratic South's policy of race disfranchisement. The Southern representation in Congress, predicated on a colored vote that is not allowed to be cast, remains the same.

We ask the Republican Party now, why not give its million black loyal members real representation? Why not give them one lone delegate from the vast territory lying north of Mason's and Dixon's line? Mr. Tyler is entitled to receive every colored vote in Ohio, by party loyalty and service, by character and ability. He is entitled to receive the white vote of Ohio if the Republican Party of that State derives benefit from the seventy thousand colored voters in Ohio. He is entitled to the encouragement of every col-

ored voter in every Northern State.

Colored men of Ohio cannot consistently ask for even small representation in the State's service if they withhold support of Mr. Tyler. The white Republicans of Ohio cannot consistently solicit the support of Ohio's colored vote in November if they fail to send a colored delegate to the national convention who will have an

The reported activity of Governor Willis of Ohio against the right of voting representation for the race in the convention is unlikely to be remembered by Ohio's thousands of colored voters when the Governor makes his campaign for re-election this Fall. The National Republican Party, if it has a care for the continued, un-

swerving allegiance of its black wing, will give the black brother in Ohio, in New York and throughout the nation fairness and justice.

## THE POLITICAL WAY OUT

We want to commend to the especial attention of every colored man in New York and New Jersey the splendid example set them by the colored men of Tennessee. By a straight and strong pull together they have succeeded in having their young political leader, Robert R. Church, Jr., named as one of the delegates at large from their State. All the other colored political leaders of consequence here, headed by ex-Register of the Treasury James Q. Napier, joined in the grand effort. The colored press of Tennessee in clear and ringing tones without quibbling and qualification demanded it of the party organization. The pulpit and the people joined in the general acclaim of the wise, wealthy and popular young banker as the spokesman they must have in the National convention, which will make the party's platform and nominate its candidate. As one man and with one voice the seventy thousand black voters of Tennessee demanded to be heard. They were heard. Not only Robert Church but the colored citizens of the Lookout Mountain State have taken a long political step forward. Mr. Church deserves congratulation, because being able to make the fight he did not flinch from his duty. To an unblemished reputation, he adds character as firm as adamant in doing the thing he thinks to be his duty. Others may differ with his judgment as did we at the Chicago convention in 1912. All must respect his stalwart character and his courageous conduct. These, coupled with his honest commonsense and his ambitious devotion to his people, make him at once one of the most promising political leaders of his people in the days to come. Such must be the basic virtues of the next national political champion of their cause. The triumph of Church in Tennessee should furnish food for thought for those manly men of the race here in the East. The colored men of Chicago and elsewhere in the West have gotten together. They are not only winning official places for their leaders, but civic recognition and opportunity. Surely the colored men of New York and New Jersey, no less numerous and no less wise, will not be less selfish and farsighted. This is the political way out for the leader and the

layman among black citizens

## THE COMMITTEE ON PLAT-

## FORM AND RESOLUTIONS

By B. J. Davis.

In spite of the fact that our government is a representative one or a republic, it is in practice a government by party. In our country we have two great parties,—the Republican Party and the Democratic Party, and the destiny of the nation is shaped by the policies and principles that are adhered to by the one or the other of these two great political institutions.

These parties meet quadrennially in conventions composed of representatives direct from the people and they transact their business most largely through committees, of which the committee on platform and resolutions is the most important. To this committee is assigned the duty of preparing and constructing the parties' declaration of principles and policies upon which the parties expect to ask the electorate of the country to continue or return them to power.

At Chicago it was my good fortune to be a member of this great committee. The committee was composed of one delegate from each State and Territory, making a committee of fifty persons. The committee is selected by the State delegations, as all other committees are, and the names from the different States are handed in to the secretary of the convention by the State Chairman. The States, as a rule, present one of their best and most representative men. The Committee on Platform and Resolutions at the Chicago Convention this year was composed of many of the most representative men present, Senator Lodge, possibly the most learned and able Senator in the upper house of Congress, being the chairman.

Of the fifty members of the committee more than one-half of them were either members of the United States Senate or the House of Representatives. Other members were governors and other men of great mind and usefulness. Prominent among the high functionaries were Senators Lodge, of Massachusetts; Lippett, of Rhode Island; Oliver, of Pennsylvania; Wadsworth, of New York; Borah, of Idaho; Sullivan, of Utah; Fall, of New Mexico.

This committee sat with open door and invited every interest, whether moral, economic, industrial or political, to come in and present its cause. Among the interests presented for the consideration of the committee were Woman's Suffrage, Union Labor, Prohibition, Foreign and Domestic Trade, Manufacturing, Mining, Railroads, the Negro Question, Lynching and other questions effecting the national life.



Each of these causes with the exception of the race question was presented by organized effort. Woman's Suffrage was presented by a delegation of a thousand women. Prohibition by a committee of sixty. Union Labor by its president and secretary supported by a strong delegation from the Federation of Trades. The manufacturing, mining, forest and other varied and amalgamated interests were ably presented by men especially fitted for the task. There was nothing lacking in the ardor and eagerness with which these several interests were presented.

Before the Committee on Platform and Resolutions every man and interest has an opportunity. There is no effort to shut out anybody. The committee was sincerely in favor of giving everybody a hearing and the man or cause that was not heard to his heart's content has nobody to blame but himself.

I am giving this review or submitting these observations for the benefit of my race for the reason that we are always complaining that the Republican Party, the white man or some other agency do not give us a square deal. We are generally whining that somebody is doing something to us.

In Chicago, on Monday night, on motion or suggestion of Col. Henry Lincoln Johnson, a committee of one hundred men, more or less, was appointed to present a protest against lynching and to have the party include in its platform a protest against lynching and a declaration in favor of the reduction of Southern representation in Congress as provided for in the fourteenth amendment in as much as the party had recognized the genius of this amendment in the reduction of representation from the south in the Republican National Convention. This committee was to meet at the Appomattox Club and write a memorial. If it met, it never reported and there would have been nothing at all for the race before the committee had it not been for the effort of Hon. Edward H. Wright, an attorney of Chicago. At the last moment after having waited until the eleventh hour for action by the committee, this gentleman got in a word for the race which Senator Borah promptly moved to table shutting off all debate and making it impossible for the committee to do anything we hoped for.

The Committee on Platform and Resolutions must not be blamed for the lack of expression in our favor in the party's declaration of principles. The race alone is to blame for its failure to stand up like men and come in sufficient numbers before this

committee and insist upon the rights of the race. While Prohibition, Woman's Suffrage and other interests are presenting their claims for special consideration, we have the same right, and the same duty is imposed upon the leaders of our race to come to their party and demand such recognition of its rights as the constitution of our common country guarantees.

The Republican Party stands ready to help us and will help us. The man nominated at Chicago, his personality and high character is a guarantee of equality of rights for all men before the law. The protected interests of this country would have no protection for their factories, mines and products if those interested did not go before the political parties and insist upon recognition and protection for their property. Woman's Suffrage would not have succeeded in getting their principles reported favorably had they not been present in sufficient numbers and demanded it as a right. Prohibition and numbers of other things touched upon and reported favorably or unfavorably would not have been heard and considered, if there had not been organized effort behind them.

The Negro alone had no organization, no leader, no man in court to insist upon their rights. Yet they constitute ten million of our population. The Negro constitutes one-tenth of the people of this great country, yet they are so disorganized they were not able to come together and demand of the party such recognition as Lincoln provided for them in the constitution of the United States. We seem prepared to fight one another. The only preparedness we believe in is that preparedness which prepares us to fight and squabble among ourselves. There is no organized effort, either state or national, in the race that stands for the manhood rights of black people. Yet we are ready to criticize the Republican Party and every other political institution in this country today for that which we failed and refused to do for ourselves. Parties are like our Maker. They help those who help themselves. They help the miner, the manufacturer, woman's suffrage and every other moral or economic movement because the movements help themselves.

The Negro must organize. He has four years to get ready. What he wants to do now is fall in line and elect Mr. Hughes President of the United States and lay the foundation for going before the next Republican Convention and ask that a declaration of principles which recognizes the rights of the colored man in the na-

tion as an American citizen be included in the platform.

## GOVERNOR WHITMAN'S PLATFORM

Several months ago we addressed ourselves to Governor Chas. S. Whitman relative to his attitude toward the State's colored citizens. We pointed out to him at that time that though he had been in office nearly twelve months that not a single colored man out of the tens of thousands of black Republicans in the Empire State had been appointed. We further pointed out to him that there were several long-time and eminently qualified colored friends of his who deserved recognition at his and his party's hands. At that time and since we have repeatedly called Governor's attention to the defiance of right and justice and State Constitution by his appointees, the State Athletic Commission. "That Commission boldly flaunts an illegal and unjust color-line in the faces of the thousands of your supporters. Governor," we said then, "what are you going to do about it?"

Since that time but one colored man has been appointed, in the person of ex-Collector Chas. W. Anderson, who was given a substantial if not an adequate position in the State Agricultural Department. That was a splendid beginning, as we at that time pointed out—BUT ONLY a beginning. We wonder just what plea the Governor and his friends will make to the thousands of colored voters this fall in case he should again be the Republican candidate for Governor! Surely not on the score of his inaction on the color line law of the State Boxing Commission! If not on the score of the giving of patronage to his solid colored support in his election; if not on his defense of their rights and equal citizenship, ON WHAT! As your friends and supporters we ask Governor Whitman to show us promised full friendship for the race.

## WILCOX NAMES COLORED COMMITTEE

*The New York News* 8/17/16  
New York, Oct. 4.—Chairman Wilcox Napier, Tennessee; Henry L. Johnson Tuesday appointed a colored Advisory and Benjamin Davis, Georgia; Perry L. Howard, Mississippi; Joseph E. Lee, Florida.

Committee which is to aid the National Committee to work among the colored voters. They are attached to the New York headquarters. The committee will have offices in the Postal Insurance Building, 511 Fifth avenue.

They are: Charles W. Anderson, New York; Fred R. Moore, New York; William Oscar Payne, New York; Andrew F. Stephens and Justin Carter, Pennsylvania; Charles A. Cottrell and William P. Dabney, Ohio; William H. Lewis and W. X. Matthews, Massachusetts; Richard M. Bolden and Julius M. Green, New York; Gilchrist Stewart, New York; Isaac Nutter, New Jersey; Harry C. Tolliver, Connecticut; Dr. Ernest Lyons and Harry S. Cummings, Maryland; Charles Coldburn, Delaware; Phillip Waters, West Virginia; Whitfield McKinley, James A. Cobb and Charles Pickett, District of Columbia; R. R. Church, A. A. Fielding and J. C.

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE.)

COLUMBUS, O.—Ohio is now right in the midst of one of the hottest senatorial contests ever waged in this old Buckeye State. There are five Republican senatorial candidates who will face the electors of this state in the primary election to be held Tuesday, August 8. The candidates are E. E. Cassell, Harry M. Daugherty, former U. S. Senator Charles Dick, former Governor Myron T. Herrick and Harry R. Probasco. The first and last named candidates are practically in the "unknown" class, and their running is regarded more as a joke than a serious proposition. The fight is really between Daugherty, Dick and Herrick, and these three have been plowing and harrowing Ohio's political field quite strenuously for the past thirty days.

Daugherty was the first to formally enter the list of candidates, followed by Governor Herrick, Senator Dick being the last to qualify. Primaries are an uncertain political institution, and no one can absolutely tell in advance who will ring the bell. All the candidates have expressed a sort of stereotyped love for and interest in the Negro, but ex-Senator Dick is the only one of the five who was courageous enough to incorporate a plank in his platform favoring the Negro, and his splendid record when in Congress, on every question vitally effecting the race, is the guarantee that if re-elected he will continue to champion the cause of the race.

In his platform, printed and distributed by the tens of thousands all over Ohio, he had the following strong plank:

"I am not so much interested in the appeal of the Democratic national platform in behalf of 'the warring nations of Europe,' that in Europe 'all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination,' as I am in seeing these rights enforced in those states of this country where the Democratic party suppresses the colored vote. I have always favored the STRICT enforcement of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, with their guarantees of the equal protection of the law, and that the right to vote shall not be abridged by ANY state on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

This plank in General Dick's platform, backed up by his splendid past record on the race questions, will cause, it is believed, the large majority of colored voters in Ohio to vote for Dick for senator. Anti-race men, throughout the country, deeply interested in seeing men sent to the United States Senate who have a courageous record with respect to championing the cause of the race, are writing their friends in Ohio to vote and work for General Dick.

## OHIO'S FAVORITE SONS IN RACE FOR SENATE

*The N. Y. Age* 8/18/16  
Contest Between Dick, Daugherty, Herrick, Casselle and Probasco.

## DICK APPEARS THE FAVORITE

It Is Really a Triangular Contest Between the First Three, as the Other Two are Practically Unknown—Ex-Senator Dick Is Only One with Pro-Negro Plank in His Platform.